William Clayton: Missionary, Pioneer, and Public Servant

Paul E. Dahl

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WILLIAM CLAYTON
MISSIONARY, PIONEER, AND PUBLIC SERVANT

by
Paul E. Dahl

Second Edition
Copyright
1964
Paul E. Dahl
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Boise, Idaho

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J. Grant Stevenson
260 East 2100 North
Provo, Utah 84601
Dedicated to

Family and descendants of William Clayton, who should ever be proud of the achievements of this great pioneer.

Paul E. Dahl
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It is with sincere appreciation that the writer acknowledges the assistance of the following, who have made it possible to complete this work:

To Professor Ivan J. Barrett and Dr. Dean C. Christensen of the faculty of Brigham Young University for their comments and criticisms.

To the library staff of Brigham Young University, the Church Historian's Office of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Utah Historical Society, and the Bancroft Library at Berkeley, California.

To the late Alma Clayton, last surviving child of William Clayton, who gave much personal insight into the life of his father.

To the various members of the Clayton family, including Mrs. June M. McDonnel of Van Nuys, California; Dr. John L. Clayton, Mr. L. Clayton Dunford, and Mrs. Joy M. McDonald of Salt Lake City, for their advice, encouragement, and other contributions.

To Mr. Grant Stevenson for his valuable assistance in printing and assembling the work.

To his wife, Shirley, and members of his family, for assisting and sustaining him throughout this endeavor.

To those unmentioned who have made helpful suggestions and given encouragement.
PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition has been completely sold out for some four years and copies can be found in the homes of William Clayton's descendants from the Pacific to the Atlantic coasts and from Canada to the Gulf states. It is interesting to note how many of his descendants are successful professional people such as medical doctors, lawyers, college professors and business leaders, which is a tribute to this great pioneer.

It was never imagined that the demand would merit a second printing, but with the help and encouragement of William A. Clayton, president of the Clayton Family Association, this edition was made possible. This edition is basically the same as the first edition, with the exception of a new format that should make it easier to shelve.

Appreciation is expressed to Mr. J. Grant Stevenson for his excellent cooperation in facilitating the publication of this edition, making it available at an early date.

Paul E. Dahl

November, 1964
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WILLIAM CLAYTON
1814 - 1879
INTRODUCTION

This work is a biography of William Clayton, an early missionary of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and a pioneer to the Great Basin. He was also a prominent individual in the political and economic development of the State of Deseret and the Territory of Utah. The purpose of the study is to write an account of Clayton's life and to show his contributions to both religious and profane history.

The scope of this study attempts to give answers, among others, to the following questions:

1. What was the background and experience of William Clayton prior to joining the Mormon movement in England during 1837?

2. What contributions did he make to the aforementioned movement while serving as a missionary from 1838-1840?

3. After arriving in America, what were his contributions to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints during the Nauvoo, Illinois period, and what were his associations with the Mormon leader, Joseph Smith?

4. What were the circumstances under which the great Mormon hymn, "Come, Come Ye Saints" was written?

5. As a member of the first group of Mormon pioneers to cross the plains and enter the great basin under the leadership of Brigham Young, what were his experiences and contributions?

6. Upon settling in the Great Basin, what were his contributions to the political, economic, and cultural development of the new land?
7. What were some of the problems and experiences he had as a husband and father in a large polygamous family?

This work covers those experiences in the life of William Clayton, from his days in England to his death in Salt Lake City on December 4, 1879. Much of the body of this study is somewhat detailed in regard to Clayton's daily life experiences, inasmuch as he was such a meticulous recorder of daily events. Many of these experiences have been preserved in his several journals and many hundreds of letters.

Investigation has found that no one has endeavored to write the complete story of the life of William Clayton under one cover. A number of writers have written short life sketches, and his journal of 1846-47 has been published. This latter work has been rather extensively used by others to further their works, but none come near to covering his activities for a period of more than several years.

It has been the aim of historians to collect information and contributions from the lives of those who have been major figures in the development of new movements and events. Research has shown that William Clayton was a prolific writer and very meticulous at keeping records. This study will attempt to show he was a major figure in the history of his environment, especially at Nauvoo, Illinois; when crossing the Great Plains into the Great Basin area; also the subsequent settlement of the Utah Territory.

Because of William Clayton's intimate associations with Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, he was well informed about the early history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the problems of the times. It is because of these relationships, plus the many personal contributions of William Clayton to his environment, that the writer justifies this study as being of prime importance so scholars may have access to William Clayton's life experiences and works.

This study has been handled by way of the historical method, which describes the sequence
of events during definite chronological periods and how they happened.

The material and facts for this study were gathered in the main from primary sources, such as "William Clayton's Personal Journals": "Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints"; newspaper articles printed in England, Nauvoo, and Salt Lake City; family files of genealogies, personal letters, documents, histories and pictures. The collection of "William Clayton's Letter Books" located in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley, California, was also a source of much valuable information. Other primary sources used were minutes of Church meetings of various kinds, written in wards and branches where he lived; histories of the British Mission and the Salt Lake Stake; and public documents of the State of Deseret and the Territory of Utah.

Along with other primary sources not mentioned, this work was supplemented with such secondary sources as books, interviews, and various other published articles.

The findings of this research are submitted that those interested may have a better understanding of William Clayton and his role in history, and that an intimate record of his life may be preserved for generations to come.
CHAPTER I

WILLIAM CLAYTON, A FISHER OF MEN

A Mission to Great Britain

Soon after Martin Van Buren became the president of the United States, the nation was met with severe financial crisis. This dilemma was brought about by a reckless spirit of speculation, which for two or three years preceding had been fostered and encouraged by excessive banking, and the expansion of paper currency beyond all the legitimate wants of the country.

This same spirit was taking deep root in the Church and the results were that of widespread fault-finding, disunion, dissension and apostasy. The Prophet Joseph Smith points out in his writings that no quorum in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was entirely exempt from the influence of the above mentioned feelings. Some of the Quorum of the Twelve had even started to take sides, secretly, with groups in opposition to the Church. 1

In the midst of this melancholy condition, Joseph Smith states:

"God revealed to me that something new must be done for the salvation of His Church. On or about the first of June, 1837, Heber C. Kimball, one of the Twelve, was set apart by the spirit of prophecy and revelation, prayer and laying on of hands, of the First Presidency, to preside over a mission to England, to be the first foreign mission of the Church of Christ in the last days."2

Elder Orson Hyde, also a member of the Quorum of Twelve, immediately offered his services to accompany Elder Kimball to England, followed by Elder Willard Richards, a recent convert to the Church. The missionary party departed from Kirtland, Ohio, on Tuesday, June 13, 1837, with the addition of Joseph Fielding, a native of
England and a convert to the Church while living in Canada.

Upon arriving in New York, the group was met by John Goodson, Isaac Russell, and John Snyder. These three men were members of the Church from Canada and had been added to the missionary delegation enroute to the British Isles.

The group engaged passage to Liverpool in the second cabin of the merchant ship, Garrick. On the first of July, they were towed out of the harbor by a steamer, hoisted sail, and were out of sight of land at 4:40 P.M. 3

The Garrick anchored in the River Mersey, opposite Liverpool, on Thursday morning, July 20th. The brethren were rowed ashore and immediately engaged passage to Preston, which is about thirty miles from Liverpool. Upon arriving at this city, the Elders discovered that it was election day and Queen Victoria was about to organize her cabinet. She had just been crowned queen of England because of the recent death of King William IV.

The first interview by the missionaries was with the Reverend James Fielding, a brother of Joseph Fielding, who had a chapel in Preston. It was in this chapel on Sunday, July 23rd, 1837, that the message of Mormonism was first preached on the shores of England.

When this new religion first reached Great Britain, the country had about 26,500,000 inhabitants, of which about 15,500,000 resided in England and Wales, 2,500,000 in Scotland, and 8,000,000 in Ireland, including the Isle of Man. At the close of 1930, ninety-five years later, the inhabitants had increased to about 44,500,000; of these 40,000,000 were in England and Wales, 4,500,000 in Scotland, and 4,000,000 in Ireland and the Isle of Man. 4

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was a little over seven years old when the first Elders were sent from America to Great Britain, and the Saints in America now numbered several thousand. Gathering places had been established in Ohio and Missouri, and the
headquarters of the Church were in Kirtland, Ohio. Besides the many branches of the Church that had been raised up in the United States, quite a number of people had been baptized in Canada, and some of the Saints in that province, who had relatives and friends in England, had written to these about the "new religion" and the "new Church" with Prophets and Apostles. Some of these letters created quite a stir in certain parts of England, and a desire was manifested on the part of many to learn "more about it." Naturally this interest was reported to the Prophet Joseph Smith and his brethren in Kirtland, who, in response thereto and considering the peculiar condition of the Church at Kirtland at the time, concluded to send Elders to preach the Gospel in England.

The message of the "new Church" attracted interest among this people almost immediately, as the first baptism came on Friday, August 4th. This was followed two days later with another forty to fifty being baptized and confirmed by Elders Kimball, Hyde and Brother Fielding.

The Conversion

William Clayton first heard the "new religion" preached by Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde. With his wife, Ruth Moon Clayton, whom he had married in Penwortham Church, October 9, 1836, he listened to the teachings of these missionaries, but he was not easy to convert. His wife accepted the Church first, and many evenings had to be spent before William Clayton became a believer in "Mormonism." He was baptized in the River Ribble on October 21, 1837, at eleven o'clock at night, by Heber C. Kimball, and ordained a priest December 25th of the same year.

Early Life in England

The early life of William Clayton is rather silent in regard to his education, occupation and conversion into the Church. He was born July 17, 1814, in the village of Charock Moss, Township of Penwortham, County Palatine of Lancaster, England, the son of Thomas and Ann Critchley Clayton, who were born in Lancashire, England. William.
was the eldest of fourteen children, three of whom
died in infancy and were buried in England.

William obtained a scholarship under the
tutoring of his father through the educational laws
of England. Thomas, being a teacher, was able
to work close to his son, giving him a thorough
education; which, no doubt, helped William in his
ability as a writer and recorder.8

Through the influence of the eldest son, the
father, mother, and surviving children joined the
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and
came to America. The mother died in Nauvoo,
Illinois, July 15, 1848, and the father in St. Louis,
Missouri, June 16, 1849. A brother, James, died
in Winter Quarters, November 28, 1847. The
remainder of his brothers and sisters survived
the persecutions of mobs and the early privations
of the Church and came to the valley of the Great
Salt Lake with the pioneers of Utah.9

All of William's relatives did not feel as
well towards the Church as did his immediate
family. Many years later, in writing to a friend
in England, he made the following statement:

"I would be much pleased to learn something
of my relatives in England, if possible. It is
many years since I had any positive news from
any of them. Of course, my being a Mormon out-
laws one in their estimation, but their not being
Mormons does not have that effect on me. I would
much like to hear from them, for there is some-	hing soothing in looking back on old times, and
feeling after friends long lost sight of."10

A Character Sketch

Elder Orson F. Whitney gives us the follow-
ing biographical sketch of William Clayton:

"He received a good common school educa-
tion. His mind was capacious, and he was ener-
geretic, practical and progressive... He possessed
considerable inventive genius... He was also
gifted in music and transmitted his ability in that
and in other lines to his posterity. His favorite
instrument was the violin. He was a member of
"Ballous' Band," one of the earliest and most talented of Utah's musical organizations.

"In youth and early manhood, Mr. Clayton was of a jovial and lively turn, but as he advanced in years he became serious and even solemn in mien and deportment. Silent and secretive, he was a deep thinker, a clear writer and an impressive speaker. He read much and kept abreast of the leading questions of his time.

"In business he was straightforward, methodical, and the soul of punctuality. He kept his promises, and expected others to keep theirs. He had little use for a man who would lightly break his word, even by tardiness in keeping an appointment.

"He was seldom seen in public, though he attended meetings and was devoted to his religion. His office hours were from half past seven a.m. to six p.m.; after which he was not accessible to any ordinary demand upon his time.  

In the home it appears that he was not demonstrative; although he had great love for his home and family and provided well for their comfort. He was methodical, always sitting in his own arm chair, having a certain place at the table and otherwise showing his love for order, which he believed the first law of heaven. His person was clean and tidy; his hands small and dimpled. He wore very little jewelry, but what little he had was the best money could buy. He would not carry a watch that was not accurate, and his clothing was made from the best material. His children remember him best in a black velvet coat and grey trousers, and, in cold weather, a broadcloth cloak in place of an overcoat.  

A description of the conditions in England at the time William Clayton entered the Church is obtained from the pen of Brigham Young and Willard Richards in a letter sent from the "Star" Office at Manchester, England to Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, Illinois, under the date of September 5, 1840.

"... England, unlike America, is divided into classes; many, indeed, but they may all be comprised in three, so far as we need designate
them at this time, viz: lords, tradesmen, and mechanics or laborers, or in other words, the highest, middle, and lowest classes, each of which have their particular customs, and manners, but the histories we refer to, have more generally treated of those of the higher order, or, at least, we find on acquaintance, that those histories are now more applicable to the higher and middle classes than any other. But, perhaps, a part may be owing to the great changes which have taken place in the nation within a few years, with regard to money matters, which has caused a mighty revolution in the affairs of the common people.

"A few years since, and almost every family had their garden, their cow on the common and their pig in the sty, which added greatly to the comfort of the household, but now we seldom find either garden, cow or pig.

"As we pass around among the country cottages and see the stone walls which are thrown down, but more commonly the hedges in decaying and mutilated state, it is very natural for us to enquire: 'What have you here? What is the cause of this destruction?' And we generally get this answer. 'A few years ago I had a flourishing garden on the spot you now see, and it was surrounded with this hedge which was planted by my own hand; I had a cow of my own which fed on yonder common; I labored on my master's farm, and had plenty of time, morning and evening, to till my garden, in which I raised enough for my family, and every year I had a good pig, plenty to eat, and we were happy; but our lords and masters have become more avaricious, and are trying to get all they can themselves, and will hardly let the poor live. You see my landlord has made my garden into a meadow, and feeds his own cattle upon it; the Lord of the Mansion fenced in the common so that I had no place to keep my cow, and I was obliged to sell her; I killed my pig to prevent its starving. The small farms are united and made into large ones, so we could get nothing to do on the land. I have been obliged to go into the factory, with my wife and children, to get a morsel of bread, or I have taken to hand loom weaving to
keep my wife and little one from starvation. ... you will see at a glance that the few changes we have hinted at would prove the cause of a multitude of effects.

"Manufacturing is the business of England. The cotton mills are the most numerous; the weavers get from six to ten shillings per week; the spinners something more. The hand loom weavers have to work hard to get six shillings per week. Now, after paying two or three shillings rent per week, one shilling for coal, besides taxes of every kind, we might say, for smoke must not go up the chimney in England without a tax, light must not come in the window without paying duties; many must pay from one penny to six pence per week for water and if we should attempt to tell all we should want a government list--after paying all taxes, what think you will a family have left for bread stuff? ... There are taxes for living and taxes for dying, inasmuch that it is very difficult for the poor to get buried anyhow, and a man may emigrate to America and find a grave for less money, than he can get a decent burial for in old England. We scarce recollect anything without tax, except cats, mice and fleas.

"After what we have written, we scarce need tell you that England is filled with beggars. They call at our doors from half a dozen to a dozen per day . . . .

"Many of the people cannot read and a great many cannot write; children are admitted into the factories at eight years old, working a part of the day and attending school a part, till they are fourteen years old, and then work continually, though as yet we have been able to discover but very little benefit from the factory school; it is by Parliament compulsion on the part of the master and not a free will; of course, the easier got over, the better; the cheaper, the master, the more money remains in the pocket.

"... Such is the poverty of the people that but few of the Saints can afford to take the 'Star' we are publishing once a month, price six pence.

"Neither have the priest much more information
than the people; indeed, there are many of the com-
mon people whom they dare not meet in argument,
although they have their living, thousands upon
thousands, and some of them own whole townships
or parishes, and will tell their parishioners and
tenants that if they allow anyone to preach in their
houses, they will be turned out of doors, or if
they are baptized they will fare no better; and
thus many simple souls who believe our message
dare not be baptized, because they have not faith
sufficient to screen them from the threats of an
impudent priest or factory master, knowing they
will worry them to the utmost if they displease
them. . . .

"We find the people of this land much more
ready to receive the gospel than those of America,
so far as they do receive it, for they have not that
speculative intelligence, prejudice or false learn-
ing, call it what you please, which they have there;
consequently, we have not to labor with a place
month after month to break down their old notions,
for their priests have taught them but little, and
much of that is so foolish as to be detected at a
glance. Viewing the subject in this light, we find
ignorance a blessing, for the more ignorant of
false notions, the more readily they receive the
truth.

"The greatest opposition we meet with is
from the Methodists. The Church of England
would fain make themselves believe they are on
the rock and cannot be shaken, therefore, they
trouble themselves little about these things as
yet, though more is to come. . . ."13

A Missionary

William Clayton had been a member of the
Church of England, but had not shown any outstand-
ing interest in it.14 A great change appears to
have come about after his conversion to Mormon-
ism, as he entered into the work of the new Church
with much diligence and zeal. This is brought out
in the account of the general conference of the
Church, held in Preston, England, April 1, 1838.
At this conference, the first mission presidency of
the British Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ
of Latter-day Saints was organized. Joseph Fielding was chosen as the president over the mission in England, with Willard Richards and William Clayton as the two counselors. This organization was necessitated with the return to America of Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde, who departed from England on April 20th. During the proceedings of this conference, William Clayton was ordained a High Priest by Elders Kimball and Hyde. 15

Elder Heber C. Kimball says of this event:

"Feeling it necessary for the good of the kingdom to leave someone in authority over the whole Church, I nominated Joseph Fielding to preside, with Willard Richards as his first counselor, and William Clayton his second counselor. The nominations met with the approbation of the whole assembly, who agreed to hearken to their instructions and uphold them in their offices. These brethren were then ordained to the High Priesthood (High Priests) and set apart to preside over the Church in England. . . . Immediately after dismissing the congregation we met the official brethren, about eighty, and instructed them in their duties, and dismissed at one o'clock the next morning." 16

The Church in England, at this time, being in its infancy, needed much instruction, which necessarily occupied the attention of the new mission presidency to a great extent, and as there were few laborers in the field, the spread of the work was not very rapid for several months. 17

During these months, William was in Penwortham, Longton, Preston, and the adjacent area, giving instructions and preaching at the various branches of the Church. In October of 1838, however, he quit his temporal profession in England and gave himself wholly to the ministry and soon commenced preaching and baptizing in Manchester. Prior to this time, he seems to have held the position as a bookkeeper in a large factory at Penwortham. 18 From Manchester, the work spread into Stockport and other places in the neighborhood, through the labors of Elders William
Clayton, Joseph Fielding, John Moon, and David Wilding. 19

In a revelation received at Far West, Missouri, on July 8, 1838, the Prophet Joseph Smith was instructed that the Quorum of Twelve Apostles would leave the city of Far West on the 26th day of April, 1839, from the building spot of the temple and from there would go abroad to preach the Gospel. 20 In the meantime, however, many leaders of the Church had been imprisoned, including Joseph Smith. The remainder of the Church had been driven from Missouri and had settled in Illinois and Iowa.

In obedience to the aforementioned revelation, five members of the Quorum of the Twelve, viz. Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, John E. Page, and John Taylor, returned to Far West, Missouri. On the morning of April 26th, 1839, at the Far West temple site, these brethren offered up a prayer of thanksgiving to the Lord, laid the cornerstones for the temple, and ordained two new apostles. These new apostles were Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith. The brethren then returned to Illinois and, during the late summer, started their journey abroad to carry the message of the restored Gospel.

The first two members of the Quorum of Twelve to arrive in England on this mission were Elders Wilford Woodruff and John Taylor. They arrived in January of 1840 and upon their arrival, a special council meeting was held in the city of Preston. At this council, Elder Hiram Clark 21 was assigned to labor with Elder Clayton, who was to remain in Manchester where the Church was meeting with great success. 22 The Manchester branch had grown to a membership of 164 by this time.

Following this council, Elder Wilford Woodruff traveled to Manchester and made the following notation in his journal:

"It was the first time I ever visited that city. I here first met with Elder Wm. Clayton. As soon as I had an introduction to him, he informed me that one of the sisters in that place was possessed
of the devil, and he asked me to go and cast it out of her, thinking that one of the Twelve Apostles could do anything in this line he might wish to. However, I went with him to the house where the woman lay, in the hands of three men, in a terrible rage and trying to tear her clothing from her. I also found quite a number of Saints present, and some unbelievers, who had come to see the devil cast out and a miracle wrought. If I had acted upon my own judgement, I should not have attempted to administer to her with the company present, but as I was a stranger there, and Brother Clayton presided over the branch, I joined him in administering to the woman. But the unbelief of the wicked present was so great, we could not cast the devil out of her, but she raged worse than ever. I then ordered the room to be cleared and when the company left the house, except the few attending to her, we laid hands upon her, and I commanded the devil to come out of her, in the name of Jesus Christ. The devil left her, and she entirely cured and fell asleep. The next day, being the Sabbath, she came before a large congregation of people, and bore testimony to what the Lord had done for her. We had a large assemblage through the day and evening, to whom I preached the gospel. On Monday morning, the devil, not being satisfied with being cast out of the woman, entered into her little child, which was but a few months old. I was called upon to visit the child and found it in great distress, writhing in its mother's arms. We laid hands upon it and cast the devil out of it, and the evil spirits had no power over the household afterwards. This was done by the power of God, and not of man. We laid hands upon twenty in Manchester who were sick and they were mostly healed."

Wilford Woodruff was favorably impressed with William Clayton and his activities in Manchester. In a letter to Willard Richards, he states:

"I was much pleased with my acquaintance with Brother Clayton. I consider him a worthy brother—a man of wisdom and of God."

In a letter to Willard Richards, dated January 30th, 1840, William Clayton puts forth some instructions in regard to the duties of officers in the Church.
He states:

"The Lord . . . has given us the laws and order of His Church and He requires of us as officers to see that those laws are enforced. We shall have peace and righteousness only in proportion as the laws are attended to. If the officers do not attend to their duty in these things we shall be accounted as unfaithful stewards and very likely it will be the means in the end of shutting both us and them out of the kingdom. . . . It is better to suffer wrong than to do wrong."25

Another letter to Willard Richards, dated February 28, 1840, gives us further information as to William's feelings in regard to his work.

"I rejoice to hear from the Yorkshire churches. I have often wondered of late, how they were getting along. They are about on a level with the other branches of the Church with regard to sickness, for truly there is much at present. I feel that it will require no small degree of fortitude and courage to enable us to stand faithful. We have some mighty opponents and surely Satan is seeking not only to disturb the peace of the Saints, but to destroy body and spirit also. If my judgment is correct in these things, we are only just beginning to feel the smart. I feel as though the Saints are about to be afflicted very much. The day of trouble is at hand, and few indeed will there be who will escape the affliction. Whilst we are quiet and offer no resistance to our adversaries, they will not trouble us much, but as soon as we resolve to carry on the battle, then we not only feel the shots and arrows, but the effect also, and mighty conflict we are engaged in."26

We are indebted to a letter written by Elder Hiram Clark to the Times and Seasons, which gives us a clue as to the rate of increase of the Manchester Branch. He states that from the early part of January 1840, when he arrived in Manchester to help Elder Clayton, until March 5th, of the same year, about forty members were baptized in Manchester and a branch of the Church of twenty-eight members had been raised up in Stockport, a town of about 60,000 inhabitants some six miles south
of Manchester. Another twenty members had joined the Church at a place called Peover, about twenty-six miles from Manchester. 27

Elder Heber C. Kimball returned to the shores of England with this special mission of the Quorum of the Twelve, on April 6th, 1840. He landed at Liverpool and then took the train to Preston, where he met the mission presidency he had organized just two years before. In a letter to Joseph Smith at Nauvoo, he states:

". . . we found Elders Fielding, Richards, and Clayton well and in good spirits promulgating the gospel through the towns and cities. Their joy was great to see us, yea, beyond measure; they had often longed to see us and prayed that the Lord would send us unto them, the Saints universally were rejoiced to see us and the news of our arrival spread far and near in a short time. . . .

"Many blessings were poured upon us from all quarters, especially from those who were baptized before we left England; we also found that those who had joined the church since that time, joined in the theme of rejoicing, and hailed us with a hearty welcome." 28

Elder John Taylor was also pleased with the work that had been carried on by this first mission presidency of the British Mission. In writing to the general membership of the Church in America, he made the following observations:

"The work of the Lord is progressing here, and has been ever since Elders Orson Hyde and H. C. Kimball left this country. According to the account that the Elders give of their labours, there have been about eight or nine-hundred persons baptized since they left. The Gospel is spreading, the devils are roaring. As nigh as I can learn, the priests are howling, the tares are binding up, the wheat is gathering, the nations are trembling, and kingdoms are tottering; "men's hearts failing them for fear, and looking for those things that are coming on the earth." The poor among men are rejoicing in the Lord, and the meek do increase their joy. . . ." 29
The first General Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, under the supervision of the Quorum of Twelve while in England, was held in the Temperance Hall, at Preston, on April 15, 1840. Elder Heber C. Kimball was called to preside and Elder William Clayton was chosen as clerk of the conference. This was the beginning of hundreds of calls that Clayton would receive in the Church to act as clerk for various meetings, activities and organizations.

As a member of the mission presidency, who was also in charge of the Church in the Manchester area, Elder Clayton was called upon to give a report of the branches in his district. He, no doubt, stood with great pride as he reported the activities of his district to the Quorum of Twelve. He reported 240 members in Manchester, 40 in Stockport, 30 members at Peover and Macclesfield, another 30 at Duckinfield, 8 at Altrincham, and 6 members at Middlewich.

Another General Conference of the Church was held in Carpenter's Hall at Manchester, on the 6th day of July, 1840. The meeting was called to order a little after ten o'clock by Elder William Clayton. The first business taken care of was to select Elder Parley P. Pratt as president of the conference and Elder Clayton was again chosen as clerk. According to the records of this conference, the Manchester Branch had continued to grow and now had 280 members. This was an increase of forty members over that reported at the April conference in Preston.

During the course of the July conference, it was moved and seconded that President Fielding and his counselors, President Richards and President Clayton, be released from the mission presidency, so they could have the privilege of more fully entering into their missionary labors. The proposal was accepted and carried, after which Elder Brigham Young, as senior member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, became president of the British Mission. The mission at the time of this conference had 41 branches, comprising a membership of 2,513 members. Elder Brigham Young called upon the officers present at the
conference, whose circumstances would permit them to devote themselves entirely to the work of the ministry, and would volunteer to do so, to stand up. Twenty-six brethren then arose, one of the number being William Clayton.\textsuperscript{31}

Pursuant to a previous notice, a general council of the Church officers in England was held in the council room at the Star office in Manchester, on July 7th, the day following the mission conference. At this meeting, it was moved by Elder Brigham Young and seconded by Elder Wilford Woodruff, that Brothers William Clayton and John Needham should go to Birmingham and take up labors. The motion was then carried.\textsuperscript{32}

It might be well to mention, in connection with the new call to Birmingham, that Heber C. Kimball, in writing to the Editor of the Millennial Star, states that he had received a letter from Elders Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith, under date of July 30th. They were laboring in Herfordshire and stated:

"On our way hither we had an interview with the Saints in West Bromich: the people there, and also in Birmingham, are anxious to have Elder Clayton come as soon as possible.\textsuperscript{33}

\textbf{To The Promised Land}

William Clayton never filled his mission to Birmingham. History is silent as to the reason why; however, it may be assumed that he received an opportunity to journey to America, and the headquarters of his new Church at Nauvoo, as he left England for America on September 8th of the same year. Years later, when called to England on another mission, he made the following notation in his journal:

"This is a privilege which I have desired for years inasmuch as when I left England in the year 1840, I had then a mission appointed me to Birmingham, which I never filled and I have often felt a deep desire to bear my testimony once more in my native country."\textsuperscript{34}

Evidently the month of August was spent in
preparing for the long journey to America and in disposing of the personal effects which could not be taken with them. In a letter to Brigham Young and Willard Richards, who were at this time in Manchester, William writes:

"I have now got a little spare time and I will devote it to your service. We have had two bustling days and we have not yet got through.

"We had our sale yesterday and we have had a fair one. We are now almost empty except a few pots and boxes, but we are tolerably well and hearty.

"We had a letter this morning from E. Turley, saying that the Saints will not sail until the 7th of September. This intelligence seemed for a moment to cast a clamp upon their feelings here but by the time we had weighed it over we began to think it would be all well. Some things happen a little awkward, but I think we shall have as many advantages as disadvantages so it will be right."35

Elders Brigham Young and Willard Richards journeyed from Manchester to Liverpool on Saturday, September 5, 1840, and in the evening organized the company of Saints which was traveling to Nauvoo, Illinois via New York.

Elder Theodore Turley was chosen to preside over the group with the help of six counselors, among whom was William Clayton.36

About nine o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, September 8, 1840, the ship "North America" sailed from Liverpool with about 200 Saints on board, bound for New York. The ship was tugged out into the open sea by a steamer. Elders Young and Richards accompanied them fifteen or twenty miles and left them in good spirits.

The company had a prosperous voyage to New York, where they arrived on October 11, 1840, and from there they continued the journey to Buffalo, New York. Owing to the great expense of the journey, many of the emigrants ran short of means to complete the journey to Nauvoo. They, therefore, divided at Buffalo; a part going to settle in and around Kirtland, Ohio, while the balance
continued the journey to Nauvoo, where William Clayton arrived on November 24, 1840. 37

A very detailed account of Elder Clayton's journey and his observations from New York to Nauvoo are captured in the following letter, which the writer is quoting in its entirety so as not to lose any meaning and so the reader may share some of the personal feelings and experiences of this man.

"Nauvoo, November 29, 1840

To Edward Martin:

"And the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Penwortham. William Clayton sends greetings praying that the God of Joseph may fill you with all heavenly blessings and prepare you for the toilsome journey which he has safely brought us through; I rejoice that we have arrived at our journey's end and have the privilege of resting ourselves. Travelling is laborious work and especially at this season of the year, but notwithstanding all the difficulties and dangers through which we have had to pass we are here and we are healthy and cheerful for which we feel very thankful. If we had left England about six weeks sooner we should have had a pleasant journey. I suppose more so than any other part of the year; but it is impossible to come this distance but what the weather will be either too hot or too cold and we have had both. However the journey lies before you and although it is impossible for pen to describe to you the difficulties you will have to endure you must come or suffer the vengeance of heaven and for my part I will say that if I was in England now and had experienced all the journey it would not in the least deter me from coming for I have often found that in the greatest seasons of suffering we have the greatest cause of rejoicing and so it has been with us for when we have thought impossible even then was our happiest moments. After all this I am aware that all we have suffered is scarce a beginning to our share of the tribulations of these last days. At the time of harvest men are sent to cut down the corn and then it is drawn to the barn, afterwards threshed and last of all sifted and so it is with the harvest of men. The Lord sent His servants to
reap for he has declared that the harvest was fully ripe and we have been brought to the barn, but we have yet to be threshed and sifted and perhaps the sifting time will be the worst to endure. Then the chaff and tares will be separated from the pure grain and will be ready for burning. The kingdom of heaven is like unto a net cast into the sea, but not until it was drawn to shore was the separation of the good and bad. That grain which cannot endure the shaking between the field and the barn is in great danger of being lost in the journey and if once separated from the sheaf and care of the farmer it is in danger of being devoured by the fowls and other enemies. And they that hang down its head for fear of the toils of harvesting is of very little worth to the farmer. Those that come to this land must set their minds firm to come through all and not flinch if death should stare them in the face. The Lord calls for valiant hearted men who are not afraid to die. A company of saints who come to this land would greatly lessen their sufferings by taking care to be firmly united together for if once Satan can cause enmity or confusion it is with great difficulty that you can repair the breach especially when under such peculiar circumstances.

"We have been a kind of mixed company and this has increased our troubles some from one part of the country and some other, some have been fed a little on strong food, others but newly baptized. Some have been much whipped, others scarcely heard their duty and in such a company you may naturally suppose many things would occur to try all parties. I think another such a mixed company will not come together at least, I hope not. We have not yet suffered sufficient to make us all of one mind and wherever you go you may expect fine men as men and not as angels, and man is naturally prone to evil as the sparks fly upwards. But I need not tell you all this for you have been sufficient at home to prove to you what I have said.

"In my last letter which I hope you have received I gave you a general outline of those things which passed to the time we landed at New York. In this, I will give you a history of events since that time to the present. We tarried in New
York until Wednesday the 14th of October, during this time we moved our luggage from the ship to the steam boat Congress for West Troy about six miles beyond Albany. I had not very much privilege of inquiring into the state of things here being so much busied with our luggage. Previous to our leaving the ship the custom house officers came to examine our boxes which was soon done for they only looked at the top of the goods without examining to the bottom of our boxes. The Captain of the ship North America, told Elder Turley that he should be very glad to bring another company of the Saints over. He inquired into our principles and if we had a church in New York. Elder Turley introduced him to President Foster, who told him where they held their meetings, etc. While here we learned that Brothers Hyde and Page were in Philadelphia on their way to England. We desired to see them, but had not the privilege. Three of the brethren left New York for England the week before we arrived there. The day before we left here I received a letter from Brother John Moon directed to a brother in New York. When I read this I felt a little troubled for it stated that they were then residing in Allegheny in the State of Pennsylvania. They had nearly all been sick, but was then recovering, except Thomas, who was dead. Their calculation was to come up here in the spring. Some of them have got work about 25 miles from the family, but work was scarce. They have had a hard time of it, but not at all discouraged. This news made Thomas and Lydia sorry because they had expected to have a happy meeting at Commerce, but it was not so.

"Provisions at New York were cheap. We could have a good supper for about 6 pence or 9 pence, English money. Honey, 5 pence per pound, fruit very cheap. We left New York about 5 o'clock on the Wednesday afternoon and a delightful sight we had at this time. Seven steamboats all left the harbor at once which was a noble sight. Three or four of our company tarried at New York. One family from Macclesfield, named Mops. The brethren here were much interested in our welfare and showed great kindness towards us. We slept on board the ship until the Tuesday and this night
we slept on the steamer. We were delighted with the appearance of the country and the beautiful cities planted along the Hudson River. We arrived at Albany about half past five and at West Troy at nine on Thursday evening. At this place we tarried all night and on Friday our company divided and went on three canal boats. Two not being sufficient to carry us. We left West Troy about four o'clock, myself and Elder Turley taking the last boat. This canal is upwards of 360 miles long and is raised by a great number of locks. At the town of Lockport there are five locks together which raises the canal 60 feet. This is a stupendous work. After these locks the canal has been cut through a rock of solid stone upwards of a mile. There were many Irish men at work here. As we passed along this canal we saw many fields of corn and amongst the corn a great many large pumpkins which look very beautiful and are also good for food. We also saw hundreds of apple trees loaded with rich fruit; far superior in taste to any in England. There were scores of bushels on the ground amongst which pigs roved at large, but would not eat them. We could pick up as many as we wanted and left plenty to rot on the ground,

"Meat is cheap along this road. At one place Mr. Turley bought a sheep ready dressed for 6 shillings. We could get no very good butter and but little milk as people will not take pains to churn the milk and in many instances will not milk the cows only as they need milk. There are a great many pigs kept all along which seem to run at large.

"We passed the town of Syracuse on the 21st. At this place there is 1000 bushels of salt made per day. On Thursday the 22nd, Mr. Turley and myself left the boat which our folks were in and took the packet boat in order to overtake the other two which was a long way before us on account of our boat not sailing on the Sunday, because the owner was religious. I was some amused at some things which I saw on the packet boat. One is the servants who wait at table are all dressed like ladies and eat at the same table as their master. The richest kind of food is served in these places and at every
meal as much fresh meat of different kinds as you can eat.

"We came in sight of the Erie River about three in the afternoon of Friday. Here I was surprised to see the great mountains of sand drifted along the coast on lake Erie. We had a strong wind to encounter and in one place our boat was driven on shore and some of the passengers thrown down by the shock. We arrived at Buffalo about six o'clock in the evening. We passed one boat near to Buffalo. The other had arrived in the morning. We had purposed to go to the Niagara Falls as we were then only about six miles distant, but these boats being come in we could not have the privilege.

"On the morrow we went to engage a steamboat for Chicago, but quickly found that there was only one boat intending to go there at that time. This being the case we had no privilege of going for any less than the ordinary fare which was something more than $2.00 besides luggage. At this we felt troubled because it was double the price we expected to go for. The other boat did not arrive until Sunday noon. The weather at this time began to blow very cold and we had a considerable fall of snow. Some of the company went directly on board the steamboat and lodged there for a few nights. The others went into a warehouse to lodge. On the Saturday, Elder Turley made some more inquiry concerning the fare, but found it impossible to get to Chicago for less than $2.00 each person and half price for children. This was an important crisis. Many of the Company was almost destitute of money and some destitute of both meat and money and could get no farther. There was not sufficient means to be had in the Company to take the whole and consequently some must remain at Buffalo. This was truly an affecting scene, but could not be avoided. At this time Elder Turley was almost heartbroken on account of having to leave some of the Company and as it was in former times, when he could see no way open the Lord made His kindness manifest and sent deliverance, whilst he was enunciating upon our situation, brother Kellog the presiding elder
at Kirtland passed by him. Brother Turley knew him and stopped him. They had a season of rejoicing together and Brother Turley told him the whole of our situation. Brother Kellog immediately offered to take either the whole or part of the Company to Kirtland, which is not very far from Buffalo. Here was our deliverance. The Company began to rejoice and all went off well. A privilege was then given to all who chose to go to Kirtland and those who could go through to Commerce.

"Amongst those who went to Kirtland was George Slater and family from Penwortham. Many are those who went to Manchester. The Greenhaugh's concluded to remain in Buffalo a little season until they can get means to move themselves. They have money offered them to go on, but they preferred working themselves through. We felt considerable at parting with this part of our company yet we knew that all was well. We have since seen that it was right, they went to Kirtland. We went on board the steamboat, Illinois, but could not leave Buffalo at that time on account of the rough weather. It was very wet and cold and we had considerable snow storms. About seven o'clock on Thursday morning, October 29th, we left Buffalo and notwithstanding the bad weather we proceeded rapidly on Lake Erie. We called at Fairport partly on account of the storm and partly to take in wood for fire. (There are scarcely any coals burned here.) We were then only about eleven miles from Kirtland. I had a great desire to go and see the house of the Lord, but could not. In a few hours we started again. We had some pleasant sailing up the Lakes after the wind abated. We saw many hundreds of wild ducks, especially upon the lake Saint Clare. We arrived at Chicago about half past one A.M., Wednesday, November 4th. At this place same day we engaged wagons to Dixonville about 110 miles from Chicago. I might have said that on the steamboat we had to sleep near to the engine where passengers were continually passing night and day almost. We laid our bed on boxes, but had so little room that often our feet was intruding beyond the bed and lay bare. It was not pleasant, but we could not help it.
Sometimes we were almost suffocated with heat at other times almost starved with cold. The vessel was crowded with passengers and some of them of a coarse kind. We left Chicago same day about three o'clock P. M. Our family and William Poole's occupied three teams at $5.00 per team. First day we traveled about 12 miles across a dreadful prairie. We were delighted with its appearance. We called at an Inn or Tavern. Here we had to make a fire in the wood and cook and eat out of doors. We had the privilege of sleeping in the tavern upon the floor, but as we had expected our beds at Chicago to lighten the wagons we found the soft side of the boards very hard for the first time. However we slept pretty well for we had been much fatigued during the day. We arose in the morning before daylight, made our fire out of doors and got a comfortable breakfast. The oatmeal we brought from England came in well. We arrived at Dixon-ville about three o'clock on Saturday afternoon, some of the Company did not arrive until Sunday. During this journey we cooked our victuals out of doors. At noon we had only one hour allowed us to cook and eat dinner; but in this time we made a fire, washed up pots, peeled potatoes and boiled them and fried our beef and ate our dinner ready for starting at the hours end. Old Lydia was about as active and cheerful as anyone of us. Although we were thus situated I assure you we were happy and cheerful. At Dixon we engaged an empty house to sleep in. There was no fireplace in the house, consequently we had to cook out of doors. The weather was cold, but in other respects favorable. About ten besides children slept in the same house. At this place as well as all along the way from Chicago the natives manifested a great desire for our young women to remain with them, but at Dixon the whole company was desired to tarry and settle with them. Here we purchased a boat bottom and in a few days had it ready for sailing. During the time we remained at Dixon we had to sleep on our boxes and often the sides of a box made our bones ache, but the more we suffered the more cheerful we appeared. On Friday the 15th, we went on board our boat and loaded our boxes. On the morrow we sailed down Rock River from
Commerce. On the 20th, we passed the rapids. Here many of us got out to walk in order to lighten the boat. Amongst the number who walked was old Lydia and Thomas. We had to walk quick. Some of the time Thomas carried my daughter Sarah, who is very fat and heavy. I was some behind watching the progress of the boat, but just when I was overtaking them I saw Thomas put Sarah to walk he being tired. Old Lydia something like a young woman seized Sarah in her arms and started off a quick pace. I was considerably amused at this, but went to her relief. I mention this to show that the journey has done the old folks no harm. Same day we entered the Mississippi River. On Saturday the 21st we had to camp in the woods there being no houses near. We had fixed our tent over a few boxes and 14 of us slept several nights in a place about 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) yards long and about 4 feet broad. We had not room to lay down and scarce room to sit. We could not stretch out our legs which caused them to ache some. This seemed a hard fare and it was about the worst of all our journey. One night it rained exceeding heavy and the rain ran through the tent and wet us through. We could not take off our wet clothes, but let them dry on our backs. My wife and her mother were about the worst wet. Some of the time the frost was so severe that our tent was quite stiff and we could scarce cook our victuals at all. On this night (the 21st) Elder Turley addressed the saints while camped in the woods and it was a time long to be remembered. Some spoke in tongues and William Poole interpreted. On Sunday night we called at a tavern and as we expected landing we washed and cleaned ourselves and changed our clothes. We got stuck fast on a tree on Monday which hindered us some and we did not arrive that night but stopped about 9 or 10 miles from home.

"In the morning myself and several others left the boat and went across the country to Commerce where we arrived about noon, the boat arrived about 2 o'clock. We had not sailed in the night on account of islands and trees which lay in the river and make it dangerous to navigate. We were near 11 days on this boat during which time
I never had my clothes off, neither had William Poole and he and myself was laid down only a few nights during this time and then our bed was not feathers, but hay. Our families slept on boards having the empty beds under them. The weather was exceeding cold, but preserved us and we arrived in Commerce well and joyful.

"A committee had been formed to provide accommodations for us when we arrived. William Poole's family and our family are living together in a very small house on the banks of the great Mississippi River. We were 11 weeks and about 11 hours between starting from Liverpool and landing at this place. The first person I met with whom I knew was Sister Jamer from Manchester. They left England last May and arrived here the Friday before we did. They were 6 months on the way and suffered much. Soon after I found Brother Francis Moon and family and Sutons from Longton living in a house which Francis has built since their arrival. I have seen Brother Moss from Preston and Brother Moore from Bolton. The Saints here are poor on account of being driven; but their numbers are rapidly increasing. There are houses now for 4 or 5 miles round, all occupied by saints. There has a great number arrived during the past winter. I have not been to visit any of the folks yet on account of being so busy arranging our house and making a little furniture. We use our boxes for chairs and tables and clothes chest and joiner bench. We sleep in straw beds being without bedsteads. Thomas and old Lydia are sleeping on a bed of oak leaves and they like it well. They say it is very easy. We are perfectly satisfied with the appearance of things here and we have abundance of proofs that Joseph Smith Junior is what he pretends to be, viz. a Prophet of the most high God and this is the work of God and will roll forth to the ends of the earth and the Lord will gather His people. Let us not be discouraged. Tribulation will not hurt us for although we have been tossed and exposed so much, old Lydia Moon says she is better than she has ever been for the past 15 years. She is not troubled with rheumatism but looks considerable younger and more active than when we left England. Sister Mary Ware is
grown very fat and healthy and so it is with nearly all of us. Myself is fatter than I ever was in my life and far more healthy. In fact and in short all is well, and I hope we shall soon see our dear brothers and sisters from England in this place. We will have a happy meeting some day. We have not yet determined where we shall settle, but probably on the other side of the river in the Iowa Territory.

"The land is exceeding rich, wild grapes grow in great abundance. Also nuts of many kinds. Peaches, citrus, pumpkins, squashes and good potatoes. We buy sugar at 5 pence per pound and honey same price, molasses 2 pence per pound, potatoes 2 shillings per bushel, flour 20 shillings per 200 pounds, cornmeal 1/4 per bushel, beef about three half pence per pound. We make our own candles and soon we shall make our own soap. We can get no milk scarce as it is winter season and people here only milk their cows when they want a little milk. Clothing is very coarse and dear and it will pay well to bring it from England. You can buy a pair of boots in New York or Buffalo for about 16 shillings. All kinds of iron works are near here and if I had to come again I would bring a good set of joiners tools along with me and it would pay for carriage. You must make your boxes very strong say inch boards well put together. Have them measured that 3 would make a bed if needed. I would make them about 4 foot long or nearly and 2 foot 6 inches broad and 2 foot deep. With regard to the care etc., in the journey I would say the less luggage you have the less toil you will have, but when you get them here they will pay for all the toil. I suppose the highest price would not cost you more than about 2 pence for the carriage and that would be saved in a few articles. A hand saw for instance will cost about 10 or 12 shillings here and other things in proportion. We brought considerable of pots and I am glad we did for they will pay for carriage. They are scarce in this region. Ours carried well being packed tight together with hay. Save all your working clothes or else get new before you come that is if you can, but neither let clothes nor goods detain you from coming. The sooner you get the journey over the better. I would
advise all the women to get either linen or cotton trousers and flannel peticoats to keep them warm for the weather is extremely cold in winter and exceeding hot in summer. A suit of cotton cloth or something very thin would be highly beneficial for now. Remember all these things are dear here. I think they will be cheaper in a few years. It is folly to bring strong shoes with nails in from England they are of little use here all the men wear boots with no nails in them. There is no stone pavements or hard wood and in wet weather you would often find yourself more than once deep in mud. I have only seen 2 or 3 pair of shoes except Englishmen had them. Stockings and worsted are valuable and so is print. Howsoever I will say a few words more concerning our health. Old Thomas has not had one day bad health since we left England, except a little seasickness. Margaret Moon is grown fatter, her clothes are growing small too. Sister Mary Ware has grown so very fat that all her best dresses are very much too little, she has only one that she can wear the others she cannot get on. Yesterday I had to take my pen knife and cut her new shirt sleeves (which her sister made) open for they had made her arms almost black. She is indeed a fat lump and has to keep going from house to house when she has time to sing for the saints. A hymn which I composed on the ship has to be sung almost everytime she goes out. Brother William Poole is at work for a farmer about 10 miles from here. He is grown so fat that all his clothes are too little. His wife also is very healthy, fat and cheerful. She seems to be well and has lost her rheumatism. My wife and children are well at present. My youngest child has been poorly with her health. We are all about as merry as we dare be and would be glad to see you all here too our circumstance more. The best brandy is 3 shillings a quart here. And at any of the taverns you may pour your own glass of anything for about 2 pence. Yet I have only seen about 3 drunken men since I arrived in America. I have heard of 3 I did not see. I may sober people but very much inclined to impose upon strangers as they are traveling. Fresh meat is so cheap and plentiful that some of our folks are already through
of it. Last night many of us was in company with Brother Joseph. Our hearts rejoiced to hear him speak of the things of the Kingdom, he is an affectionate man and as familiar as any of us. We feel to love him much and so will you. I must close for the present and I have not half done. Write to me often and direct W. Clayton, Nauvoo or Commerce either, Hancock Co., Illinois. I have this day had a letter from John Moon, they are in ------ they have suffered much, Elder Kimball's wife received a letter from him on Friday last. I wish I could tell you all I want to do, but I must close.

Yours as ever,

William Clayton\(^{39}\)

With this we bring down the curtain on the first phase of the life of William Clayton as a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
CHAPTER II

WILLIAM CLAYTON: CITIZEN OF NAUVOO, ILLINOIS, 1840-46

In a New Land

During the fall of 1838, a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, by the name of Israel Barlow, left the State of Missouri because of the exterminating order of Governor Boggs. He took a different route than many of the other members of his faith and instead traveled in a northeasterly direction. Eventually he came to the Des Moines River, a short distance above its mouth, in the Territory of Iowa. Arriving here, he was destitute of clothing and without food. The people of the locality kindly supplied him with food and raiment and sympathetically listened to his story of persecution and bloodshed. His listeners gave him several letters of introduction to prominent men; one of the letters being to Dr. Isaac Galland. Galland was a gentleman of some influence and lived at Commerce, Illinois. This was a small settlement on the banks of the Mississippi River and soon developed into the Mormon community of Nauvoo.

Dr. Galland owned considerable land in the area of Commerce and wrote to the Saints, giving them the opportunity of renting or buying it. During the spring of 1839 several large purchases were made and the foundation for Nauvoo was laid.

Later, when referring to the purchase of the lands around Commerce, the Prophet Joseph said:

"The place was literally a wilderness. The land was mostly covered with trees and bushes, and much of it was so wet that it was with the utmost difficulty that a footman could get through, and totally impossible for teams. Commerce was unhealthy, very few could live there; believing that
it might become a healthy place by the blessing of heaven to the Saints, and no more eligible place presenting itself, I considered it wisdom to make an attempt to build up a city."

Under the direction of Joseph Smith, the swampy land was drained and a new city laid out. The Prophet proposed that the name of the city be changed to "Nauvoo," a Hebrew word signifying "a beautiful place" and "a place of rest."

As we have previously stated in the former chapter, William Clayton arrived in Nauvoo, November 24, 1840. Some six weeks following his arrival, Joseph Smith stated that the population of the city was increasing with unparalleled rapidity, numbering more than 3,000 inhabitants. He further mentioned that every facility was afforded in the city and adjacent country for the successful development of the mechanical arts and the pleasing pursuits of agriculture.

Just three weeks following the arrival of Clayton, the Governor of Illinois signed the bill putting the Nauvoo Charter into effect. This was signed on December 16th, 1840 and literally created a "city state" in Nauvoo by giving it, among other privileges, broad judicial powers, a city militia, and a municipal university system.

During the next six years, William Clayton would see the city increase to become the largest in the state of Illinois. He would see beautiful homes erected and a million dollar house of worship raised up in the center of the city.

No record has been found as to how long William and his family, which now consisted of his wife, Ruth Moon and two daughters, Sarah three years and Margaret one year, remained in the city of Nauvoo after their arrival from England. It appears that they were only here until suitable housing could be found. The housing was found in the Zarabemla Stake, located on the Iowa side of the Mississippi River.

After the Saints were driven from Missouri, a large number of them settled in the southeastern portion of the Territory of Iowa. They built up the
communities of Montrose, Zarahemla, Ambrosia, Augusta, Keokuk, and Nashville. In 1839 a Stake of Zion had been organized in Iowa, with John Smith as its president.  

William continued his activity in the Church after arriving in the new land, for on Saturday, April 24, 1841, the High Council of the Iowa Stake selected him to be a member of the council in place of Erastus Snow. He served as a regular member of the council until July 12th of the same year, when he was appointed as the clerk of the same group.

During the latter part of 1841, William Clayton was privileged to witness the dedication of the font in the Nauvoo Temple. This was done on November 8, 1841 at five o'clock in the evening, by the Prophet Joseph Smith. This font was a temporary wooden tank, sixteen by twelve, and four feet deep, constructed of narrow strips of pine and placed on the backs of twelve life-sized oxen. Elijah Fordham and his assistants had spent eight months carving the oxen out of pine planks, which had been glued together. Of this occasion, Elder Clayton writes:

"... After the dedication Brother Reuben McBride was the first person baptized, under direction of the President.

"Brother Samuel Rolfe, who was seriously afflicted with a felon upon one of his hands, was present. President Joseph instructed him to wash in the font and told him that the hand would be healed. The doctors had told him to have his hand cut. He dipped his hand in the font, and within a week he was perfectly healed."  

A Clerk in the Church

Now that the baptismal font had been dedicated and placed into use, it was necessary for Joseph Smith to appoint a permanent recorder for the temple. This appointment was given to Elder Willard Richards on December 13, 1841. He was to be recorder for the Nauvoo Temple and scribe for the private office of the President. Elder Richards opened his office in the counting room of President
Joseph's new brick store on Water Street, and he immediately began to record the tithings in "The Book of the Law of the Lord."\(^8\) The first entry was made under the date of December 1, 1841. It was: "One gold sovereign, valued at $5.00, to the credit of John Sanders, late from Cumberland, on the borders of Scotland, Europe."\(^9\)

A short time previous to this, Joseph had been appointed "Sole Trustee-in-Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints";\(^10\) and it then became his responsibility to receive all the donations for the Church and the Temple. When these new instructions were understood by the Saints, the business of the recorder increased rapidly, and having many important matters crowding upon him, he found it necessary to appoint Saturday of each week as the time for receiving and recording the tithes of the Church. He published a notice under the date of January 12, 1842, informing the membership of the new regulation.\(^11\)

Business increased so rapidly, however, that Elder Richards could not keep pace with the work. He then counseled with his brethren of the Quorum of the Twelve and after receiving permission from President Smith, he called Elder William Clayton to assist him. Elder Clayton accordingly entered the recorder's office on the 10th day of February, 1842, and remained as an assistant to Willard Richards until June 29th of the same year. Under this date, the Prophet Joseph writes: "My clerk, Willard Richards, being about to leave me for a season, committed the business of my office to Elder William Clayton..."\(^12\)

William, himself, says of this appointment:

"After Elder Richards started east I was necessarily thrown constantly into the company of President Smith, having to attend to his public and private business, receiving and recording tithings and donations, attending to land and other matters of business. During this period I necessarily became well acquainted with Emma Smith, the wife of the Prophet Joseph, and also with the children--Julia M. (an adopted daughter), Joseph, Frederick, and Alexander, very much of the business being
transacted at the residence of the Prophet.

"On the 7th of October, 1842, in the presence of Bishop Newel K. Whitney and his wife Elizabeth Ann, President Joseph Smith appointed me Temple Recorder, and also his private clerk, placing all records, books, papers, etc., in my care, and requiring me to take charge of and preserve them, his closing words being, 'When I have any revelations to write, you are the one to write them.'

"During this period the Prophet Joseph frequently visited my house in my company, and became well acquainted with my wife Ruth."

In the capacity of private clerk to Joseph Smith, William had many interesting experiences and helped to make the history of this period. When John C. Bennett, ex-Mayor of Nauvoo, wrote the confession of his immoral actions, William supplied him with the paper, pen and ink. This article, which Bennett wrote, appears in the eleventh number of the Wasp, an early paper of Nauvoo.

One of the early official duties of Elder Clayton in this capacity as recorder and clerk was to run the following notice in the Wasp:

**STRAYED**

From the enclosure of the Trustee in Trust, a large red ox, about 8 years old, the tithing of Dr. Lenox M. Knight; any person who will secure and return him to the recorder's office shall have our thanks, and will add so much to his own interest in the building of the Temple.

JOSEPH SMITH, Trustee

Wm. Clayton, Clerk
Nauvoo, July 8th, 1842

Another clerical position presented to Clayton at this time, was that of secretary pro tem, for the Nauvoo Masonic Lodge.

The Masonic Lodge met in the upstairs of Joseph Smith's store, so the new secretary had only to walk a few steps from his place of work to the lodge meeting place.
William loved to write letters and all his life he kept in contact with his friends abroad and at home. His letters are very descriptive and today are some of the best sources we have of life in the early days of the Church. (The following letter, which is no exception, gives us a picture of the conditions in Nauvoo in 1842, as well as Elder Clayton's personal feelings in regard to the Prophet Joseph Smith.) The letter was sent to his friend, William Hardman, in England, and was printed in the August 1, 1842 edition of the Millenial Star.

"Dear William, -- My heart rejoices while I write to inform you that, on Sunday evening last, the steamer Ariel landed at Nauvoo, loaded with Saints from England. About five o'clock the boat was seen coming up the river, the whole deck crowded with Saints. I went to the landing place along with Elder John Taylor, his wife, and others.

As we went along, we were delighted and astonished to see the number of Saints on their way to meet the boat. When we arrived, the scene was affecting; I could not refrain from weeping. I looked round, and I suppose there was not less than from two to three thousand Saints on the shore, all anxiously interested in the scene. Many were there who wanted to give the strangers (yet brothers) a hearty welcome; others waiting to ascertain if any former acquaintance was in the company--myself amongst the number; and many, whose hearts throbbed with joy, and their eyes wept tears, expecting to see their mothers, fathers, their children, and other relatives. While all this bustle was going on shore, the boat was now within three hundred yards, coming directly for the shore; the confusion was so great I could but faintly hear those on the boat singing a hymn (I believe, "The Latter-day Glory.")

"At this period my heart almost melted, the boat moving majestically, every head stretched out, and all eyes gazing with intensity. A few moments more and the boat was landed; and the joyful acclamations and responding welcome would have made a heart of stone acknowledge, that whether there was any religion or not, there was
a great quantity of love—the purest essence of religion. I soon recognized Sister Davies from Cookson-street, Manchester, and a Sister Martha who lived with them; also James Burges and family, Richard Hardman and family, Rbt. Williams and wife and several others whom I knew. They soon discovered me and we quickly felt each other's hand, and had a time of rejoicing together. Teams were soon in waiting to carry their luggage to houses until arrangements could be made for their final accommodation. The company were in good health and spirits.

"Amongst the number who went to see them land, I mention President Joseph Smith, B. Young, Willard Richards, John Taylor, of the twelve; and many others in high standing, although the distance was nearly two miles.

"Now, dear William, let me say I am neither dead, sick, nor dissatisfied, but am rejoicing to hear from my old friends. My faith in this doctrine, and in the prophet and officers is firm, unshaken, and unmoved; nay, rather, it is strengthened and settled firmer than ever.

"You say you are almost wearied with the lies, etc. This is what we must expect in these days, for this is a lying and wicked generation; even many, in whom we may have great confidence, when we see them brought into trial, give way to an evil spirit. Old Mr. B-- and daughter, like many others, were assailed by the apostate crews, who lay scattered on the banks of the river; and all manner of evil reports were sounded in their ears, until they became discouraged; and, finally, almost denied the faith before they came near Nauvoo.

"People coming here with their minds thus prejudiced, will naturally construe every thing they see and hear into evil, and will imagine evil where there is none. In this state the B--ton family came, and were something like spies, afraid to be spoken to by any one, lest they should be ensnared, and especially afraid to meet Joseph Smith, lest he should want their money. After remaining a short time here, they went back to
Warsaw, where some of the greatest enemies re-
side, and I am sorry to say, have joined in the 
general clamour and business of circulating evil 
reports, some of which I, MYSELF KNOW POSI-
TIVELY TO BE FALSE.

"For me to write any thing concerning the
character of President Joseph Smith would be 
superfluous. All evil reports concerning him, I 
treat with utter contempt, but because I esteem
you highly as a friend and brother, I will say a 
few words on this subject. Joseph Smith is not 
the 'treasurer for all the Saints,' and has no more 
to do with their money than you or me; every man 
just does what he pleases with his money, and
neither Joseph, nor any other of the officers,
ever attempt to control any one, or their property
either.

"The church have appointed Joseph Smith 
trustee, in trust for the church, and as such, upon
him devolves the important duties of buying lands,
that the Saints may have somewhere to gather, and
he is responsible for the payment for these lands.
How can he do this without means? If those who
have money will not assist by purchasing lands
from Joseph Smith, and paying him money for it,
how is the church to be built up, and what is to
become of the thousands of poor who are contin-
ually pouring in from all quarters?

"With regard to J. Smith getting drunk, I
will say that I am now acting as clerk for him,
and at his office daily, and have been since Febru-
ary 10th, and I know he is as much opposed to the
use of intoxicating drinks as any man need be. I
have never seen him drunk, nor have I ever heard
any man who has seen him drunk since we came
here. I believe he does not take intoxicating drink
of any kind; our city is conducted wholly upon tem-
perance principles. As to his using snuff and to-
bacco, I know he does no such thing. To conclude,
I will add that, the more I am with him, the more
I love him; the more I know of him, and the more
confidence I have in him; and I am sorry that
people should give heed to evil reports concerning
him, when we all know the great service he has
rendered the church."
Personal Friend to Joseph Smith

On the evening of May 6, 1842, while at his home at Independence, Missouri, ex-Governor Boggs was shot and wounded by a would-be assassin. Two and one-half months later, July 20th, Boggs, being determined to secure the Mormon Prophet, issued orders for the arrest of Joseph Smith and Orrin Porter Rockwell. The ex-governor claimed that Joseph Smith had hired Rockwell to do the shooting. During the time of this trouble, Joseph was forced to hide on an island in the Mississippi River.

While the Prophet was in hiding, William Clayton was his constant visitor. For example, the journal entry of Joseph for August 12, 1842, states:

"At night William Clayton and John D. Parker left Nauvoo after dark and came to see me, and found me cheerful and in good spirits."

On another occasion, when sending instructions back to Nauvoo, he said:

"Let . . . Brother Clayton come along, and bring all the writings, and papers, books and histories, for we shall want a scribe in order that we may pour upon the world the truth like the lava from Mount Vesuvius."20

During the evening of August 11th, a small group journeyed out to meet him. Several days later, when recording the event, he says:

"My heart was overjoyed as I took the faithful band by the hand, that stood upon the shore, one by one. William Law, William Clayton, Dimick B. Huntington, George Miller were there. The above names constituted the little group.

"I do not think to mention the particulars of the history of that sacred night, which shall forever be remembered by me; but the names of the faithful are what I wish to record in this place. These I have met in prosperity, and they were my friends; and I now meet them in adversity, and they are still my warmer friends. These love the God that I serve; they love the truths that I
promulgate; they love those virtuous, and those holy doctrines that I cherish in my bosom with the warmest feelings of my heart, and with that zeal which cannot be denied. I love friendship and truth; I love virtue and law; I love the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; and they are my brethren, and I shall live; and because I live they shall live also.21

At the height of the trouble, Emma Smith, the wife of Joseph, wrote a letter to Governor Carlin of Illinois, pleading with him to have the charges of attempted murder against her husband dropped. William Clayton was selected to carry the letter to Carlin, who at the time was at Quincy. On Friday, August 19, 1842, he personally presented Emma's letter to the governor.22 Carlin read the letter, and was very much impressed with it, but took no action. One month later William, himself, wrote a long letter to Governor Carlin, showing the Missouri persecution, and the Prophet Joseph's sufferings in their true colors.23 Although William was very earnest in his labors, it appears that neither letter had much effect on the governor and no action was taken until January of the following year, when Illinois received a new governor.

Again, on December 9th, William Clayton, in company with Willard Richards, Henry G. Sherwood, Peter Haws, Heber C. Kimball, Alpheus Cutler, and Reynolds Cahoon, journeyed to Springfield to appeal Joseph's case before Governor Carlin. It took them until December 17th to make the journey.24 When circumstances permitted Joseph appearing for trial, it was William Clayton and Henry G. Sherwood who obtained the writ of habeas corpus for the Prophet.25 Joseph finally came to trial on January 6, 1843, before the District Court of Illinois, which was convened in Nauvoo. William was among the witnesses that stated they had been with the Prophet in Nauvoo on the night of May 6, 1842, when the attempt on Boggs' life took place.26 The following day, Joseph was discharged from his arrest. For a brief period of six months, he was to enjoy comparative peace.
In celebration of the aforementioned victory, Joseph Smith and his wife held a special dinner party at their home on Wednesday morning, January 15th, at which many of the prominent men of Nauvoo and their wives were present. Elder Clayton was among the guests invited to the party.27

At a special meeting of October 1, 1842, held at the home of Joseph Smith, it was decided that the office of the temple recorder should be moved to a lot near the temple for the better accommodation of the business. At the same meeting, the wage for William Clayton was set at two dollars per day for his services.

Accordingly, the temple committee built a small brick office for the recorder and on Wednesday, November 2nd, William moved his records, books, and papers into the new office and there he set up business.28

On February 11, 1843, William was elected to his first political office. On this date, the city council elected him as the treasurer for the City of Nauvoo.29 This position was to help prepare him for further public office in the Territory of Utah. His salary for the new position was to be two percent of all he collected and he could collect it semi-annually.30 One has to admit that this procedure would motivate the treasurer to see that the bills were paid.

If one would turn to the Journal of Joseph Smith and read his entries during the months of January and March of 1843, he would see that Joseph spent much time with William Clayton in business matters. They were continually taking rides in and around Nauvoo to examine property or to visit with members. No doubt, William had many serious and intimate conversations with the Prophet as they would ride across the prairie outside of Nauvoo.

At the April Conference of the Church, held in Nauvoo in 1843, an incident took place that shows something of the serious and strict personality of William Clayton. During the conference, the Temple Committee was called up for trial. Clayton stated that Elder Elias Higbee had not been taking
care of his duties on the temple as he should. He stated that Higbee had spent too much money and that his sons had been paid from the temple funds, but one son had not paid any tithing. William also felt that the Temple Committee was using too much money.

Patriarch Hyrum Smith then came to the defense of the committee and stated he would sooner go to "hell!" than be a committee-man, because of their great and difficult job. It was finally put to a vote and the conference cleared Elder Higbee unanimously. 31

Early in the history of the Church, even as early as 1831, the Prophet Joseph Smith received instructions in regard to the plurality of wives. The doctrine revealed at that time to the Prophet, however, was not to be made known to the world; but Joseph did make known what had been revealed to him to a few trusted friends. About 1840, the Prophet began to make known the doctrine to others. He taught the principle to Joseph Bates Noble, for one, as early as the fall of 1840. 32

The first time that William Clayton was approached regarding the subject of plural marriage, was by the Prophet sometime during the month of February 1843. At this time he stated that it was William's privilege to take more than one wife and that he was at that time married to several other women besides Emma.

After this introduction, the conversations on the subject of plural marriage became very frequent between Joseph and William, and two months later Clayton was married to his first plural wife. The marriage took place at the residence of Elder Heber C. Kimball, on the 27th of April, 1843. At this time, William Clayton was married to Margaret Moon, by the Prophet Joseph Smith, for time and eternity. 33

Four days later, on May 1st, William returned the compliment to Joseph Smith by marrying the Prophet Joseph Smith to Lucy Walker, at the Prophet's residence. 34 During this time, Joseph took several other wives and, according to Clayton, Emma treated them very kindly.
Further instructions were given to William on May 16th, at the home of William G. Perkins, at Ramus, Illinois. During the conversation of the evening, Joseph Smith put his hand on the knee of William and said:

"Your life is hid with Christ in God, and so are many others. Nothing but the unpardonable sin can prevent you from inheriting eternal life for you are sealed up by the power of the Priesthood unto eternal life, having taken the step necessary for that purpose.

"Except a man and his wife enter into an everlasting covenant and be married for eternity, while in this probation, by the power and authority of the Holy Priesthood, they will cease to increase when they die; that is, they will not have any children after the resurrection. But those who are married by the power and authority of the Priesthood in this life, and continue without committing the sin against the Holy Ghost, will continue to increase and have children in the celestial glory. The unpardonable sin is to shed innocent blood, or be accessory thereto. All other sins will be visited with judgment in the flesh, and the spirit being delivered to the buffetings of Satan until the day of the Lord Jesus.

"The way I know in whom to confide--God tells me in whom I may place confidence.

"In the celestial glory there are three heavens or degrees; and in order to obtain the highest, a man must enter into this order of the priesthood, and if he does not, he cannot obtain it. He may enter into the other, but that is the end of his kingdom: he cannot have an increase."

On the morning of the 12th of July, 1843, Joseph and Hyrum Smith came into the office in Joseph's store. They were talking on the subject of plural marriage. Hyrum said to Joseph, "If you will write the revelation on the subject of plural marriage, I will take and read it to Emma, and I believe I can convince her of its truth..." Joseph smiled and remarked, "You do not know Emma as well as I do." Hyrum was still sure that he could convince her. Joseph then said,
"Well, I will write the revelation and we will see," he then requested William Clayton to get paper and prepare to write. Hyrum urged Joseph to write the revelation by means of the Urim and Thummim, but Joseph stated he did not need to, for he knew the revelation perfectly from beginning to end. 36

Joseph and Hyrum then sat down and Joseph commenced to dictate the revelation on celestial marriage. William wrote it, sentence by sentence, as he dictated. After the whole was written, Joseph asked him to read it through, slowly and carefully, which he did;—after which Joseph pronounced it to be correct. Joseph then remarked that there was much more that could be written on the subject, but what was written was sufficient for the present.

Hyrum then took the revelation to Emma, who became very resentful and angry. When he returned to the office, Joseph quietly remarked, "I told you you did not know Emma as well as I did." 37

The forementioned revelation, which was written by William Clayton, appears today as Section 132 in the book of Doctrine and Covenants.

Not all of William Clayton's relationships with Joseph Smith during this period were taken up with the discussion of the new marriage covenant, as Clayton himself tells of an important event in LDS history which he had the opportunity of experiencing.

This event took place in Carthage, Illinois, on May 18, 1843. At this time, the Mormon Prophet, in company with Clayton, had the opportunity of dining with Stephen A. Douglas, a prominent lawyer and judge of Illinois. Douglas is the same individual who not many years hence would defeat Abraham Lincoln in a race for Senator of the United States, but would be defeated by Lincoln in 1860 for the national presidential seat.

Douglas was presiding at the court in Carthage at this time and following dinner, he requested President Smith to give him a history of the Missouri persecutions, which was done for a period of
about three hours. Joseph also gave an account of his journey to Washington and his experience with President Martin Van Buren.

At the conclusion of the conversation, Joseph unexpectedly predicted:

"Judge you will aspire to the Presidency of the United States, and if ever you turn your hand against me or the Latter-day Saints, you will live to see and know that I have testified the truth to you, for the conversation of this day will stick to you through life."38

We have previously mentioned that Joseph Smith was to enjoy a brief period of peace from his persecutors. This all came to an end on June 13, 1843, when John C. Bennett, one time friend of the Prophet and first Mayor of Nauvoo, joined the Missouri forces. He had since been excommunicated from the Church for unscrupulous and immoral actions, and held great bitterness towards the Prophet for exposing him.

On the above mentioned date, a secret requisition was made to Governor Ford on the same old charges of the attempted assassination of ex-Governor Boggs. A writ was issued, and two Missouri officers, disguised as Mormon Elders, were appointed to serve it. The day before Governor Ford issued the warrant for Joseph's apprehension, he incidentally mentioned to Judge James Adams that a requisition had been made by Missouri for the arrest of Joseph. As soon as Judge Adams heard of this, he sent an express message to Nauvoo informing them of the plot. Joseph was not in Nauvoo when the warning arrived, on the evening of June 18th, as he had left with his family several days earlier for Dixon, Lee County, Illinois, to visit with Emma's sister, Mrs. Wasson.

On the arrival of the messenger from Judge Adams, Hyrum Smith sent William Clayton and Stephen Markham as fast as possible to inform the Prophet. Markham had $250 and Clayton borrowed $200. They left Nauvoo about twelve-thirty that night and proceeded toward La Harpe, Illinois. They arrived at the Wasson home sixty-six hours later, after riding two-hundred and twelve miles
and they changed horses only once.

Joseph told them not to be alarmed and said: "I have no fear, I shall not leave here; I shall find friends, and Missourians cannot hurt me, I tell you in the name of Israel's God." 40

The Prophet sent Clayton into Dixon about 10:00 A.M., on the 23rd of June, to find out what was going on there. He met Joseph H. Reynolds, the sheriff of Jackson County, Missouri, and Constable Harmon T. Wilson of Carthage, Illinois, about half way, but they being disguised, he did not know them. After they arrived at Dixon, they represented themselves as Mormon Elders who wanted to see the Prophet. They then hired a man and team to carry them, as they had run their horses almost to death. 41

The officers arrived at Wasson's and found Joseph walking down a path leading to the barn. They sprang upon him and immediately made him a prisoner. Without permitting him to say "good-by" to his wife, Emma, who was in the house, they rushed him away to Dixon.

Stephen Markham, who had been present at the arrest, had not been idle. He had secured a warrant for the arrest of Reynolds and Wilson for threatening his own life and that of Joseph. The men would not obtain bondsmen, so they were arrested and placed in the custody of the county sheriff. It was a very unusual situation--Joseph Smith in the custody of Reynolds and Wilson, while they in turn were in the custody of the sheriff of Lee County.

Meanwhile, William Clayton had returned to Nauvoo to inform Hyrum and the main body of the Church as to what had happened. He traveled from Dixon to Rock Island by hired horse and buggy, where he boarded the steamer "Amaranth" for Nauvoo. After hearing the report, Hyrum went out on the public square and held a meeting and relayed William's message to the assembled crowd. He then called for a company of volunteers to go to Joseph's assistance and nearly 300 men came forth. 42 Hyrum selected about 175 of them and started for Dixon.
Back in Dixon, Sheriff Campbell had decided that Joseph should be returned to Quincy for a competent trial; however, Joseph finally convinced them that Nauvoo would be a better location. The party was proceeding to that place when the first detachment of volunteers was met. Joseph then remarked, "Well, I guess I won't go to Missouri this time. These are my boys." The Prophet was then led triumphantly into Nauvoo, where a large banquet was prepared and he honored his two "captors" and gave thanks to those that had assisted in his delivery; William Clayton having played a very important part.

In connection with the above incident, it might be well to mention that during the month of May, of the following year, William Clayton and Stephen Markham went back to Dixon to appear as witnesses in the trial of "Joseph Smith v. Joseph H. Reynolds and Harmon T. Wilson." Charges for false imprisonment and using unnecessary force and violence in arresting Joseph were made. The jury of Lee County awarded Joseph $40.00 damages and the costs against Joseph H. Reynolds and Harmon T. Wilson for illegal imprisonment and abuse. 43

The last night of Elder Clayton's stay at Dixon was spent in a religious argument with two men. He states:

"... although it is near some four years since I have made a practice of preaching, it felt as sweet as ever. Truth to an honest ear is sweet, but to a wicked man is like a piercing sword, as was manifest on that occasion; for although the principles of the Gospel were laid down so plain and clear that it was impossible to misunderstand, yet the opposing party repeatedly misconstrued my language, and even his own admission." 44

From the pages of a letter written to England, following the trial at Dixon, we extract a tribute of William Clayton, rendered to the Prophet Joseph Smith. A portion of William's philosophy of life is also revealed in the letter:

"... I have for more than two years last past been a close observer of Gen. Smith's
general course of conduct, as well as his private life; and justice to him, to myself, and the community at large, compels me to say that, in all my intercourse with men, I never associated with a more honourable, upright, charitable, benevolent, and law-abiding man than is the much persecuted Gen. Smith; and, sir, when I hear men speak reproachfully of him, I never ask for a second evidence of their corruption and baseness. General Smith, sir, is a man of God, a man of truth, and a lover of his country; and never did I hear him breathe out curses or raillery at any man because he saw fit to differ in religious matters.

"I consider it an honour to be associated with such a man as Gen. Joseph Smith, and all true followers of the Lord Jesus Christ; and the more wicked men despise and misrepresent the principles and conduct of President Smith, the more I love him and delight in his society; and this I can do without prejudice or animosity against any man or set of men. I believe in the broad principle of equal rights and privileges, so far as religion or politics are concerned; and while I seek to enjoy my religion according to the knowledge in me, I will interfere with the rights of no man, nor persecute because my neighbor does not think as I do."45

When the time came in 1844 for the major political parties to make their nominations for the presidency of the United States, the Prophet wrote to five possible candidates and asked for their views in regard to the Mormons. Three of the candidates answered, but their replies gave no satisfaction to the leaders of the Church. At a meeting held in the Mayor's Office at Nauvoo, it was decided that the people of Nauvoo would have an independent ticket and that Joseph Smith would be their candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

Joseph then stated that he would send the leading brethren of the Church out to campaign for him. When telling what brethren he would call to campaign for him, he remarked, "Clayton must
Other responsibilities were also given to William Clayton during this period. His name appears among the membership of a special committee set up by Joseph Smith to study the possibilities of securing a new home for the Saints in the mountains, or some other uninhabited region, where they could enjoy the liberties granted under the Constitution of the United States. He was also appointed recorder and clerk of the Nauvoo City Council. In this capacity, as well as still being private clerk to the Prophet, he was very close to the events that led to the death of his beloved leader.

Under the date of March 23rd, he records in his journal that he and Joseph called at the home of Dr. Robert D. Foster. Foster had been circulating reports that the Prophet had been trying to seduce his wife. When they arrived, only Mrs. Foster was home, so Joseph questioned her in regard to her husband's accusations and she testified before the witnesses that Joseph had never approached or propositioned her in any manner.

False charges against Joseph continued to circulate and it was soon discovered that Foster, William and Wilson Law and others were in a secret league to assassinate the Prophet and destroy the Church. Accordingly, the aforementioned were excommunicated from the Church by a special council of the Quorum of Twelve and other leading citizens, among whom appears the name of William Clayton.

Shortly after their excommunication, the apostates purchased a printing press and published a paper, The Nauvoo Expositor, for the purpose of undermining the Church and the city of Nauvoo. The City Council met and declared the "Expositor" press a public nuisance and had the type and papers destroyed. The stir which resulted from this event led to the death of the Prophet and his brother, Hyrum.

During the fast moving events of this period, William Clayton was kept busy with his duties as
clerk, preparing documents for Joseph to be sent to the Governor, and taking care of the public records.

After Joseph and Hyrum had given themselves over to Governor Ford at Carthage, William followed the events from Nauvoo; however, he was in contact with the Prophet through letters. Joseph's journal entry for Wednesday, June 26, 1844, states: "6:15 P.M. --Received the following letter from William Clayton:

"Nauvoo, June 26, 1844

Dear President:

"I write this line to inform you that Mr. Marsh, who lives down the river and of whom you have had corn, port, etc., has sent word that if you want any bail he is ready for one to any amount, and further that he has got some corn left, which he wants you to have lest the mob get it. (We will endeavor to obtain it.)

"They have already taken two loads but he has charged them a dollar a bushel for it.

"The Amaranth has just landed at the foot of Main Street and unloaded 200 Bbls flour - 95 for Mr. Kimball and the balance for Bryant.

"Capn. Singleton who came at the head of the police this morning is sending a request to the Governor to call them home. He says he finds no difficulties to settle here but there is plenty at home. He furthermore says that while the police was at Carthage they were treated as Soldiers but since they came to Nauvoo they have been treated as gentlemen.

"The company all got home safe and well last night.

"A messenger is about to start forthwith to Judge Thomas.

"All is peace in Nauvoo, many threats keep coming that the mobs are determined to attack the city in your absence but we have no fears.

"With fervency and true friendship, I remain yours eternally.

W. Clayton"
The message sent to Judge Thomas, of the Circuit Court at Carthage, has also been preserved and we insert a copy, as follows:

"Nauvoo, June 26th, 1844

To the Honorable Judge Thomas

"Dear Sir: I have this morning received instructions from General Joseph Smith who is now at Carthage to dispatch a messenger to your Honor and respectfully request your Honor to come to Nauvoo and meet with him here as soon as possible.

"The messenger who brought me the instructions informs me that the Governor is coming with Gen. Smith tomorrow and the case is to be tried before your Honor in this place.

"I am authorized to say that if you will come without delay your expenses shall be paid and you will confer a favor on Mr. Smith which will be appreciated and long remembered.

"In haste I have the honor to be Dear Sir your obedient Servant

Wm Clayton Clerk for Joseph Smith"

The Governor did not keep his word in regard to bringing Joseph back to Nauvoo. He came on the following day as scheduled, but without the Prophet. The services of Judge Smith were never used nor was the corn offered by Mr. Marsh ever acquired, for on the following day Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum, were murdered in the Carthage jail by a mob with painted faces.

William Clayton wrote of the sorrowful incident:

"They died firm in the faith and favor of God and universally respected and beloved by all the Saints. Their death was universally lamented, and their names will ever be held sacred by the faithful in time and to all eternity.

"William Law, who was appointed counselor in the stead of Hyrum, when the latter was ordained a Patriarch, apostatized in the Spring... And was
a principal agent in causing the massacre of the President and Patriarch.

"This sorrowful circumstance had a tendency to cement the hearts of the Saints more closely than ever. No threats were offered, no disposition for revenge; all concluded to leave the case in the hands of the governor, who had pledged himself that the murderers should be brought to justice; and if he failed, the Saints are willing to leave it in the hands of God."55

A Temple is Built

Following the death of his beloved leader, William continued in his responsibility as recorder of the Nauvoo Temple. He tells us that work on the Temple was suspended about the 20th of June 1844, but on the second Sunday following Joseph's murder, the Church voted to commence work again and to finish the Temple as speedily as possible. Work recommenced on July 8th, 1844, although the committee had not so much as a bushel of meal, a pound of flour, or a pound of meat to feed the workers; but according to William, "all seemed determined to go to work and trust in God for the means."56

After the construction on the Temple was again started, Clayton seems to have been kept busy with, among other things, measuring the large rafts of lumber that were arriving.57 Of this period he says, "The works of the Temple moved on with astonishing rapidity and on the 23rd of September the first capital was put up."58

The "Journal History", under the date of September 10, 1844, has the following notation:

"Elder Coles, who had acted as clerk of the Council was dismissed from the office and William Clayton made clerk in his stead."

Since arriving from England, William had now served in the following positions: Member of the Iowa High Council, Clerk of the Iowa High Council, Nauvoo Temple Recorder, Recorder of revelations and private clerk to the Prophet Joseph Smith, Treasurer of the City of Nauvoo, Secretary
for the Nauvoo Masonic Lodge, Clerk of the Nauvoo City Council, and now Clerk for the Nauvoo High Council. No doubt, the most time consuming of these jobs was that of Temple Recorder. Under the date of October 15, 1844, he had the following notice published:

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE TEMPLE

"We wish to offer a word of information to those who donate money and property for the building of the Temple of God in Nauvoo; inasmuch as a wrong impression has prevailed relative to the order of giving credit for subscriptions.

"All things, consecrations, donations, and sacrifices presented for the building of the Temple are recorded in a book kept for that purpose in the form of a history, wherein is recorded the names of the donors, the kind of property donated, and the price of the same, or if in money, the amount, all under the respective dates when the same is deposited in the hands of the Trustee in Trust. Except in cases where authorized agents have collected funds and given receipts to those who donated. Wherever receipts are given for property, we do not enter it in the general record until those receipts are presented at the recorders office. Consequently we are under the necessity of making a separate list of all properties received where receipts have been given, and keeping that list until the receipts are presented for record.

"Now inasmuch as the 'books will be opened' as evidence of our faithfulness in the day of the Lord and not 'the receipts,' we would advise all to bring their receipts as early as possible and have them duly recorded, that their names may be found amongst the number of the faithful in that book which will bear testimony as to our faithfulness in attending to the law of tithing and consecration.

"Some have supposed that we entered all tithings on the record whether receipts were given or not, but this is a mistake, because that would virtually be giving credit twice over for the same property. Bring on your receipts brethren and sisters, and if you cannot bring them, send by some
one whom you can trust, that all our consecrations may be recorded in proper order, for it is necessary that there should be order in this business as well as all others, inasmuch as the house of God is a house of order and not of confusion.

"The Temple is progressing finely and the brethren and sisters (for they are not the last in regard to diligence and perseverance to build the Temple) use all due diligence to roll on the work. The blessing of God is with our efforts and after having suffered a little more tribulation and toil, we shall behold the 'top stone' carried up and put in its place with joy and gladness, and then we will receive those blessings and endowments which are held in reserve to be put upon the faithful, when the house of God is completed.

"Let us increase our efforts and live up to the law of tithing and consecration and at the same time not forget to keep all the commandments of God, lest it be said to us, 'these ought ye to have done and not have left the other undone.'

"In haste I have the honor to be your faithful and devoted servant, and brother in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

WM. CLAYTON,
Temple Recorder"59

Business so increased for the recorder's office that it was necessary to move to new quarters. The new quarters were located in the new brick store of Elder Parley P. Pratt, and were located one block north from the west end of the Temple. William's office hours at this new location were 'every day in the week, (Sunday excepted) from morning 'till evening.'60 Business had so increased in the office of Temple Recorder, that Elder John P. McEwan was called to assist Brother Clayton.61

William, no doubt, followed daily the progress of the Temple construction and whenever something of importance was to take place, he was on the spot to witness it. For example, in his journal entry of Monday, April 21st, 1845, he records:
... Brother Player put up the first star in the architrave. At half past two o'clock, p.m. he notified me that they were about to begin to raise it. I immediately went to the east end of the Temple. On my way I met Elder Heber C. Kimball, one of the Twelve, and we went and sat down together on Brother Cutler's fence, opposite where the stone stood. ... At precisely a quarter before three o'clock, it was properly set in its place.  

Again, on Friday, May 16th, he went to the Temple and sat down on the top of the southwest stairway and watched the workmen put the last star in place.  

One of the few accidents that took place in the construction of the Nauvoo Temple happened several days later. Of this event, Clayton writes:

"On Monday, the 19th of May, while I was sitting on the temple, Brother Stephen H. Goddard met with an accident which was very near fatal. He was standing on the wall on the north side of the temple, assisting some others to take down one of the scaffolding poles. By some accident the foot of the pole slipped and struck him on the left side of the head. He fell head foremost, being stunned by the blow. Fortunately they had just got two joists in the floor and he fell across them, which prevented him from going down into the cellar, a distance of about sixty-two feet. And in all probability, if he had fallen down he would have been killed. The brethren raised him up and on examination found that he had received a cut on the upper corner of his left eye. His face was also much bruised. He bled profusely. I laid hands on him with two other brethren and he went home. He suffered considerable pain until evening, when it ceased, and in two days afterwards he was at work again as usual."

Saturday, May 24th, 1845, can be recorded as one of the "red-letter" days in the history of Nauvoo, Illinois. On this date the capstone of the Nauvoo Temple was laid. The ceremony took place at six o'clock in the morning, so as to not attract the attention of the enemies of the Church, who had vowed that the Temple would never be completed.
A large number of the members of the Church had assembled to witness the ceremony. William Pitt had composed and arranged a new number for his band, entitled the "Capstone March," and the majority of the Church leaders were present. Among the official guests listed as being present was William Clayton, Temple Recorder. At precisely twenty-two minutes after six o'clock, President Brigham Young had completed the laying of the stone and Pitt's Brass Band struck up the march composed especially for the occasion.

During the last two weeks in May the circuit court of Hancock County, Illinois, was in session. This session was devoted to the trial of the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. At the conclusion of the trial, a verdict of "not guilty" was returned. This verdict stirred many of the citizens of Nauvoo, with William Clayton being no exception. He said of the decision:

"Thus the whole State of Illinois has made itself guilty of shedding the blood of the Prophets by acquitting those who committed the horrid deed, and it is now left to God to take vengeance in His own way and in His own time."

Driven from His Home

The Nauvoo Charter, which was the greatest civil protection the City of Nauvoo enjoyed, was repealed by the Legislature of Illinois, in January of 1845. This left Nauvoo without civil authority, and only the Church organization and the respect of the members for the law, preserved law and order in the city. The community continued to grow and prosper, in spite of the repeal of the charter. Comparative peace was also enjoyed until September of that year, when the anti-Mormon element commenced mobbing the outlying settlements and burning their homes.

During this period of unrest and trouble, many of the leading citizens of Nauvoo were hauled into the Court of Hancock County on charges of treason. William Clayton was among those arrested and was brought before Justice Barnes in the court at Carthage. Others of the group also under arrest
were Daniel Spencer, Orson Spencer, Willard Richards, John Taylor, W. W. Phelps, Charles C. Rich, Alpheus Cutler, Reynolds Cahoon, John Scott, Hosea Stout, and Edward Hunter. Dr. Backman, one of the witnesses against them, was called in and stated that he had known none of the men, but had been forced to sign the affidavit against them. With this testimony, the court discharged the brethren according to law.67

It might be of interest to note at this time, that the group which was in Carthage to be tried also visited the Carthage Jail, where Joseph and Hyrum had been killed.

"The blood of Hyrum still stained the floor where he fell and breathed his last; the walls were marked with bullet holes. Elders John Taylor and Willard Richards showed the other brethren the position in which the brethren stood to defend themselves at the time of the martyrdom."68

Upon returning to Nauvoo, at the close of the excursion to Carthage, William was selected by the Council of the Twelve to serve on a committee which had been set up to assist the outlying families to move into the city.69 This was necessitated because of the increased amount of persecution that was taking place.

By the latter part of the year 1845, the Temple had progressed so far that a portion of it could be dedicated and arrangements were made to administer the temple ceremony known as the endowment. Wednesday, December 10th, was spent by William Clayton at the Temple with a group preparing one of the rooms so the ceremony could be administered. William Clayton then received his temple endowments on the following day, as pointed out in the following "Journal History" entry:

"Pres. Brigham Young officiated in the Temple with the brethren of the Twelve. They administered the ordinances of endowment to Isaac Morley and his wife, Lucy; Orson Spencer and his wife, Catherine C.; Joseph Young; Alpheus Cutler and his wife, Lois; Reynolds Cahoon and his wife, Thriza; William Clayton and his wife, Ruth; Cornelius P. Lott and Permelia; Mother Lucy
During the fall of 1845, the leaders of the Church came to the conclusion that it would be impossible for their group to remain in Nauvoo. On September 24, 1845, President Brigham Young issued an official statement to the effect that the Church would leave Nauvoo the following spring. On October 2nd, a great anti-Mormon convention met in Carthage and passed a resolution that they would wait until spring and allow the Mormons to move.

The winter of 1845-46 saw Nauvoo turned into a great workshop. Homes were converted into wagon factories and before spring, more than twelve-hundred wagons were ready for the trek to a new home.

Although the Mormons were determined to stay in Nauvoo until spring, the persecutions became so unbearable that they started westward in the dead of winter. On February 4, 1846, the first group left Nauvoo by loading their wagons onto the Mississippi Ferry and crossed over to the Iowa side. They made camp at Sugar Creek. This camp was located about nine miles from the Mississippi River shore.

During the early part of February, William Clayton was at his office and the Temple packing the Church records for the journey west. Accordingly, on Friday, February 27, 1846, he left Nauvoo. The weather was very cold, and since the first group had left, the Mississippi had frozen solid, so they had a temporary bridge over which they could drive their wagons. The following is recorded in Clayton’s journal:

"We have spent the past week waiting for crossing over the river. It has been hard frost and much snow. This morning I concluded to start over the river and began early to send my teams. About noon I crossed with my family and then rested the teams and soon after went on to the camp where we arrived a little before four o’clock. . . . When we got to the camp we were received with joy and formed in the company of the band. The weather is still very cold especially
during the night. The distance from Nauvoo to this place is called seven and a half miles. 72

Thus William Clayton was forced to leave a city which had been his home for over five years; a city which he had helped to build and had been so intimately associated.
CHAPTER III

WILLIAM CLAYTON: AN EXILE ON THE IOWA PLAINS, 1846-47

The Camp of Israel

The first of March found five-thousand exiles shivering behind meager shelters of wagon covers and tents. Their sufferings have never adequately been told, but one has only to be reminded that in one night nine children were born under these distressing conditions.¹

On March 1st, five-hundred wagons moved out of Sugar Creek for the West and a new home. The group was known as the "Camp of Israel" and it was with this group that William Clayton left Sugar Creek and traveled for his first days journey about four and one-half miles.²

After leaving Nauvoo, William was not long without official duties, for Brigham Young appointed him clerk for the entire "Camp of Israel."³ He was also kept occupied by playing concerts with the camp band at the various settlements along the way.

It mentions under his journal entry of Wednesday, March 4th:

"A number of the citizens from Farmington came to the camp and gave a very pressing invitation for the band to go to Farmington and play some. Accordingly about three o'clock, the band started and arrived at Farmington about 4:30 P.M. We played at the principal hotel and then went to the school house and played till nearly dark. The house was filled with men and women, the leading people of the place. We then returned to the hotel where they had provided us with a good supper. They also gave us $5 in money. (John) Kay sang a number of songs. At eight o'clock we returned and when we left they gave us three cheers."
And again under date of Sunday, March 8th, and Tuesday, March 10th we read:

"Many of the citizens came to hear the band play and gave us a very pressing invitation to go to Keosauqua, and give a concert. About noon word came that we should follow on to the camp. We immediately struck tents and started and we arrived at the main camp about five o'clock. Some of the citizens from Keosauqua followed us waiting for an answer whether we would give a concert as soon as we arrived at the camp. I asked the President whether the band should go to Keosauqua to give a concert. He advised us to go and I immediately sent out the appointment. . . .

". . . We arrived at Keosauqua about three o'clock and being requested we went through the town and played some. One of the grocery keepers invited us to play him a tune which we did. He then invited us in and offered to treat us to anything he had. A beer keeper next sent word that he did not want us to slight him and we went and played him a tune and then took some of his cake and beer. We then marched up to the Des Moines Hotel near the court-house where we had ordered supper and after eating we went to the courthouse to prepare for the concert. At seven o'clock the house was crowded and we commenced playing and singing till about 9:30 P.M. The audience seemed highly pleased and gave loud applause. About the close one of the citizens got up and said it was the wish of many that we should repeat the concert the following evening and he took a vote of all who wished us to go again. The vote was unanimous. We made nearly $25.00 clear of all expenses. We started back for the camp soon after ten and arrived about one o'clock all well and pleased."

William Clayton then informed the President that the band had been invited to return and he advised them to accept the invitation. The band then played another concert at Keosauqua the following evening.

The original organization of the "Camp of Israel" was nearly useless as all the designated people could not leave Nauvoo at the advanced
The people were not cooperating with the original plans and some independent spirits like Bishop George Miller, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt and others, were pushing ahead and not waiting for the main camp.

Under date of March 23rd, Elder Clayton states he was in council with President Young and following the meeting, he wrote a letter to Bishop Miller. In the letter he stated that if they did not wait or return to the camp, they would reorganize without them and their group would be disfellowshipped.

The following day they returned to the main camp, which was now on the Chariton River in Iowa. The whole camp was then organized into groups of fifty. Each group had a captain and appointed one man with the title, "contracting commissary." This man was responsible for getting work and grain for his group. Under the new organization, William Clayton was to preside over the band, as he had done since leaving Nauvoo, and was to be the assistant "contracting commissary" of the fourth "fifty." He also was to continue as clerk of the camp. The following instructions were then given to the entire camp: No man to set fire to the prairies; no man to go hunting unless he was sent; and all to keep guns, swords, and pistols out of sight. A clerk for each group of fifty was also selected.

The camp now seemed to move forward in a more orderly and commendable fashion. A group of men, previously selected to find the best possible route and to improve the road, were also added to the several companies of fifty. These men had been given the name of "pioneers" at the beginning of the journey.

Under date of Wednesday, April 1st, William records the following:

". . . Mother was very sick, and could not bear to ride. She walked all the way. I felt very unwell myself, having much pain in my limbs. The roads were bad, but we arrived in camp about two o'clock and got on good ground. After getting our tents fixed, fires made, etc., I went to
wrestling, jumping, etc., to try to get well. I over-exerted myself without any symptoms of perspiration and was so sick after I had to go to bed. 7

This sickness continued on for the next two days, without improving, and the weather became very miserable because of drenching rains. Saturday morning found conditions no better, for we read:

"This morning all our clothing, beds and bed clothing were drenched and it has continued to rain all day. I have been sick again all day especially towards night. I was so distressed with pain it seemed as though I could not live. I went to bed and put a bag of hot salt on my chest which seemed to give me some ease but I suffered much through the night, and it continued to rain until after midnight. We put an extra cover on our sleeping wagon, which kept out the rain. We have only slept in the wagon three nights but have slept under a tent on the wet ground. . . . A number of the company feel unwell on account of the rain and wet." 8

This question may be asked, just how many of William Clayton's family were traveling with him on the trek across Iowa? This is difficult to say for sure, as Clayton never makes a direct statement as to who was with him. As we search through his journal, however, we find several clues, which may help us with the problem. Under the date of June 14th, he states that his family was made up of ten persons. On July 29th, he mentions the names of his wives; Alice and Margaret, and several days later, he tells of Ruth, another wife. 9 From the family records, we learn that Ruth Moon had four children living at this time, i.e. William Heber, Sarah L., Margaret, and Vilate Ruth. 10 Margaret Moon had one child, Daniel Adebert, and Alice Hardman was without children at the time, 11 William's mother was also traveling with him, 12 his father still being in Nauvoo, 13 which probably makes up the ten he mentioned having in his family group. Another wife, Diantha Farr, was left in Nauvoo, as she was expecting a baby. William was much concerned and sent her letters on every possible occasion.
In the meantime, the weather was not improving and the discomforts increased. For example, on Monday, April 6th:

"It has rained again the last night and continued to rain all day very heavily. The camp is very disagreeable and muddy. . . . In the evening Elder Kimball came over and the band met opposite Hutchinson's wagon and played some. After that the quadrille band met in my tent and played on the violins. All the time we were playing the lightning occasionally broke forth from the northwest and at eight o'clock we dispersed just as the storm approached. Before I got to my tent the wind arrived and soon blew a perfect gale with heavy rain, hail, lightning and thunder. It continued for an hour and then abated some. All the tents in our company except mine and Pack's were blown down. The rain beat through the wagon covers and drenched the families and effects. It was the most severe storm we have experienced and with such wind it seems impossible to preserve our little clothing and provisions from being spoiled. But in the midst of all, the camp seems cheerful and happy and there are but few sick."

Wednesday, April 15th, was the day on which William received the word he had been praying for since leaving Nauvoo. During the morning he learned from a friend that his wife, Diantha, had given birth to a son. The information stated that the son had been born on March 30th, but that his wife was very sick with ague and mumps. He says of the event: "Truly I feel to rejoice at this intelligence but feel sorry to hear of her sickness."

During the evening, a special celebration was planned to honor the blessed event.

"The following persons retired to my tent to have a social christening, viz. William Pitt, Hutchinson, Smithies, Kay, Egan, Duzett, Redding, William Cahoon, James Clayton (William's brother) and Charles A. Terry and myself. We had a very pleasant time playing and singing until about twelve o'clock and drank health to my son. We named him William Adriel Benoni Clayton. . . . I feel to thank my heavenly father for my boy and pray that
he will spare and preserve his life and that of his mother and so order it that we may soon meet again. O Lord bless thine handmaid and fill her with thy spirit, make her healthy that her life may be prolonged and that we may live upon the earth and honor the cause of truth. . . . I asked the President if he would not suffer me to send for Diantha. He consented and said we would send when we got to Grand River." 14

Come, Come Ye Saints

Another event, for which William Clayton is probably better known than any other, took place on this same date. In regard to it, William passively says: "This morning I composed a new song--'All is Well.'" This song is known today as "Come, Come Ye Saints" and is probably the best known of all the Mormon hymns, having been sung to the four corners of the earth, wherever the message of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has been received. 15

The new song appears to have been written in commemoration of the birth of his new son and the deliverance of his wife through the perils of childbirth. 16

In support of the foregoing statement, we quote a letter written by President Heber J. Grant to Victoria C. McCune, a daughter of William Clayton. This letter came in response to a letter written by Mrs. McCune to Lilly T. Freeze, in which she stated that she knew that "Come, Come Ye Saints" was written by William Clayton because of the joy that filled his soul when the announcement came that Diantha had given birth to a baby boy. A copy of this letter came into the hands of President Grant, and he wrote the following letter to Mrs. McCune. 17

"March 28, 1923

Mrs. Victoria C. McCune
2260 Lake Street
City

My Dear Sister:

"Elder Frank Penrose brought me a carbon
copy of a letter dated July 21, 1920, written by yourself to Lillie T. Freeze, with reference to the hymn, "Come, Come Ye Saints."

"I was very glad to have this information regarding the writing of this poem. I had heard that the poem was written at the special request of President Brigham Young at Winter Quarters. I do not know where I read or where I heard, at this late date, that President Young requested your father to go and write a hymn that would encourage and bless the Saints on their journey from Winter Quarters to Salt Lake Valley, but have made this announcement time and time again in public, but of course shall do so no more.

"Your father's hymn, 'Come, Come Ye Saints,' is my favorite of all the hymns that we have; and as I have stated in public many times, I can never read it, sing it, or hear it sung, that my heart does not go out in gratitude for the faith of the early pioneers who traveled from Winter Quarters to Salt Lake City by ox teams to settle this valley.

"A year ago last July, the vice-president of a great New York bank was in our city. . . . I took him to Pine Crest, and coming down the canyon, sang to him 'O Ye Mountains High' and 'Come, Come Ye Saints.' He asked me for a copy of the hymn 'Come, Come Ye Saints,' which I gave him. . . . A few days after giving him a copy of 'Come, Come Ye Saints,' I think it was as we were riding up American Fork Canyon, he repeated the last verse to me, and said, 'Mr. Grant, that is the most inspirational verse and the finest declaration of faith in the immortality of the soul of man of any verse from any human I have ever read.' Some months later when I was in New York, I happened to meet him at a Banker's Club on the 40th floor of the Equitable Life Insurance Building. He introduced me to some friends who were taking lunch with him, and said, 'Mr. Grant, repeat to these men the hymn, "Come, Come Ye Saints."' He returned and remarked that this was one of the most inspirational and splendid hymns he had ever heard.
"I thought you would be pleased to read the opinion of Mr. Fred W. Shibley, to whom I refer, and who is a very splendid writer. I have read some excellent articles from his pen. It has therefore given me pleasure to write you this letter.

"With kind personal regards, and ever praying for your welfare, I am,

Heber J. Grant"

In analyzing this great hymn, George D. Pyper states:

"'Come, Come Ye Saints,' within the small space of its four stanzas, epitomizes the wearying hardships, the unaltering faith, the indomitable courage, the unconquerable spirit of the Mormon Pioneers. . . . Truly, 'Come, Come Ye Saints' is worthy to be classed among the great hymns of Christian literature, because the poet has caught the spirit and sentiment of an oppressed people and crystallized them into simple verse which arouses the interest of the multitude."

The four stanzas of this famous work of William Clayton follows:

COME, COME YE SAINTS

Come, come, ye Saints, no toil nor labor fear;  
But with joy wend your way.
Tho' hard to you this journey may appear  
Grace shall be as your day.
'Tis better far for us to strive,  
Our useless cares from us to drive;
Do this, and joy your hearts will swell—  
All is well! All is well!

Why should we mourn, or think our lot is hard?  
'Tis not so; all is right!
Why should we think to earn a great reward,  
If we now shun the fight?
Gird up your loins, fresh courage take,  
Our God will never us forsake;
And soon we'll have this truth to tell—  
All is well! All is well!

We'll find the place which God for us prepared,  
Far away in the West;
A letter written to William Clayton by his wife, Diantha. In possession of June M. McDonnel, Van Nuys, California.
No. 16    Come, Come, Ye Saints
W. CLAYTON

1. Come, come, ye Saints, no toil nor labor fear, But with joy wend your way;
2. Why should we mourn, or think our lot is hard? ’Tis not so; all is right!
3. We'll find the place which God for us prepared, Far a-way in the West;
4. And should we die before our journey's through, Happy day! all is well!

The hard to you this journey may appear, Grace shall be as your day.
Why should we think to earn a great reward, If we now shun the fight?
Where none shall come to hurt or make afraid; There the Saints will be blessed.
We then are free from toil and sorrow too; With the just we shall dwell.

’Tis better far for us to strive Our useless cares from
Gird up your loins, fresh courage take, Our God will never
We'll make the air with music ring—Shout praises to our
But if our lives are spared a gain To see the Saints, their

us to drive; Do this, and joy your hearts will swell—All is well! All is well!
us for sake; And soon we'll have this truth to tell— All is well! All is well!
God and King; Above the rest these words we'll tell—All is well! All is well!
rest obtain, O how we'll make this chorus swell— All is well! All is well!

Used by permission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
Where none shall come to hurt or make afraid;  
    There the Saints will be blessed.  
We'll make the air with music ring--  
    Shout praises to our God and King;  
Above the rest each tongue will tell--  
    All is well! All is well!

And should we die before our journey's through,  
    Happy day! All is well!  
We then are free from toil and sorrow too;  
    With the just we shall dwell.  
But if our lives are spared again  
    To see the Saints, their rest obtain,  
Oh how we'll make this chorus swell--  
    All is well! All is well!

Another tribute paid to William Clayton and his song, comes from the pen of Preston Nibley, Assistant Church Historian of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He states:

"Although William Clayton did not know it at the time, he had immortalized his name when he finished writing the above stirring words. 'Come, Come Ye Saints' became the grand marching song of all the Mormon Pioneers who journeyed across the plains during the succeeding twenty years, and still stirs the hearts of the Latter-day Saints whenever it is rendered. . . ." 19

J. Spencer Cornwall, a former director of the world famous Salt Lake Tabernacle Choir, gives us several interesting points in regard to "Come, Come Ye Saints" which would be well to include in this work. His research reveals that a song, "All Is Well," was published in 1844 by a J. T. White of Georgia in a hymnal called The Sacred Harp. One stanza of the song is as follows:

"What's this that steals upon my frame?  
Is it death, is it death,  
That soon will quench the mortal flame?  
Is it death, is it death?  
If this be death, I soon shall be  
From every pain and sorrow free.  
I shall the King of Glory see,  
All is well, all is well."

William Clayton could, no doubt, have been
acquainted with this hymn and it is possible that he drew certain items from it, chief of which is the tune. 20

Mr. Cornwall concludes his observations with the following statement:

"This song was more than likely a substantial guide to the composer of 'Come, Come, Ye Saints.' The terse statement from William Clayton's diary, dated April 15, 1846, seems in the light of the above information to have a meaningful background. 'This morning,' states the diary, 'I composed a new song, "All is Well."'" 21

Over the years, the Tabernacle Choir has received more fan mail concerning "Come, Come Ye Saints" than with any other number it has performed. When the choir sang it on the European Tour of 1955, it had to be repeated in every concert. "It was sung in English, but its message, 'All is Well,' went over to everyone in every country regardless of language." 22

Many interesting stories have come to the Tabernacle Choir from people about the singing of this song in certain peculiar circumstances. The following comes from an old Indian chief who had heard it from his father.

"Many, many moons ago my people were on the warpath. We hate the palefaces. We held council and decided to kill everyone. A band of palefaces were going west. They had almost reached the Rocky Mountains. I was the chief of 1,000 young braves. That night silently we waited on a mountain pass for these people, which were led by Brigham Young. There were braves with bows and arrows behind every rock and tree, waiting to pounce down upon the palefaces. The pioneers camped for the night and prepared dinner. The big bonfire was burning brightly, and the palefaces danced around the fire. Everyone then sat down and began singing, 'Come, Come, Ye Saints.' I gave the signal, but our fingers were like stone—not one arrow was shot. We mounted our horses and rode back to camp. We knew the Great Spirit was watching over the palefaces. This is your song; it was your forefathers' song and is my song"
every night before I go to bed. It brings the Great Spirit near to me and makes me and my people happy."23

Garden Grove and other Settlements

William Clayton arrived at the site of Garden Grove, Iowa, on Friday, April 24th. It was decided to fence some of the land here and those that were not prepared to continue on could remain and raise crops. It was while camped at this spot that a special council decided to sell the Nauvoo Temple. Accordingly, Elder Clayton was assigned to write the letter to Orson Hyde and Wilford Woodruff, who were still at Nauvoo, giving instructions in regard to its disposal.24

At this time, while at Garden Grove, William had a dream that caused him much concern. Under the date of Monday, May 4th, he states:

"I spent the day examining my flour and crackers and helping to fix the tent as considerable of my crackers and flour are damaged on account of having poor wagons. I dreamed last night that I saw Diantha and her babe. Her babe was dressed in white and appeared to be lying down with its eyes closed. She was bent over it apparently in sorrow. When I went to her she flew to me earnestly but the babe seemed to be kept still, and I awoke. This dream has troubled me considerably."25

Tuesday, May 12th, found Clayton in a somewhat complaining mood in regard to his duties and treatment:

"About nine was sent for to go to council. I waited about two hours before anything was done. A letter of authority was written for father Bent by Dr. Richards but he made me copy it, and afterwards when the President spoke to him to write to O. P. Rockwell he favored me to do that although I left three men waiting to weigh my loading and load my wagon. The fact is I can scarcely ever go to council but Dr. Richards wants me to do his writing, although I have more writing to do as clerk of the camp than I can possibly do. Moreover I have to unpack the chest and wait on all of them with the public goods in my charge which
keeps me busy all the time. President Young, Heber, Dr. Richards and Bishop Whitney have all made out to get lumber sawed to make their wagons comfortable but I can't get enough to make a hind board for one of my wagons, which has none. They are tolerably well prepared with wagons and teams but I am here with about five tons of stuff and only six wagons and five yoke of oxen to take it. I have dealt out nearly all of my provisions and have to get more before I can go on. It looks as if I had to be a slave and take slave's fare all the journey for it has worked that way so far."

The trek across the Iowa plains was not a time of prosperity for William Clayton and his family. On one occasion, he stated that the family had nothing left to eat but some corn, and being short of milk, they were not able to cook even that properly. Help came the following day, however, when he records:

"Captain Allen had bought about thirty-six bushels of meal and 200 lbs. of bacon. They would not receive any pay for it. They have been faithful and diligent and have done much. There is yet $12.00 due them from the meal and they are determined I shall have that too.""26

William Clayton left Garden Grove on Saturday, May 23rd, and continued his journey westward. About sundown on the 26th, they arrived at Mt. Pisgah, another Mormon camp set up in Iowa. William states:

"This place... is a very beautiful situation, the prairie rolling and rich, skirted with beautiful groves of timber on the main fork of the Grand River."29

The Clayton family remained here until Friday, June 5th.

The first Indians mentioned by Clayton, were met on Wednesday, June 10th. On this date they camped in sight of a Pottawattamie Indian village. Many of the Indians came and visited them and appeared to be very friendly. The Indians asked if the group was made up of Mormons. When they told them they were, the Indians seemed very
pleased. They manifested great feelings of friendship and nothing unkind or unfriendly transpired. 30

During the middle of June, the weather had become very warm and the mosquitoes were very troublesome. William continually mentions how numerous they were and "so bloodthirsty." 31

On the 16th of June, William and his group came in sight of the Missouri River and the main camp. The following day they arrived at the main camp and one of the first individuals he met was Heber C. Kimball. He seemed very pleased to see William and helped him find a camping place near that of Brigham Young's. This evening he called the band together and went with the Quorum of the Twelve to the home of the Indian agent, Mr. Mitchell, and played for them. At the close of his notation, we find the following description of Council Bluffs:

"This village is situated but a little distance from the river, probably fifty rods. It is composed of twelve or fifteen blocks, houses without glass in the windows, and in the noted place where the Lamanites for years held their council. The inhabitants are composed of Lamanites, half breeds and a few white folks." 32

William remained at Council Bluffs until June 23rd, when he received a letter from his wife, Diantha, who asked that he come for her. His journal entry states: "I made up my mind to start tomorrow."

The following day, William went over to President Young and told him that he was starting out for his wife. The President told him that he would get him cattle for the trip and Heber C. Kimball said: "Go and prosper." The trip east was then started at about two o'clock during the afternoon of the 24th.

Early on Sunday morning of the 28th of June, William arrived back at Mt. Pisgah, but remained here only about one hour. Shortly after leaving, he met Wilford Woodruff, who was on his way from Nauvoo. Of this meeting he says:

"He was glad to see me and we conversed
together some time. From him I learned that Missouri had sent up a committee to Pisgah to search for forts and cannon, etc. He says the Missourians are terrified and many are moving from the back to the interior settlements. He also stated that we have a friend in the British Parliament and the British had held a private council in relation to the treatment of the U. S. towards us. Britain is making great preparations for war. They have sent ten-thousand troops to Canada and a fleet around Cape Horn to Oregon. They are intending to arm the slaves of the south and have their agents in the Indian country trying to bring them in war to fight the U. S. !33

After leaving Elder Woodruff, William soon met other friends who informed him that Diantha was back only about four miles. Another acquaintance met a short time later, said it was twelve miles; however, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon he met his beloved Diantha and his new son in the wagon of a brother, referred to as Father Chase.

"Diantha was very glad to see me and burst into tears. My little boy is far beyond all my expectations. He is very fat and well formed and has a noble countenance. They are both well and I feel to thank my heavenly Father for his mercies to them and Father Chase and to his family and may the Lord bless them for it, and oh Lord, bless my family and preserve them forever. Bless my Diantha and my boy and preserve their lives on the earth to bring honor to Thy name and give us a prosperous journey back again is the prayer of thy servant, William."!34

On the return trip to Council Bluffs, Elder Parley P. Pratt passed William and his group. He was on his way to Mt. Pisgah to try and raise the 500 volunteers needed for the Mormon Battalion, which was being mustered at this time. They finally arrived back at the home camp at three o'clock on Saturday, July 4th. William reported that all the family was well, with the exception of his little daughter, Vilate. !35

The next month was spent in the area of
Council Bluffs, repairing the wagons, repacking the supplies, and trying to obtain additional provisions for his family. During this time, William seems to be at a loss as to what he should do. He records:

"I asked the president what I should do, but could get no answer. I have not been able to get any satisfaction from any of the council as to what I should do and am totally at a loss to know whether to tarry here or go on. My provisions are nearly out and my teamsters all gone and nearly all the cattle strayed away and no one to hunt them except James and Corbitt, and they are sick."36

On the Missouri River

The time came for William to cross the Missouri River on August 2, 1846. His teamsters were all ill, with the exception of one, by the name of Brown, who was giving him little or no help. Of this event William records:

"Preparing to cross the river. Pelatiah Brown went swimming all the forenoon and when Corbitt asked him to help with the teams, he swore he would not if Jesus Christ would ask him. I told him if he did not feel like helping us he could go somewhere else, I did not want him. He went and I am again left without a teamster. I will here say that Brown will not work only when he has a mind to and during the last week he would go to the river swimming instead of attending to the cattle and I may as well be without a teamster as have a man who will go away in a cramp. About noon we crossed three wagons over and kept to work until we had got them all over which took us till dark. We had to crowd our wagons together in the road just above the river on account of its being stopped up by other wagons. We could not get our cattle to grass and they have had none since last night, but having a few bushels of corn we gave them five ears a piece."37

After arriving on the western shore of the Missouri River, and while waiting for a lot to be assigned him at the new settlement of Winter Quarters, William Clayton became very ill. On Sunday,
August 16th, we find the following entry in his journal:

"Since Wednesday have scarcely even been out of bed, but kept with raging fever all the time. Twice Heber has rebuked my fever but it has returned. Through fear and persuasion of my family I have taken some pills and medicine given by Dr. Sprague, but seem to grow worse all the time. Today I have been very sick. Towards evening my folks concluded to get me out of the wagon into the tent where they had prepared a bed. Soon after I got into the tent President Young, Dr. Richards, G. A. Smith, Orson Pratt, Lorenzo Young and others called to see me. When they had been in a few moments President Young called O. P. Rockwell into the tent and the feelings we had on seeing him cannot be described. He has been in prison some time but when his trial came on there was no one to accuse him and the judge discharged him. The brethren all laid hands on me and rebuked my disease in the name of the Lord; President Young being mouth. I immediately felt easier and slept well all night being the first sleep I had had of any account for three days and nights."38

This sickness did not soon leave William, and the early part of September still found him ill and in need of employment for the support of his family. Under the date of September 8, 1846, he penned the following letter to Brigham Young:

"Camp of Israel  
Sept. 8, 1846

Pres. Young

Dear Friend, I am willing to engage in any common kind of clerking business for one dollar per day. But if it is to be copying letters or other documents I would rather have a dollar and a quarter for this is very tedious business and the fairest way is to work by the price. Recorders have fifteen cents for every hundred words. I want work for three cents for every hundred words. If the gentleman is willing to engage on those terms I will do him a good days work for a dollar, at common clerking, but do not feel ever to undertake again to do two men's work for one man's wages which
has often been my unfortunate lot, but I trust past experience will teach me better. Now if you think these terms too hard under the circumstances I am willing to be advised by you, but I have got to make some desperate effort to get something this winter or I can go no further next spring for I lack every kind of provisions and necessaries for my family as well as considerable clothing. I would like, if I engage to have my wages weekly that I may send immediately to my family some things they are very much in need of. If an engagement is made I am willing to start down as soon as it is made for I believe if I can get a little nourishment and victuals that I can eat, I shall soon be healthy again, but I find it slow work on bread made of sour flour and nothing to improve it with. Act as you see best and if you obtain me a good job at this time, be assured you will have the blessings of one grateful heart even if it be only

Yours in sickness

William Clayton

The reply to the letter was shortcoming, for on the following day, Brigham Young wrote:

"Cutlers Park
Sept. 9, 1846

Mr. William Clayton

In reply to yours of yesterday we are writing to say your services can doubtless soon be engaged at your prices. To with $1.00 per day or 3¢ per hundred words. As soon as we can ascertain the notices of the business men... We will endeavor to do well for you as your friend.

W. Richards
for Brigham Young

On Saturday, September 26th, Clayton received word that three lots had been selected for him at the town site of Winter Quarters. He planned to start for there the next Monday. In the journal entry of the following day, however, we see that the plans were changed:

"This morning Brother Smithie came with six yoke of Heber's cattle and said we must be
ready to start in five minutes while he went to water his cattle and although we had everything unprepared we were ready before he got back. I felt well enough to drive a team. We took six wagons down and camped on the same block with Heber in Cape Disappointment."\(^{41}\)

After arriving at Winter Quarters, the journal of William Clayton is silent until Sunday, November 1st, 1846. Under this date we read:

"During the last month several times I have been very sick and then again would be somewhat better. I still continue to be feeble and unable to work. I have one house nearly finished and shall in a few days occupy it. Thomas Corbitt has been down the river to fetch a load of corn on shares but President Young told me to take the whole of it for which I feel very grateful. I have sent my cattle to the rushes to be wintered, having but eight tons of hay although James and Corbitt worked from twenty-six to thirty days but Russell and Rolfe have contrived to work it into their hands, taking as Rolfe said, half of Corbitt's hay for herding my cattle while he was in the hay field. I think this is as wrong a piece of business as has been played on me through the journey."\(^{42}\)

During the following months, William appears to have been kept busy with his clerical duties and of carrying messages between the leaders of the Church and the Federal Indian agents. The Saints, at this time, were camped on the lands of the Omaha Indian Nation; however, prior consent had been obtained to spend the winter there at the time the Mormon Battalion was mustered. Another of his responsibilities was to take care of the dispersion of funds that were available in the camp from wheat and from the Mormon Battalion. \(^{43}\)

William still was not doing very well financially. There were those that appeared to be complaining, because he was being paid for his services from the funds of the camp. At this time, John D. Lee came to his defense and stated:

". . . There is Bro. Wm. Clayton who shall be paid for his services. There is but few that know how he fares. He has neither coffee, nor
sweetening, nor meat for six weeks, all the fall. Yet without a murmur."44

Following the commencement of the new year, Clayton's journal reveals that he was busily engaged taking care of the accounts of Bishop Newell K. Whitney's store in Winter Quarters. This, no doubt, helped his financial problem, as the job appears to have given him full time employment. 45

This same period was also occupied with the usual problems of raising a family. For example, on Saturday, January 2nd, he was called from the store by one of his daughters. His youngest child, nine months old, Moroni, had fallen into the fire and burned himself very badly. William records of the occasion:

"I went home and found as she said. All over the left side of his head burned, his face very badly burned, large blisters round his left eye. I immediately applied some consecrated oil and ordered them to keep it on all the time."46

The following day he reports that the child's face was much better with the exception of the area around the left eye, which was very badly burned.

One week following the accident, his wife, Margaret, gave birth to another son, which was named Joseph Thomas. Two days later, he was again blessed, for we read under date of January 12th:

"I was informed that my folks had sent for me and I went home soon after, found that Ruth had brought forth a son twenty minutes after 5:00 P.M. She had a pretty hard time, but feels comfortable as can be expected. The boy is named Newel Horace."47

During the winter of 1846-47, the Saints had erected a building at Winter Quarters, which they called the Council House. The new structure acted as a meeting place and social center. After its completion, many of William's evenings were spent with the Quadrille Band playing for the many parties and dances being held there and other places in and
around Winter Quarters.  

The early part of the year 1847, was spent by Brigham Young and his followers in preparing a group to start for the Rocky Mountains with the coming spring. This was to be an advanced party, to go ahead and find a new home for the Mormons and then the remainder would follow later.

In the midst of these preparations, William Clayton records an interesting statement. He says:

"I told Winslow Farr concerning Hosea Stout's threats to take my life after the Twelve are gone, etc. He (Farr) called at night on his return from the Council and told me to be on my guard."  

Again on the following day, April 13th, we read:

"In the evening I went to the store and told Brigham Young and Heber about Hosea Stout's calculations."

The next day Brigham Young ordered William to start west with the pioneers.

It appears that William and Hosea Stout were bitter enemies, but what the problem was seems never to have been recorded. Brigham Young, however, seems to have taken the situation in hand, but did not take sides. He ordered William to travel west, and Hosea was unexpectedly told to remain as Captain of the Guard at Winter Quarters, having previously been chosen to travel west.
CHAPTER IV

WILLIAM CLAYTON: THE PIONEER, 1847-1848

Toward a New Promised Land

As the spring of 1847 slowly approached, Brigham Young was busy selecting those who were to go West with the advance company of Pioneers to make roads and prepare the way. This advance company was to be composed of 144 men, who would travel without their families; the remainder would follow with the families when the grass was high enough for the cattle and sheep.

William Clayton did not have a great amount of notice in regard to the trip, for we read the following from the journal of Heber C. Kimball, under date of Tuesday, April 13, 1847:

"This day, Brother Young, and Bishop Whitney and myself were in the store in company with Brother William Clayton. We then and there beset him to go with us to the mountains. He most cheerfully volunteered to go, in case his family could have some assistance. This was agreed to. He remarked that he was destitute of means to fit himself out for the journey. I replied I would see that he had a proper outfit to go on. He then and there proposed to give up all the papers, records, etc., pertaining to the Church business, and also to give account to Bishop Whitney in regard to the business on the store book, etc."[1]

The following morning found William in bed with a painful dose of rheumatism that had settled in his face. At 11:00 A.M., Brigham Young and Dr. Willard Richards entered his room. President Young spoke and said: "Brother Clayton, rise up and start with the pioneers in half an hour." At two o'clock that afternoon, after hurriedly getting his clothes together, he bade farewell to his family and started the long journey west to seek out a new
home for the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The first leg of the journey was made in the carriage of Heber C. Kimball. After journeying about nineteen miles, they stopped and made their first camp of the journey that lasted nearly three and one-half months. After supper, Brother Kimball prayed and the group retired to rest.2

On Friday, April 16th, the camp was called together and organized into two divisions. Stephen Markham and A. P. Rockwood were appointed as the captains over each division. Also selected were five captains over the groups of fifty and fourteen captains over the groups of ten.3 There were in the group one-hundred and forty-three men and boys, three women and Lorenzo Young's two children. There were also seventy-three wagons, ninety-three horses, fifty-two mules, sixty-six oxen, nineteen cows, and seventeen dogs and chickens. The names of the three women in the camp were Harriet Page Young, Clarissa Decker, and Ellen Sanders. The names of the children were Isaac Perry Decker Young and Sabisky L. Young, making a total of one-hundred and forty-eight souls who started to go west of the mountains as pioneers to find a home where the saints could live in peace and enjoy the fruits of their labors; and where they would not be under the dominion of gentile governments, subject to the wrath of mobs and where the standards of peace would be raised, the Ensign to nations reared and the kingdom of God would flourish until truth should prevail, and the saints would enjoy the fulness of the gospel.4

From the following statement in Clayton's Journal, it appears that he was not too well prepared for his journey west:

"Up to 12:00 A.M. (April 16th) I had no place to put my trunk and clothing, and did not know what to do with them. However, soon after Heber told me to put them in Appleton M. Harmon's wagon, which was done. . . . This night I slept with Philo Johnson, but having only one quilt and the night severely cold, I suffered much, and took a very bad cold."5
The pioneer camp was called together at 5:00 P.M., Saturday, April 17th, and organized in the following military order: Brigham Young, lieutenant general; Stephen Markham, colonel; John Pack and Shadrack Roundy, majors. The leaders of "tens," as were previously appointed, were to hold the rank of captain. Thomas Bullock was selected as clerk of the entire camp and Thomas Tanner, captain of the cannon, with the privilege of choosing eight men to manage it in case of necessity. President Young then said:

"After we start from here, every man must keep his loaded gun in his hand, or in the wagon where he can put his hand on it at a moment's notice." 6

At a meeting on Sunday, April 18th, the following instructions were given by Brigham Young to the officers of the camp:

"At five o'clock in the morning the bugle is to be sounded as a signal for every man to arise and attend prayers before he leaves his wagon. Then cooking, eating, feeding teams, etc., 'till seven o'clock, at which time the camp is to move at the sound of the bugle. Each teamster is to keep beside his team, with his loaded gun in his hands or in his wagon where he can get it in a moment. The extra men, each to walk opposite his wagon unless he obtains permission from his officer. In case of an attack from Indians or hostile appearances, the wagons to travel in double file. The order of encampment to be in a circle with the mouth of the wagon to the outside, and the horses and stock tied inside the circle. At 8:30 P.M. the bugle to be sounded again at which time all to have prayers in their wagons and to retire to rest by nine o'clock."

After only five days upon their journey to the west, William Clayton first mentioned his idea for the roadometer, also known as the odo-meter and speedometer. In his journal, under date of Monday, April 19th, we read the following account:

"I walked some this afternoon in company with Orson Pratt and suggested to him the idea of fixing a set of wooden cog wheels to the hub of a
wagon wheel, in such order as to tell the exact number of miles we travel each day. He seemed to agree with me that it could be easily done at a trifling expense... I concluded I would go and watch them fish and started out on foot. I overtook Markham and John S. Higbee and in our conversation I mentioned to Brother John S. Higbee the same idea I had advanced to Orson Pratt, and he also seemed to coincide fully."

From the record of Tuesday, April 20th, we discover that the rheumatism from which Brother Clayton reported he was suffering, may have been nothing more than the effects of a bad tooth:

"After Brother Luke Johnson had got through distributing fish, I went and asked him to draw my tooth. He willingly agreed and getting his instruments, I sat down in a chair, he lanced the gum, then took his nippers and jerked it out. The whole operation did not take more than one minute. He only got half the original tooth, the balance being left in the jaw. After this my head and face pained me much more than before. I ate but little supper and then lay down, but could not sleep for pain till near morning."

The first Indians of the journey were encountered on Wednesday, April 21st, about 12:00 Noon, when the group came in sight of a new Pawnee Village on the bank of Loop Fork. The village was made up of upwards to one-hundred lodges set pretty close together. The journal tells us:

"At 1:00 P.M. the encampment was formed on the bank of the lake and a guard instantly placed at the passes, as many of the Indians had followed us, although they had to wade the river.... One of the Indians presented several certificates from persons who had previously traveled through their village, all certifying that the Grand Chief of the Pawnees was friendly disposed, and they had made him presents of a little powder, lead, salt, etc. Heber gave them a little tobacco, and a little salt. President Young gave to the chief, some powder, lead, salt and a number of the brethren gave a little flour each. The old chief, however, did not like us to go west through their country."
He was afraid we would kill their buffalo and drive them off. Brother Shumway told him we did not like buffalo, but this does not appear to give him much satisfaction. However, there was no appearance of hostility. In fact, all that came to camp seemed highly pleased to shake hands with our brethren and would run from one side to another so as not to miss one. . . . Brother Shumway says there are about twelve-thousand of the Pawnees in this neighborhood, and it is reported that there are five-thousand warriors. 7

Although the Indians appeared friendly the brethren took no chances as the entire camp was called together and the President advised them to have a strong guard around the camp. He called for volunteers to stand guard and about one-hundred volunteered amongst whom were all the Twelve, except Dr. Richards. 8

Under the date of Sunday, April 25th, an account of baptism for the purpose of healing is told. Brother Clayton states:

"Afternoon Elijah Newman was baptized by Tarlton Lewis in the lake for the benefit of his health. Brother Newman has been afflicted with the black scurvy in his legs and has not been able to walk without sticks, but after being baptized and hands laid on him he returned to his wagon without any kind of help seemingly much better. 9"

It seems that the only great scare and threat from the Indians during the entire journey, according to Clayton, came on Monday, April 26th. He states:

"This morning about 3:30 A.M. an alarm was sounded. I immediately got out of the wagon and learned that three of the guard who were stationed to the northeast of the camp had discovered some Indians crawling up towards the wagons. They first received alarm from the motions of one of our horses, and noticing this they went towards the spot and listening, heard something rustle in the grass; they first suspected they were wolves and fired at them. Only one gun went off and six Indians sprang up and ran from within a few rods of where they stood, another gun was then fired at
them and the camp alarmed. A strong guard was placed all around, and a charge of cannister put in the cannon." 10

About eight o'clock the same day, Joseph Mathews came into camp from seeking his horses and stated that an Indian had ridden a horse off a little before and he supposed it was Brother Little's horse, which was missing. Dr. Richard's mare was also missing. Brother Mathews stated that he went out to seek for his black man, who was out watching his teams, and as he arrived he saw Brother Little's horse, as he supposed, going towards the river. He ran towards it to turn it back to camp, but as soon as he commenced running, the horse sprang to a gallop, which made him suppose there was an Indian on him, although he could not see the Indian. A party was sent out to look, but returned unsuccessful. 11

The final experience with the Indians that day was reported during the evening by a group that had been out hunting the lost horses.

"At 6:30 O. P. Rockwell, Joseph Mathews, John Eldridge and Thomas Brown returned from hunting the two lost horses. They reported that they went back to within about two miles of where we encamped on Sunday and looking off towards the river they saw something move in the grass at the foot of a high mole. They proceeded towards it thinking it was a wolf, when within about twelve or fourteen rods Porter stopped to shoot at the supposed wolf. The moment he elevated his rifle, fifteen Indians sprang to their feet, all naked except the breech cloth, and armed with rifles and bows and arrows. Each man having a rifle slung on his back, and his bow strung tight in his hand and about twenty arrows. The Indians advanced towards them but the brethren motioned and told them to stop and held their rifles and pistols ready to meet them. When the Indians saw this they began to holler 'Bacco!' 'Bacco!' The brethren told them they had no tobacco. One of the Indians came close beside J. Mathew's horse to shake hands with Mathews, but kept his eye on the horse's bridle. When nearly within reach of the bridle, Brown cocked his pistol and pointed at the
Indian shouting if he did not leave he would kill him. At which, the Indian seeing the pistol ready to fire retreated. The Indians made signs to get the brethren lower down the river, but the brethren turned their horses to come to camp, thinking it unsafe to go near to the timber where they expected more Indians lay in ambush. When the brethren turned to come back, the Indians fired six shots at them with their rifles and the brethren immediately faced about at which the Indians fled towards the timber below. The brethren did not shoot at the Indians, even when the Indians shot at them. They saw the tracks of the horses which were missing and returned satisfied that the Pawnees had them, and no doubt intended to get the horses on which the brethren rode, but they met with too stern a reception to risk an attempt. Some of these same Indians were amongst those who came into camp when we stopped for dinner near their village, and proves that they have followed us close ever since. The brethren ran great risks indeed, but got back safe to camp without harm. "12

Heber C. Kimball has been noted in the annals of the Latter-day Saints as a great leader and missionary, but few in our day have looked upon him as an inventor. Elder Clayton informs us that Brother Kimball invented a new way of building a fire to cook on, which was well adapted to the fuel used on the prairie. It is described as follows:

"He dug a hole in the ground about 8 inches deep, 15 inches long and 8 inches wide. Then at each end of his hole he dug another about the same dimensions as the first leaving about 3 inches of earth standing between the middle and the two end holes. At the end of these partitions he made a hole through about 3 inches in diameter to serve as a draught. In the bottom of the middle hole the fire and fuel was placed, and across the top two wagon hammers to set the pots and pans on, so the fire could have free circulation underneath. By this method much cooking was done with very little fuel. To save the trouble of carrying water so far a well was dug in a short time about 4 feet deep and good water obtained."13
After describing the "Kimball" method of cooking, Clayton writes, "After supper I went and gathered some dried buffalo dung to cook with in the morning." Buffalo dung or chips was just about the only type of fuel that could be found upon the plains.

A Buffalo Hunt

The first buffalo, according to Clayton's account, were seen on Saturday, the first day of May. The journal states:

"Soon after we started this morning three buffalo were seen grazing on the bluff about six miles distance. I could see them very plain with my glass. O. P. Rockwell, Thomas Brown and Luke Johnson started on horseback to try to kill some. Soon after they went, another herd of buffalo were seen to the northwest at the foot of the bluffs about eight miles off. I counted with my glass 72 and Orson Pratt counted 74. Three of the brethren went on their horses after the latter herd. I watched the movement with the glass and saw that sometime before the brethren got to them, the buffalo fled and were soon after out of sight. . . . the hunters returned and reported that Luke Johnson shot at one and dropped him on his knees but he got up again and ran after the herd. . . . Luke lost his cap and could not find it again. Brother Higbee said he could have shot one, but Woolsey told him to hold on and pick out a good one. They being pretty near, selected a cow and designed both to shoot at her, but while they were making their plans the herd started and they missed their chance. About the time the hunters returned, another still larger herd was discovered still farther west, also at the foot of the bluffs. The President stopped... and selected eleven men to go and give chase to the last seen herd and he gave them their instructions. Although they were at least eight miles from us, I distinctly counted 101 with my glass and amongst them many calves. This being the first day buffalo has been seen on our journey and in fact the first seen by any except five or six of the brethren, it excited considerable interest and pleasure in the breasts of the brethren,
and as may be guessed, the teams moved slowly and frequently stopped to watch their movement."

After the hunters had departed the feelings of those that were left with the wagons was strung to the highest pitch and a feeling of excitement and interest appeared to prevail throughout the camp.

"They having heard and read so much of the mad ferocity of the buffalo when hotly pursued, and knowing that all the hunters were inexperienced in regard to hunting the wild buffalo. While they felt for the safety of the hunters, they still desired to see as much of the chase as the distance would allow, and were wishful that the chase might be successful as a number have no meat and a piece of fresh meat would taste good to all men save our bread stuff, and the desire to taste the much famed buffalo meat created a longing desire to see some of the herd fall. Soon as the herd commenced galloping off, the hunters followed in pursuit at full gallop and soon closed in with them. At this time I got my glass and rested it on Brother Aaron Farr's shoulder, determined to see as much of the chase as possible. I soon discovered O. P. Rockwell ride into the midst of the herd which then appeared to number over 200, others having come in sight when the herd commenced to run. Porter was soon enveloped in the cloud of dust caused by the heavy tramp of the buffalo on the dry sandy ground, but in a very short time the herd began to separate and scatter in every direction, a small party coming down the bluff again and some running west under the bluffs, others going over. The hunters closed in on the first party and commenced their fire, especially at one cow which they finally succeeded in separating from all the rest, and determined to keep to her until they killed her, except Porter, who as soon as he wounded her, left her with the hunters and pursued some of the rest. The cow was not in close quarters and after she had been shot through two or three times, Elder Kimball rode close to her with his fifteen shooter and fired over his horse's head, she dropped helpless and was soon dispatched. At the report of the gun which was very heavily loaded, Elder Kimball's horse sprang and flew
down the bluff like lightening and he having let go
the lines to shoot, her sudden motion overbalanced
him and his situation was precarious to the extreme.
The other hunters saw his situation and trembled
for his safety, but could render him no assistance.
However, being a good horseman, he maintained
his position in the saddle and soon succeeded after
some time in reining in his horse and returned to
the rest unharmed and without accident."\(^\text{15}\)

When the tally of the first recorded Mormon
buffalo hunt was finally in it stood as follows: one
bull, three cows and six calves and, as William
Clayton expresses:

"A circumstance far exceeding our expecta-
tions and best hopes, and all without the slightest
accident or loss to man or property except Luke
Johnson's cap and a ramrod to a rifle."\(^\text{16}\)

On Tuesday, May 4th, it was recorded that
a group of traders from Fort Laramie were passed.
The traders were traveling on the south side of the
river and were destined for Winter Quarters. One
of the traders cheerfully agreed to carry letters
back to Winter Quarters for the members of camp
and his offer was quickly accepted.

"When the trader went back over the river,
Thomas Woolsey, John Brown, and John Pack
accompanied him on horses to speak with a person
whom Brother Woolsey is acquainted with. They
returned soon after we stopped to feed and say that
the river is very good to cross, not being more
than two feet deep in the deepest place. . . . The
traders say furthermore, that if we continue on
this side, we shall have to cross the river twice
where the water is much deeper. . . . At a quar-
ter after five o'clock the camp was called together
and Brother Brown reported what the traders said
about the route, etc., as above. The subject was
then talked over and when it was considered that
we are making a road for thousands of saints to
follow, and they cannot ford the river when the
snow melts from the mountains, it was unanimously
voted to keep on this side as far as Fort Laramie
at least."\(^\text{17}\)

The north side was followed because there
was less travel here due to the fact that the Oregon trail followed the south side of the river.

It appears that the further they traveled on the prairie the greater the buffalo appeared in number. On Thursday, May 6th, it was recorded:

"We have never been out of sight of herd of buffalo today, and from where we are camped I am satisfied we can see over five-thousand with the glass. The prairies look black with them, both on this side and the other side of the river. Some think we have passed fifty, and some even a hundred-thousand during the day. . . . It is truly a sight wonderful to behold, and can scarcely be credited by those who have not actually seen them."18

Again on Saturday, May 8th:

"The prairie on both sides of the river is literally black with buffalo, and to try to say as to what number we have seen this morning would be folly. . . . They are more tame than they have been, and will stand till the wagons come within two-hundred yards of them. . . . It is with some difficulty that the horsemen can drive them away from the track as fast as the wagons come up."19

The Roadometer

It has been previously mentioned that Clayton had conceived of the idea of building an instrument that would measure the miles traveled each day. A crude form of this idea was carried out on May 8th, when he stated:

"I have counted the revolutions of a wagon wheel to tell the exact distance we have traveled. The reason why I have taken this method which is somewhat tedious, is because there is generally a difference of two and sometimes four miles in a day's travel between my estimation and that of some others, and they have all thought I underrated it. This morning I determined to take pains to know for a certainty how far we travel today. Accordingly I measured the circumference of the nigh hind wheel of one of Brother Kimball's wagons being the one I sleep in, in charge of Philo Johnson. I found the wheel 14 feet 8 inches in circumference,
not varying one-eighth of an inch. I then calculated how many revolutions it would require for one mile and found it precisely 360... I have counted the whole revolutions during the day's travel and I find it to be a little over eleven and a quarter miles, -- twenty revolutions over... According to my previous calculations we were two-hundred and eighty-five miles from Winter Quarters this morning before we started. After traveling ten miles I placed a small cedar post in the ground... Some have past the days travel at thirteen and some fourteen miles, which serves to convince more strongly that the distances are overrated. I have repeatedly suggested a plan of fixing machinery to a wagon wheel to tell the exact distance we travel in a day, and many begin to be sanguine for carrying it into effect, and I hope it will be done."

On Sunday, May 9th, after Brother Clayton had completed washing and putting on clean clothing, he sat down on the banks of the river and after a long train of solemn reflections respecting many things, he tells us a little of his purpose for keeping such a complete diary.

"I shall not write my thoughts here, (he states) inasmuch as I expect this journal will have to pass through other hands besides my own or that of my family, but if I can carry my plans into operation, they will be written in a manner that my family will each get their portion, whether before my death or after, it matters not."

After nearly one month of planning, the ideas and plans regarding the roadometer began to materialize, as recorded for Tuesday, May 11th.

"Brother Appleton Harmon is working at the machinery for the wagon to tell the distance we travel and expects to have it in operation tomorrow, which will save me the trouble of counting, as I have done during the last four days."

Finally on the following day, Wednesday, May 12th, the roadometer becomes a reality when it is reported:

"Brother Appleton Harmon has completed the machinery on the wagon so far that I shall only
THE ROADOMETER

(Photo courtesy of the Deseret Sunday School.)
have to count the number of miles, instead of the revolution of the wagon wheel. . . . Traveled eight miles in four hours and two minutes." 23

Wherever we have individuals coming together, differences of opinion become manifest and human weaknesses appear. This group was no exception, and a good example is as follows:

"Thursday, May 13th: Some feelings are manifest this morning between Brothers Thomas Tanner and Aaron Farr on account of the former taking the latter prisoner and putting him under a guard part of the night. Perhaps Aaron was a little out of order in conversing loud after the horn blew for prayer, but I think Brother Tanner's angry spirit more blameable." 24

Another example, perhaps a little closer to Brother Clayton, is recorded under his writings of Friday, May 14th:

"I discovered that Brother Appleton Harmon is trying to have it understood that he invented the machinery to tell the distance we travel, which makes me think less of him than I formerly did. He is not the inventor of it by a long way, but he had made the machinery, after being told how to do it. What little souls work." 25

In support of the aforementioned reference, the "Journal History," under the date of Friday, May 14, 1847, states the following:

"Howard Egan journalizes as follows:

'Brother Wm. Clayton has invented a machine, and attached it to the wagon that Brother Johnson drives, to tell the distance we travel. It is simple yet is ingenious. He got Brother Appleton Harmon to do the work. I have understood that Brother Harmon claims to be the inventor too, which I know to be a positive falsehood. He, Brother Harmon, knew nothing about the first principles of it, neither did he know how to do the work only as Brother Clayton told him from time to time. It shows the weakness of human nature.'"

On May 16th, the new piece of machinery was completed and ready to be put to use. Of the
occasion, William wrote:

"About noon today, Brother Appleton Harmon completed the machinery on the wagon called a 'roadometer' by adding a wheel to revolve once in ten miles, showing each mile and also each quarter mile we travel, and then casing the whole over so as to secure it from the weather. We are now prepared to tell accurately, the distance we travel from day to day which will supersede the idea of guessing, and be satisfaction not only to this camp, but to all who hereafter travel this way. I have prepared another board to put up here on which the distance from Winter Quarters is marked at 356-3/4 miles. I have also written on it that the last seventy miles are measured, and we shall continue to measure and put up guide posts as often as circumstances will permit through the journey. The whole machinery consists of a shaft about 18 inches long placed on gudgeons, one in the axle tree of the wagon, near which are six arms placed at equal distances around it, and in which a cog works which is fastened on the hub of the wagon wheel, turning the shaft once round at every six revolutions of the wagon wheel. The upper gudgeon plays in a piece of wood nailed to the wagon box, and near this gudgeon on the shaft a screw is cut. The shaft lays at an angle of about forty-five degrees. In this screw, a wheel of sixty cogs works on an axle fixed in the side of the wagon, and which makes one revolution each mile. In the shaft on which this wheel runs, four cogs are cut on the fore part which plays in another wheel of forty cogs which shows the miles and quarters to ten miles. The whole is cased over and occupies a space of about 18 inches long, 15 inches high and 3 inches thick."

At several times during the trip, it is reported that Brigham Young had to call the group together and reprimand them for not living up to the regulations of the camp. His lecture of Tuesday, May 18th, is an example.

"He referred to some who had left meat on the ground and would not use it because it was not hind quarter. Some would murmur because a fore quarter of meat was allotted to them, etc., which is not right, for God has given us a commandment
that we should not waste menie, nor take life unless it is needful, but he can see a disposition in this camp to slaughter everything before them, yea if all the buffalo and game there is on our route were brought together to the camp, there are some who would never cease until they had destroyed the whole. Some men will shoot as much as thirty times at a rabbit if they did not kill it, and are continually wasting their ammunition, but when they have used all they have got, they may have the pleasure of carrying their empty guns to the mountains and back, for he will not furnish them. . . . Such things are not right, and he wants them to cease and all take an interest in the welfare of the camp, be united, and receive the meat as a blessing from God and not as a stink offering from the devil." 27

An example of some of the evening amusements engaged in by the members of this pioneer group are brought out in the following quotation.

"The evening was spent very joyfully by most of the brethren, it being very pleasant and moonlight. A number danced till the bugle sounded for bedtime at nine o'clock. A mock trial was also prosecuted in the case of the camp vs. James Davenport for blocking the highway and turning ladies out of their course. Jackson Redding acted as the presiding judge. Elder Whipple, attorney for the defendant and Luke Johnson, attorney for the people. We have many such trials in the camp which are amusing enough and tend among other things to pass away the time cheerfully during leisure moments." 28

On Friday, May 21st, more Indians were met toward evening and the camp was carefully formed in a circle with the wagons as close together as possible.

"As the camp was forming the . . . Indians came nearer, being a man and his squaw. They represented by signs that they were Sioux and that a party of them are now on the bluffs north of us and not far distant. By the aid of glasses we could see several on the bluffs with their ponies, evidently watching our movements. . . . President Young
gave orders not to bring them into camp, and they soon rode off to the bluffs. The man has got a good cloth coat on and appears well dressed. The horses they rode are said to be work horses which makes us suspect they have stolen them from travelers."29

It appears that no more Indians were seen until the following Monday, when at about five-thirty o'clock a party of Indians was discovered on the opposite side of the river moving west. Clayton reports:

"When we formed our encampment they crossed over the river. Some of the brethren went to meet them carrying a white flag with them. When the Indians saw the flag, some of them began to sing, and their chief held up a U. S. flag. It was soon ascertained that their object was to obtain something to eat. A number of them came to the camp and were conducted around by Colonel Markham and Rockwood. . . . They are all well dressed and very noble looking, some having good clean blankets, others nice robes artfully ornamented with beads and paintings. All had many ornaments on their clothing and ears, some had nice painted shells suspended from the ear. All appeared to be well armed with muskets. Their mocassins of a clear white, ornamented with beads, etc. They fit very tight to the foot. For cleanliness and neatness, they will vie with the most tasteful whites. They are thirty-five in number, about half squaws and children. They are Sioux and have two recommends certifying as to their friendship, etc. . . . After the Indians had viewed the camp, they returned to their horses and the rest of the party who have camped on the banks of the river about a quarter of a mile west of us. Elder Sherwood returned with them and soon after came back accompanied by the chief and his squaw who signified a wish to abide with our camp tonight. The brethren fixed up a tent for them to sleep under. Porter Rockwell made them some coffee, and they were furnished with some victuals. The old chief amused himself very much by looking at the moon through a telescope for as much as twenty minutes."30

Under the heading of Monday, May 25th, Elder Clayton gives us another clue to his purpose
of keeping such a complete and descriptive journal. He states:

"I have been writing in Elder Kimball's journal since dark, and have but little chance to write as much as I want in my own and his both, but I feel determined to do all I can to keep a journal of this expedition which will be interesting to my children in after days and perhaps to many of the Saints." 31

It appears that during the latter part of May, the camp of Pioneers, at least in the eyes of its leaders, Heber C. Kimball and Brigham Young, was becoming very boisterous and forming several bad habits that were contrary to Mormon belief. The first reprimand came on the evening of Friday, May 28th, when Elder Kimball came to the next wagon where some of the boys were playing cards. He told them his views and disapproval of their spending time gaming and dancing and mock trying, etc., and, especially, the profane language frequently uttered by some. He reasoned with them on the subject and showed them that it would lend from bad to worse if persisted in until the consequences would become serious. He then exorted them to be more sober and wise in their actions. 32

The most severe reprimand of the entire journey came on Saturday, May 29th, when President Brigham Young called the entire camp together and preached a rather lengthy and severe sermon. Among other points he stated:

"Nobody has told me what has been going on in the camp, but I have known it all the while. I have been watching its movements . . . and I know the result if it is not put to a stop. . . . if you do not open your hearts so that the Spirit of God can enter . . . I know that you are a ruined people and will be destroyed and that without remedy, and unless there is a change and a different course of conduct, a different spirit to what is now in this camp, I go no farther. . . . If this camp was composed of men who had newly received the Gospel . . . I should feel like preaching to them and watching over them and telling them all the time, day by day. But here are the Elders of Israel . . .
and have they got faith enough to rise up and stop a mean, low, groveling, covetous, quarrelsome spirit? No, they have not. . . . The brethren say they want a little exercise to pass away time in the evenings, but if you can't tire yourselves bad enough with a day's journey without dancing every night, carry your guns on your shoulders and walk, carry your wood to camp instead of lounging and lying asleep in your wagons, increasing the load until your teams are tired to death and ready to drop to the earth. Help your teams . . . and that will give you exercise enough without dancing . . . joking, nonsense, profane language, trifling conversation and loud laughter do not belong to us. . . . Now let every man repent of his weakness . . . and stop your swearing and profane language, for it is in this camp and I know it . . . I now tell you if you don't stop it you shall be cursed by the Almighty and shall dwindle away and be damned . . . I understand there are several in this camp who do not belong to the Church. I am the man who will stand up for them and protect them in all their rights. And they shall not trample on our rights nor on the priesthood. They shall reverence and acknowledge the name of God and His priesthood, and if they set up their heads and seek to introduce iniquity into this camp and to trample on the priesthood, I swear to them, they shall never go back to tell the tale. I will leave them where they will be safe. If they want to retreat they can now have the privilege, and any man who chooses to go back rather than abide the law of God can now have the privilege of doing so before we go any farther. . . . I want the brethren to be ready for meeting tomorrow at the time appointed, instead of rambling off, and hiding in their wagons to play cards. I think it will be good for us to have a fast meeting tomorrow and a prayer meeting to humble ourselves and turn to the Lord and he will forgive us."33

This sermon by President Young seemed to have a great effect upon the spirit of the camp as conditions were reported to be much improved the following day. As was brought out in his sermon, a prayer meeting was also to be held on the next day. The account follows:
"At nine o'clock most of the brethren retired a little south of the camp and had a prayer meeting, and as many as could expressed their feelings. At a little before twelve they met again in the same spot to partake of the sacrament. Soon afterwards all the members of the council of the K. of G. in the camp, except Brother Thomas Bullock, went onto the bluffs and selecting a small, circular, level spot surrounded by bluffs and out of sight, we clothed ourselves in the priestly garments and offered up prayers to God for ourselves, the camp and all pertaining to it, the brethren in the army, our families and all the Saints, President Young being mouth. We all felt well and glad for the privilege. The members of the above council are Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Orson Pratt, George A. Smith, Wilford Woodruff, Amasa Lyman, Ezra T. Benson, Phineas H. Young, John Pack, Charles Shumway, Shadrack Roundy, Albert P. Rockwood, Erastus Snow, myself, Albert Carrington and Porter Rockwell. The two latter having no clothing with them, stood guard at a little distance from us to prevent interruption."

**Fort Laramie**

On Tuesday, June 1st, the group came in sight of Fort Laramie, where a group of Saints from Mississippi, under the direction of Robert Crow, had been waiting for them for a period of two weeks. This group consisted of seventeen members that had come to Ft. Laramie, via Pueblo, where they met with the sick detachment of the Mormon Battalion that had been wintering there. They stated that the Pueblo brethren had expected to receive their pay and start for this point (Ft. Laramie) and would probably arrive in about two weeks.

Upon arriving at Fort Laramie, Brother Clayton makes the following summary:

"We have arrived so far on our journey without accident except the loss of two horses by Indians and two killed. We have been prosperous on our journey, the camp are all in better health than when we left Winter Quarters and we see
daily that the Lord blesses us and directs the movements of this camp as seemeth Him good and as is for our good and prosperity. "

During their stay at Fort Laramie, a trip was taken to the store of the local trader. It was stated that he (the trader) traded solely with the Sioux, for the Sioux would not steal on their own land. Some of the prices of his goods were as follows: A pair of moccasins were worth $1.00, a lariat $1.00, a pound of tobacco $1.50 and a gallon of whiskey $32.00. They had no sugar, coffee or spices, as their spring stores had not yet arrived. It was also reported that many souls lived at the fort--mostly French, half-breeds, and a few Sioux Indians.

While at Fort Laramie, which was also called Fort John, the Twelve decided that Amasa Lyman should go with Brothers Woolsey, Tippets, and Stevens to Pueblo. They departed on Wednesday, June 2nd, with President Young, Kimball, Richards, and Pratt accompanying them to the Laramie Fork and there they held a council, knelt down and dedicated them to God.

Elder Heber C. Kimball records in his journal, under the date of June 5th, that Elder Clayton had undertaken to put up a guide board every ten miles through the journey, telling the distance from Winter Quarters.

At eleven o'clock, Sunday, June 6th, four Missourians came up mounted, being a part of a company a little behind. Some of them were recognized by the brethren and the Missourians seemed a little afraid and were not very fond of the Mormon's company. Elder Clayton added the personal remark: "And I feel to wish that their fears may follow them even to Oregon."

During the day, the Missouri company passed by the camp of the Saints and it was reported that they had nineteen wagons and two carriages. They also had many cows, horses, and young cattle with them, and most of the wagons had five yoke of cattle pulling them with few less than four. Several of the men came to look at the roadometer, having heard from some of the brethren
that the Mormons had one. They expressed a wish to each other to see inside and looked upon it as a curiosity. Clayton states: "I paid no attention to them inasmuch as they did not address themselves to me."40

On the following day, another company of Missourians passed the Mormon group, having thirteen wagons and mostly four yoke of oxen to each. They reported they were from Andrew County, Missouri.

An interesting note concerning the Mississippi Saints that joined the group at Fort Laramie is recorded under the date of Monday, June 7th:

"Our hunters have killed a long tailed deer and an antelope, which were distributed as usual. Brother Crow's hunter also killed a deer, but they are unwilling to conform to the rules of the camp in dividing and reserve it all to themselves. Brother Crow observed that if they got more than they could use they would be willing to let the camp have some."41

An explanation to the attitude of Crow's company might be explained in the following statement:

"In regard to Brother Crow's meat, etc., I afterwards learned that the whole family had to depend on Myers (their guide) for what they eat, having no bread stuff, nor anything only what he kills, and the little flour and meal paid to him for a part of the ferrage, he having a small claim on Bordeaux. (Bordeau was the trader at Fort Laramie.)"42

On Saturday, June 12th, while the Mormons were ferrying their wagons over the Sweetwater River, two of the Missourian companies arrived and offered to pay the Mormons well if they would carry their company over in the boat. A contract was made to do so for $1.50 per load; the brethren to receive their pay in flour at the rate of $2.50 per hundred. At the close of the day the group had earned $34.00 worth of flour with their boat, which came as a great blessing to the camp, inasmuch as a number of the brethren had been without bread stuff for some days. Elder Clayton remarks:
"The Missourian company seem to feel well toward us and express their joy at having got across the river so soon." During the procedure, one of the Mormons, Rodney Badger, exchanged wagons with one of the Missourians and got a wagon as good as his own, only the tires needed setting, plus a horse, 100 lbs. of flour, 25 lbs. of bacon, and some crackers. The provisions and horse were considered to be worth as much as his wagon. 43

It was finally decided by the leadership of the Saints to leave a company of men at the Sweetwater to ferry over the gentile companies for $1.50 a load, until the next company of Mormons arrived. The group that was assigned to remain was as follows: Thomas Grover, John S. Higbee, Luke Johnson, Appleton Harmon, Edmund Ellsworth, and Benjamin F. Stewart. Thomas Grover was appointed to be their leader. 44

The fishing experienced by this early group would probably make most of our modern day fishing enthusiasts very envious. Brother Clayton, who was a very ardent fisherman, makes the following remark, dated Friday, June 18th.

"I went with Brother Pack to fish in the last creek we crossed about a mile and a half distance. We found the fish numerous and had good luck. I caught sixty-five very nice ones which would average half a pound weight each. About six o'clock I started back, but found I had got more than I could easily carry to camp." 45

One of the most interesting experiences with the Missourians, that Clayton relates, took place on Saturday, June 21st, when Elder Heber C. Kimball and Ezra T. Benson, were riding ahead looking for a camp ground. He writes:

"... as they were riding slowly along, they saw six men suddenly spring up from the grass to the left of the road. The men were clothed in blankets, some white and some blue and had every appearance of... Indians. The six mounted their horses and started on in a direction parallel with the road. The brethren also kept on their course. In a little while one of the supposed Indians left the rest and rode towards the brethren and motioned
with his hand for them to go back. They, however, kept on and paid no attention to his motion. When he saw them still coming, he wheeled round and joined the others who all put spurs to their horses and were soon out of sight behind a higher piece of land. Soon as they were out of sight, Elder Kimball and Benson spurred their horses and rode to the ridge and as they arrived there, they discovered a camp of the Missourians about a quarter of a mile to the left of the road and the six Indians were just entering the camp. The brethren were now satisfied that these Indians were Missourians and had taken this plan to keep us back from this good camp ground. It is considered as an old Missouri trick and an insult to the camp, and if they undertake to play Indian again, it is more than likely they will meet with Indian treatment. Their camp left here a little before we arrived this morning and it is now President Young's intention to press on a little faster and crowd them up a little. 46

The order of travel used by this first group was for each company of ten to go forward in their turn. The first "ten" in the first division took the lead one day, then on the second day it fell in the rear of the first division, the second "ten" taking the lead, and this continued in the same order. By this manner, every man had his equal privilege of traveling one with another. 47

The leavening which these early brethren used in their bread was obtained in a very strange, but interesting manner, as explained in the following quotation from Clayton's journal entry of Monday, June 21st.

"After traveling three and a quarter miles we arrived on a bed of saleratus which was a quarter of a mile across and on which were several lakes of salt water. This place looks swampy and smells bad. The beds of saleratus smell like lime, but the saleratus itself is said to raise bread equal to the best bought in eastern markets. Lorenzo Young gathered a pail full in a short time with a view to test its qualities. . . . After we halted, Sister Harriet Young made some bread using the lake saleratus and when baked was pronounced to raise the bread and taste equal to the
best she had ever used and it requires less of this than the common saleratus. A number of the brethren went back during the halt and filled their pails with it calculating to make use of it during our future journey."48

Although the bread was enjoyed by the camp, it appears that in some corners there were rather violent repercussions. It was first spoken of over a week later, on Tuesday, June 29th, when we read:

"Many of the brethren have gone down sick within the past three days and a number more this evening. They generally begin with a headache, succeeded by violent fever, and some go delirious for a while. Brother Fowler was seized this afternoon and this evening is raving. It is supposed by some that this sickness is caused by the use of the mineral saleratus or alkali picked up on the lakes and surface of the land and it is considered poisonous. Some consider also that we inhale the effluvium arising from it, which has the like effect. It appears to be an article which ought to be used with great care if used at all. There has been no case considered dangerous yet, nor any of long duration."49

On Sunday, June 27th, the third anniversary of the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum, Brother Clayton makes the following comment:

"It is three years today since our brethren Joseph and Hyrum were taken from us and it was the general feeling to spend the day in fasting and prayer but the gentile companies being close in our rear and feed scarce, it was considered necessary to keep ahead of them for the benefit of our teams, but many minds have reverted back to the scenes at Carthage Jail, and it is a gratification that we have so far prospered in our endeavors to get from under the grasp of our enemies."

The colorful trapper and Indian trader, Jim Bridger, was met on Monday, June 28th. Bridger was on his way to Fort Laramie, but camped overnight with the group. Clayton says the following of Bridger:

"A while after we camped, the twelve and
several others went to Mr. Bridger to make some inquiries concerning our future route, the country, etc. It was impossible to form a correct idea of either from the very imperfect and irregular way he gave his descriptions."

Elder Samuel Brannan arrived in the Mormon camp on Wednesday, June 30th, having come from the Pacific to meet the group and to obtain council. He was accompanied by a man described only as Smith, of the firm of Jackson, Heaton and Bonney, bogus snakers of Nauvoo. There was another young man in company with them, but no name is mentioned. They arrived via Fort Hall and brought with them several copies of the California Star, a paper published by Brannon. It was reported that they had eleven deaths on board their ship during their voyage over. The others were all reported to be doing well.

During a meeting of the Twelve on Friday, July 2nd, it was decided to send Phineas Young, George Woodard, Aaron Farr, Eric Glines, and Rodney Badger back to the next company to serve as their guides. They were to take the cutter wagon instead of each taking a horse, which could not be spared by the camp.

On Saturday, July 10th, Miles Goodyear came into the pioneer camp. Clayton states that Goodyear's report of the valley was more favorable than some, but said:

"We have an idea he is anxious to have us make a road to his place through selfish motives."

Under the date of Sunday, July 11th, Clayton makes the following comment in regard to the country.

"There are some in camp who are getting discouraged about the looks of the country but thinking minds are not much disappointed, and we have no doubt of finding a place where the Saints can live which is all we ought to ask or expect. It is evident the country grows better as we proceed west, and vegetation is more plentiful and looks richer. After dark, a meeting was called to decide which of the two roads we shall take from
here. It was voted to take the right hand or northern road, but the private feelings of all the Twelve were that the other would be better. But such matters are left to the choice of the camp so that none may have room to murmur at the Twelve hereafter. "53

It was reported during the day of Monday, July 12, that President Young was taken very sick. After resting for two hours, the camp moved on again with the exception of President Young's and Elder Kimball's wagons, which concluded to remain the rest of the day because of the President's sickness. The following day it was reported that President Young was a little better; but during the previous evening he was insensible and raving.

Elder Clayton's diagnosis of the fever which had struck the President can be seen in the following statement:

"There are one or two new cases of sickness in our camp, mostly fever which is very severe on the first attack, generally rendering its victims delirious for some hours, and then leaving them in a languid, weakly condition. It appears that a good dose of pills or medicine is good to break the fever. The patient then needs some kind of stimulant to brace his nerves and guard him against another attack. I am satisfied that diluted spirits is good in this disease after breaking up the fever."54

On Saturday, July 17th, it was reported that President Young was very sick and could not endure to travel further. Accordingly, Elder Kimball and some others went to select a camping ground and soon returned and reported a satisfactory spot. In the afternoon, Elders Kimball, Richards, Smith, Benson, and others, went onto a mountain, clothed in their priesthood robes, and prayed for Brigham Young.55

During the meeting of the following day, Elder Kimball proposed to the brethren that all the camp, except President Young's eight or ten other wagons and brethren enough to take care of them, proceed on through the canyon, find a good place and begin to plant potatoes, as there was little time to spare. The proposition was acceded to by unanimous vote.56
The following day the main body then journeyed on, leaving Brigham Young and a small group to care for him.

In the Tops of the Mountains

The morning of Thursday, July 22nd, found Elders Orson Pratt, George A. Smith, John Brown, Joseph Mathews, John Pack, O. P. Rockwell, and J. C. Little leaving the main body and traveling on horses to seek out a suitable place to plant some potatoes and turnips, as time for planting was growing very short. 57

It was on this same day that William Clayton first viewed the Salt Lake Valley. His account is as follows:

While the brethren were cutting the road, I followed the old one to the top of the hill and on arriving there was much cheered by a handsome view of the Great Salt Lake lying, as I should judge, from twenty-five to thirty miles to the west of us; and at eleven o'clock I sat down to contemplate and view the surrounding scenery. . . . For my own part I am happily disappointed in the appearance of the valley of the Salt Lake, but if the land be rich as it has the appearance of being, I have no fears but the Saints can live here and do well while we will do right. When I commune with my heart and ask myself whether I would choose to dwell here in this wild looking country amongst the Saints surrounded by friends, though poor, enjoying the privileges and blessings of the everlasting priesthood, with God for our King and Father; or dwell amongst the gentiles with all their wealth and good things of the earth, to be eternally mobbed, harassed, hunted, our best men murdered and every good man's life continually in danger, the soft whisper echoes loud and reverberates back in tones of stern determination; give me the quiet wilderness and my family to associate with surrounded by the Saints and adieu to the gentile world till God say return and avenge you of your enemies. If I had my family with me, how happy could I be, for I dread nothing so much as the journey back again and when I think of the many dangers from accident which families
traveling this road are continually liable to and especially this last mountain road from Weber River, it makes me almost shudder to think of it and I could almost envy those who have got safely through, having their families with them, yet they will doubtless have a hard time of it the coming winter."58

On Friday, July 23rd, the main group moved into the valley and made their final camp of the long journey on the banks of City Creek. Elder Clayton stated:

"The grass here appears even richer and thicker on the ground than where we left this morning. The soil looks indeed rich, black and a little sandy. The grass is about four feet high... As soon as the camp was formed a meeting was called and the brethren addressed by Elder Richards, mostly on the necessity and propriety of working faithfully and diligently to get potatoes, turnips, etc., in the ground... At the opening, the brethren united in prayer and asked the Lord to send rain on the land. The brethren immediately rigged three plows and went to plowing a little northeast of the camp... During the afternoon, heavy clouds began to collect in the southwest and at five o'clock we had a light shower with thunder. We had rains for about two hours."59

The plowing was renewed on Saturday, July 24th, and many were planting potatoes. At 11:45 A.M., President Young and Kimball arrived at the camp. President Young seemed much better. Most of the brethren of the camp were well pleased with the valley, but some were heard to complain about the lack of timber. Elder Clayton states:

"There appears to be a unanimous agreement in regard to the richness of the soil and there are good prospects of sustaining and fattening stock with little trouble. The only objection is a lack of timber and rain. The latter God will send in its season if the Saints are faithful and I think yesterday was a proof that He listens to and answers the prayers of the Saints."60

About ten o'clock on the morning of Monday, July 26th, President Young sent a horse to William
with instructions to join him and some others going on a short exploring expedition. The company consisted of President Young, Heber C. Kimball, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Ezra T. Benson, Willard Richards, Albert Carrington and William Clayton. They took a course northward and passed by the land where the brethren were plowing and planting. Clayton's journal entry states:

"About three-quarters of a mile north of the camp, we arrived on a beautiful table land, level and nicely sloping to the west. Here we halted to view it and the more we viewed, the better we were satisfied that it is as handsome a place for a city as can be imagined. At the east part there is a considerable creek of clear water descending from the mountains and just above this place it branches into two forks, one running northwest the other southwest and the two nicely surrounding this place, and so well arranged that should a city be built here the water can be turned into every street at pleasure. We passed on and began to ascend the mountains, the President signifying a wish to ascend a high peak to the north of us. After some hard toil and time we succeeded in gaining the summit, leaving our horses about two-thirds the way up. President Young felt pretty well fatigued when he got up. Some of the brethren feel like naming this Ensign Peak. From this place, we had a good view of the Salt Lake and could see that the water extended for a great many miles to the north of us. There appears to be land, although white with salt, all the way to the mountain on the northwest, which we had previously supposed was surrounded by water. We can see a pretty large stream winding from the south to the north through the valley but keeping not many miles distant from these mountains towards the lake. After satisfying ourselves, we began to descend..."

The explorations then continued to the hot sulphur springs at the bottom of the mountain and then westward to the stream now known as the Jordan River. The same day several other brethren had traveled over to the mountains on the west side of the valley.

The planting of crops continued during the
remaining part of the month and on July 31st, Colonel Stephen Markham reported the following progress:

"... there are three lots of land already broke. One lot of thirty-five acres of which two-thirds is already planted with buckwheat, corn, oats, etc. One lot of eight acres which is all planted with corn, potatoes, beans, etc. And a garden of ten acres, four acres of which is sown with garden seed. ... there are about three acres of corn already up about two inches above the ground and some beans and potatoes up too. This is the result of eight days' labor, besides making a road to the timber, hauling and sawing timber for a boat, making and repairing plows, etc. There have been thirteen plows and three harrows worked during the week."

During the evening of the same day, William reports that the following message was given to the members of the Mormon Battalion present in the valley:

"... the counsel is for the brethren to keep their guns and their powder and their balls and lead and not let the Indians have it for they will shoot down our cattle. They stole guns yesterday and had them under their blankets and if you don't attend to this you are heating a kettle of boiling water to scald your own feet. If you listen to counsel you will let them alone and let them eat the crickets, there's a plenty of them. I understand they offered to sell the land and we were to buy it of them. The Utahs would want pay for it too. The land belongs to our Father in Heaven and calculate to plow and plant it and no man will have power to sell his inheritance for he cannot remove it; it belongs to the Lord. I am glad I have come to a place where I feel free. I am satisfied and we are in a goodly land. My family is back, my teams are helping on several families and leaving ours. If my family were here I would not go over that road again. I believe in Brother Joseph's religion which he said was a key that would save every man or woman, and it is for every man to mind his own business and let other people's business alone. We will all have farms and cultivate them and plant
vineyards, and if we are faithful, five years will not pass away before we are better off than we ever were in Nauvoo. If we had brought our families along everybody else would have come; and we must lose another year. We could not bring all the soldier's families for the same reason that we did not bring our own families. I thank the Lord that there are so many of the soldiers here. If they had tarried in Winter Quarters there would have been many more deaths among them. We brought many of these pioneers to save their lives; many of them were very sick and were carried out of their beds and put into the wagons. They have mostly recovered their health and we have been prosperous and have been permitted to arrive here alive. There has not one died on the journey, nor an ox nor horse nor anything except one of Brother Crow's oxen, which was poisoned. We lost several horses by accident and we shall be prosperous on our journey back again if we are faithful, those of us who go, and we shall see and enjoy the society of our families again. We will one day have a house built here and have the forts and go into the house and administer for our dead." 64

President Brigham Young assigned William Clayton to return to Winter Quarters with the ox teams, which were to leave two weeks before the horse teams. The company was to then wait at Grand Island, if they arrived first, to hunt buffalo and then dry the meat. Clayton was also assigned to have the roadometer repaired for the trip. 65

In the meantime, Thomas Bullock had set up bathing facilities at one of the warm springs north of the city plot. William took advantage of them on Tuesday, August 3rd. He says of the experience, "I found the effects very refreshing and beneficial." 66

An entire new roadometer was constructed by William A. King. It was completed on Saturday, August 7th. The new meter was an improvement in that it would register the distance for one-thousand miles without keeping any account, which would make it a little easier for the camp historian.

While these pioneers were building a new
city, President Young instructed them that they were to make a renewal of their covenants by being rebaptized. A dam was built across City Creek, and it was here that the ordinance was performed. Under the date of Saturday, August 7th, William records:

"In the evening, many of the brethren went and were baptized in the dam by Elder Kimball for the remission of sins; Elders Pratt, Woodruff, and Smith attending to confirmation. I went and was baptized amongst the rest. It has been recommended for all the camp to be baptized and this evening they have commenced it."67

An interesting note is found which leaves some of Clayton's personal thoughts for us to read and gives a description of his duties while crossing the plains. He says:

"I have received from Elder Kimball a pair of buckskin pants, as a present I suppose, but as I have on similar occasions been branded with the idea of receiving a great many kindnesses without consideration, I will for this once state a little particular on the other side of the question. I acknowledge that I have had the privilege of riding in a wagon and sleeping in it, of having my victuals cooked and some meat and milk, and occasionally a little tea or coffee furnished. My flour I furnished myself. I have had no team to take care of. Howard Egan has done most of my washing until a month ago in consideration of the privilege of copying from my journal, using my desk, ink, etc. The balance of my washing I have hired. Now what have I done for Brother Kimball? Am I justly indebted on this journey? Answer: I have written in his journal 124 pages of close matter on an average of 600 words to a page, which if paid at the price of recording deeds in Illinois would amount to over $110. I have collected the matter myself, besides writing letters, etc. This has been for his special benefit. I have kept an account of the distance we have traveled for over 800 miles of the journey, attended to the measurement of the road, kept the distances from creek to creek, from one encampment to another; put up a guide board every ten miles from Fort John (Laramie) to this place.
with the assistance of Philo Johnson. I have mapped some for Dr. Richards and keeping my own journal forms the whole benefit to be derived by my family by this mission. I have yet considerable to write in Elder Kimball's journal before I return. I am expected to keep a table of distances of the whole route returning from here to Winter Quarters and make a map when I get through, and this for public benefit. Now how much am I considered to be in debt, and how often will it be said that I was furnished by others with victuals, clothing, etc., that I might enjoy this journey as a mission of pleasure. I have spent most of this day calculating the height of this spot above the level of the sea for Elder Pratt."

William Clayton spent considerable time working with Elder Orson Pratt, who was surveying and measuring the area for the new city. In the "Journal History" entry, under date of Thursday, August 12, 1847, we note:

"Orson Pratt and William Clayton spent the forenoon in taking observations to ascertain the height of the Temple Block. It was found to be 4,309 feet above the level of the sea, and 65 feet above the Utah outlet. The altitude one mile up the creek from the Temple Block was 214 feet above the Temple grounds."

The first visit of William to Great Salt Lake was on Saturday, August 14th. He estimated the distance at twenty-two miles and states: "We all bathed in it and found the reports of those who had previously bathed in no ways exaggerated."

Return to Winter Quarters

On August 16th, 1847, William Clayton, with seventy other men, thirty-three wagons and ninety-two yoke of oxen, left the Valley of the Great Salt Lake for the Missouri River. There were two divisions made up of companies of "tens". Tunis Rappleyee and Shadrach Roundy were the two captains of the divisions, and William Clayton was historian. The third and fourth "tens" of the second division were members of the Mormon Battalion, returning to meet their families on
the plains. Each man had been provided with eight pounds of flour, nine pounds of meal, and a few pounds of beans. For the rest of their subsistence, they had to depend upon game killed along the way.  

The return journey does not seem to have been too enjoyable. Being late in the year, the weather was rather cool at times, the Indians caused a few problems, and there was a lack of unity among the men.

Under date of August 29th, William tells of meeting some Shoshone Indians and trading with them. From all appearances, it looks as if he struck a good bargain. He states that he traded some balls and a little powder for one robe, one elk skin, two buckskins, nine antelope skins, and a pair of moccasins.

While at Independence Rock, Elder Clayton recorded some of his personal philosophy. He states:

"I walked over the rock and had some solemn meditations and felt to humble myself and call upon the Lord for myself and family, for this company, the twelve, and all the companies on the road. Experience has taught me many maxims of late and I intend to profit by them. Be not hasty to promise, lest thy promise be considered worthless. Make not many promises without reflection, lest thou fail to fulfill them and it dampen the confidence of thy friend. If thou promise many things and regard not to fulfill them and it dampen the confidence of thy friend, then be assured that thy friends will despise thy promises and have no dependence in them. Seek not to speculate out of a good brother."  

After the group had been on the road for about one month, disunity appeared to be creeping into the camp. On September 12th, Clayton stated that all the camp's breadstuff was gone and it would be necessary for them to live entirely on meat for the remainder of the journey. He also states:

"John Pack has got flour enough to last him through. We have all messed together until ours was eaten, and now John Pack proposes for each
man to mess by himself. He has concealed his flour and beans together with tea, coffee, sugar, etc., and cooks after the rest have gone to bed. Such things seem worthy of remembrance for a time to come."73

Two days later, while camped on the Platte River, Clayton again records:

"In consequence of some things which have passed and some which at present exist, I have concluded to go on as fast as circumstances will permit to Winter Quarters and I intend to start tomorrow. Some have opposed it, but not with a good grace. However, I have no fears that the council will censure me when they know the cause. If they do, I will bear the censure in preference to what I now bear."

The following day, he started out with several others, as he had threatened to do. He states, however:

"The ox teams have kept nearly up with us and it is evident they intend to keep with us or kill their teams, and being aware that if the teams are injured, we shall be blamed for it, we have given up going ahead to save the teams."74

Several days later, the group met some French Indian traders. The traders invited the group to eat with them and prepared a feast of buffalo ribs. The food was cooked by a squaw, but William stated that it looked much cleaner than the food prepared by their own men.75

September 25th, found the group stopped to hunt buffalo, because it was feared that after a few more days they would be out of buffalo country. At this time, William's pen tells us that he again became irritated with his traveling companion, John Pack.

"During the afternoon, Joseph Hancock killed a buffalo cow and Captain Rappleyee sent a wagon to fetch the meat to camp. When it arrived, John Pack took the hind quarters and the best meat off the cow, together with all the tallow, then sent for Rappleyee to take what he had left and divide it amongst the company. When Rappleyee saw what
he had done, he felt angry and Pack and he had some high words on the subject. Brother Pack's conduct has caused many unpleasant feelings against him among the brethren. He takes all the tallow he can lay his hands on, and all the best meat and has now got more than will serve him home while many of the rest have scarcely any and that of the poorest pieces. He has plenty of flour, meal, beans, tea, coffee, sugar, etc., while most of the camp are destitute of everything but meat, and while he continues to take the tallow and best of the meat there will be hard feelings against him. He has disgraced himself in the estimation of many within the past few days. I do not think I can ever forget him for his treatment of me, but I cherish no malice nor feelings of revenge, but I hope and pray that I may forever have wisdom to keep from under his power."76

The day following, the second division killed more meat than they needed, but would not share it with the first division. The first division, being short of guns, were also short of meat. "This also tended to increase the feeling of envy and bitterness which already exists too much."77

Several weeks later, several of the group, including Clayton, decided to move on rather than wait for the main body, which was tarrying too long in one place. It was at this time they had a good scare from a band of Indians. William records the following under the date of October 8th:

"Just as we started this morning, twelve or fifteen Indians were seen running over the river towards us. They soon came up to the wagons which were somewhat scattered and although they shook hands, they showed savage hostility. Four of the oxen were not yet yoked up; these they drove off from the wagons which now began to draw together. They soon satisfied us that they were bent on robbing us and without ceremony took Jack Redding's horse from behind the wagon. Lamb went to take it from them and seized the lariat which another immediately cut with his knife. Lamb then got on the horse, but no sooner on than two Indians pulled him off and marched off with the horse. They stole Jack Redding's knife out of
its sheath and one from John Pack. They also tried to get Jack off the horse he was riding, but he kept his seat. They tried Skeen's horse but he kicked one of them over. The Indians then tried to get the men out of their wagons so that they might get in and plunder, but every man kept in his wagon to guard it and we concluded to turn about and go back to the company. We accordingly started and the Indians turned back towards the timber with the horse, four oxen, two knives and a sack of salt. After traveling back about six miles, we met the company, told the story and bore their slang and insults without saying much, but not without thinking a great deal. . . . Many hard speeches have passed among the brethren, such as "damned hypocrites," "damned liars," "mutineers," etc., and most of those who started ahead are ordered to travel in the rear all the time. The savage, tyrannical conduct was one thing which induced some to leave and undertake to go through alone and more peaceably and it will still leave feelings of revenge and hatred which will require some time to cover up. . . . For my part, I shall be glad when I get in more peaceable society, and I think I shall not easily be caught in such a scrape again."78

The forementioned desire of William Clayton, came to him about noon of Thursday, October 21st, 1847, when he arrived at Winter Quarters. He writes of this joyous occasion:

"I found my family all well except Moroni who is very sick and his mother is somewhat sick. Their circumstances are not good, but in other respects they have been prosperous for which I thank my God. There has been much sickness here and many deaths during the fall and many are now suffering for lack of some of the comforts of life. We have been prosperous on our journey home and have arrived in nine weeks and three days, including a week's delay waiting for the twelve and killing buffalo. Our health has been remarkably good, but we have lacked provisions, many of us having nothing but dry buffalo meat. I have succeeded in measuring the whole distance from the City of the Great Salt Lake to
this place, except a few miles between Horse Creek and the A La Bonte River, which was taken from the measurement going up. I find the whole distance to be 1032 miles and am now prepared to make a complete traveler's guide from here to the Great Salt Lake, having been careful in taking the distance from creek to creek, over bluffs, mountains, etc. It has required much time and care and I have continually labored under disadvantages in consequence of the companies feeling no interest in it. The health of my family has encouraged me for all that is past and my secret gratitude shall ascend to Heaven for the unbounded kindness and mercies which the Almighty has continually poured upon them in my absence."79

The Emigrants' Guide

Following the arrival at Winter Quarters, William's time, no doubt, was spent in the preparation of his traveler's guide, commonly known as The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide. Under date of February 7, 1848, he wrote a letter to Brigham Young asking for a letter of introduction to a Colonel Picket and the presiding Elder of the Church in St. Louis, as he had an opportunity to travel with Lucius N. Scovil, who was leaving for there in the near future. The letter paints a very melancholy picture of conditions in the Clayton household. He says:

"I would have come down today, but I feel so sick. I can hardly set up. Now I have not got a dollar, nor any means of obtaining one either, to get to St. Louis, nor to commence operations when I get there."80

President Young approved of the project and complied with William's request, for we read in the "Journal History" for the following day:

"Pres. Brigham Young wrote Brother William Clayton letters of introduction to Elder Nathaniel H. Felt, and others at St. Louis, Missouri. Brother Clayton being about to start for that city to publish his L. D. S. Emigrants' Guide from Council Bluffs to G. S. L. City."81

Elder Clayton left Winter Quarters for St.
Letter written by William Clayton to Brigham Young, asking for permission to travel to St. Louis, Missouri, to get the Emigrants' Guide published. (Courtesy Church Historian's Office.)
Louis on Thursday, February 10, 1848, in the company of Lucius N. Scovil. They arrived at their destination on Tuesday, February 29th. Soon after their arrival, William made satisfactory arrangements to have 5,000 copies of his guide book printed. 82

In the preface of his new guide book, William writes:

"The author feels a delicacy in saying much in favor of the 'Guide,' but is well aware that, when its merits have been tested by experience, no person will repent of having purchased it. It is, therefore, submitted cheerfully to the consideration of an intelligent public." 83

The "Guide" is a very complete work which gives a description of campgrounds between Winter Quarters and Salt Lake City, with the distance between each. Also included are the miles of each camp from Winter Quarters and to Salt Lake City. 84

No definite information can be found as to who actually financed the work for Clayton. In a letter sent from Elder Nathaniel H. Felt, at St. Louis, to Brigham Young, we read:

"Brother Clayton has succeeded in getting 5,000 of the 'Guide' published, but we have not yet been able to get anyone to take hold of it so as to release Brother Clayton." 85

That the work was a success, there is no doubt. On June 2, 1848, Thomas Bullock obtained one-hundred copies of the "Guide" from William Clayton and was peddling them through the camp. 86 One year later we find the following extract of a letter written by a leading Mormon to his friend in Salt Lake City:

"... If you could have learned the great demand there has been for the 'Guide', (a little book printed by W. Clayton, a year or two ago) and could have had them on the road, they would have brought a price. Five dollars is what they have been sold for, but twenty-five dollars has been offered for them; and they could not be had. The emigrants say that they have realized great advantage from them; and if they had to travel this
route again, they would gladly give twenty-five dollars, rather than be without them. I have only got a few here, and I shall not take for them less than $2.00 a piece. I wish I had some more, and when you, or any of you come, I wish you to bring four or five-hundred of them."87

There is no mention again of the publication until November 26, 1852. At this time William Clayton was visiting in St. Louis, while on his way to England for another mission. Evidently he had placed the responsibility of selling the book in the hands of his brother David's wife, and the results were not very pleasing, for we read:

"I learned that my brother David's widow has made a perfect waste of the 'Guides' I left. She is keeping a gentile boarding house, and has no more faith in the Church than the gentiles themselves. A new edition of the 'Guide' has been printed by Fisher & Bennett, which they are selling at 50 cents each. I offered to sell them the copyright, but they considered themselves perfectly safe without it. I had not the money to secure it myself, and had to leave it to do as they saw proper. I intend however, if all right to print it in England and as near all the emigration will henceforth come through England, I am in hopes to spoil their speculations."88

We might mention that no edition of the "Guide" was ever printed in England, and no information can be found as to how extensive the circulation was of the Fisher and Bennett edition.

Back to the Mountains

Upon William's return to Winter Quarters, following the publication of his work at St. Louis, his activities were, no doubt, in preparing for the return to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. A large group, known as the second division, was being organized, under the direction of Heber C. Kimball. Elder Kimball had recently been sustained as the first counselor to Brigham Young. The company was a large group composed of 662 persons and 226 wagons.

William Clayton was assigned to the second
company of the division, with Isaac Higbee being made the captain of this group. William Clayton was given his regular duties by being assigned the clerk of the company. Little detailed information is recorded in connection with this trip; however, we find that they left the Elkhorn River on June 7th, 1848, and arrived in Great Salt Lake Valley, September 24, 1848. It appears that quite a number of cattle were lost by the group and they suffered with very dry weather. They continually state, however, that the Lord was blessing them. It also should be noted that quite a number of non-members were traveling with them and that some of them were converted and baptized. 89

William's activities, upon arriving in the valley, were, no doubt, taken up with the construction of homes for his family. Lots 1, 2, and 3 on Block 95, had previously been assigned to him. 90

Housing was very economical in these times, in that a log house 16 by 15 feet could be built for $40, and one of adobes, for half as much. Adobe homes were considered healthy, a saving upon the lumber, and could be constructed by three men in a period of one week. 91
WILLIAM CLAYTON AND THE MISSION OF 1852

Another Mission in England

The public and official announcement of the doctrine of plural marriage came in the year 1852. This announcement was made at a special conference of the Church held at Salt Lake City on the 28th and 29th of August, in the old tabernacle. According to the minutes of the proceedings, the conference was not called specifically to make that announcement, but to make it more convenient for the Elders who were to be called on missions.¹

During the proceedings of this historical conference, one-hundred and eight Elders of the Church were called to go to the various nations and publicly teach the doctrine of the plurality of wives. Thirty-six of the above missionaries were assigned to carry the message to England, with William Clayton being one of this number.²

The instructions given by President Brigham Young to the newly called missionaries were strong and very much to the point. He said:

"When you leave, understand it, you have neither wife nor children; you have handed them all over to the Lord Jesus Christ. Let the brethren go and say, I will keep my eyes straight before me on the object of my mission and not look behind me to my family; but I will accomplish my mission, and when I have done, it is all right, I am willing to go home, if the Lord wishes me to do so.

"I say to the brethren who are leaving home, when you go from home, leave everything you have got here; don't take anything with you but the Lord and yourselves.

"You will want horses to bear you over the plains, but don't carry your wives or your children in your hearts or in your affections with you one
rod; dedicate them to the Lord God of Israel and leave them at home, and when you are in England or among other nations, no matter where, when you pray for your families pray for them as being in the Great Salt Lake Valley and do not bring them close to you as though they were in your carpet bag; pray for them where they are.

"I wish to say to you that are left here, whose husbands and fathers are going away for a season, don't cling to them one particle, but let them go as cheerfully as you would give a weary traveler a cup of cold water. . . . Women should be loyal to the cause of God and help to build up his kingdom by their husbands in assisting them to fulfil their missions, and if they do not do it, they are not a helpmate to their husbands."3

William Clayton spent the time allotted to the missionaries to prepare for the journey in settling business in the tithing office and instructing the clerks there, besides trying to outfit himself for his fourth journey across the plains.

Elders William Glover and Thomas H. Treat had agreed to travel as companions with Clayton across the plains. Brother Treat furnished a span of horses and half the harness. Brother Glover furnished the other half of the harness, wagon cover, and part of the provisions. William furnished the wagon and the balance of the provisions.

The journal of this mission records:

"It was with the greatest difficulty I could get anything done at the public works, or even get a little clothing or groceries to take over the plains. Brother C. Reese kindly gave me a piece of bacon and Brother Willis charged me double price for baking our crackers; because he had to take his pay in flour at the Tithing Office price. But although my outfit was of the poorest kind, I felt determined not to complain, but do the best I could."4

On Saturday, the 11th of September, the brethren all met in the Tabernacle to be set apart for the mission and to receive their blessings. William Clayton was blessed by Orson Pratt,
George A. Smith, and Franklin D. Richards, with Orson Pratt acting as mouth. 5

Wednesday, September 15th, found William Clayton bidding farewell to his family and starting on the long journey to England. His family was left in the care of his two brothers, Thomas and Matthew Clayton, who had each pledged to do their best in caring for them during William's absence. 6

The personal feelings of Elder Clayton in regard to this mission are preserved in his writings. He states:

"This is a privilege which I have desired for years inasmuch as when I left England in the year 1840, I had then a mission appointed me to Birmingham, which I never filled and I have often felt a deep desire to bear my testimony once more in my native country." 7

He further records:

"I felt this appointment to be a great favor and believe it will prove an everlasting blessing to me and my family." 8

As Clayton's group passed Brigham Young's house, he was just starting out in his carriage. William asked him what he wanted him to do when he arrived in England. President Young said, "What do you want to do"? To this question, William replied, "If I had my own way I'd visit all the branches of the Church and bear my testimony to them." "Well," said President Young, "go and do it and you shall be blessed in it." 9

Again on the Plains

On Thursday the 16th, the following men were appointed to be the officers of the camp:

Orson Pratt, President of the Camp
Daniel Spencer, Captain
John Brown and Benjamin Brown, Counselors
Orson Spencer, Chaplain
William Clayton, Clerk
Horace S. Elaridge, Sergeant of the Guard
William Pitt, Trumpeter
John Brown and Charles Smith, to select
camping places.

The statistics of the camp show as follows: eighty-three men, one woman (Brother William Camp's wife), two children, twenty-nine wagons, sixty-nine horses and nineteen mules. 10

According to the missionary journal, there was an early winter, with snow and cold coming the latter part of September. The grass was very poor and scarce, having all been "fed off" by the livestock of the companies which had recently passed. It was also necessary for the group of missionaries to hunt for their meat, and accounts are recorded of killing antelope, elk, blacktailed deer, and buffalo.

The missionary journal of Clayton, records the following interesting accounts:

"This morning the weather is cloudy and very cold, so much so that it froze towels stiff while the brethen washed themselves in the creek. 11"

"This evening I composed a song in relation to our present mission to the tune of 'My Heart and Lute.' 12"

"In traveling through the large, rough sage brush, to get wood for a fire, I burst my shoes, which is ever unfortunate as I shall have to wear them to the states." 13

The evenings were spent around the campfire discussing points of doctrine, where not all agreed; also in bearing their testimonies. Orson Pratt was traveling with this group, on his way to Washington, D. C. to publish the "Seer." He was heard from regularly around the campfire and, according to William Clayton, was referred to often for advice and counsel in regard to the little revealed doctrines of the Church. 14

The missionary group passed several companies enroute to the Valley. One evening, while they were forming their camp, Elder Wrigley, a former president of the St. Louis Branch, arrived and exchanged greetings. It was discovered that many of this group were out of "breadstuff" and if there were many more such days, the camp would
be suffering from extreme hunger. William was very surprised to meet his sister, Dinah Anne, traveling with this company. He had not seen her for near seven years and writes:

"We neither of us knew each other but met accidently on her inquiring if William Clayton was in the company. It may be supposed we felt glad to see each other. . . . She states that my brother, Joseph, is with one of the companies on the way to the Valley. When they arrive in Salt Lake City, I shall have the satisfaction of knowing that my brothers and sisters, who are left are in the valley of the mountains except Sister Ellen, who is yet in St. Louis."15

During the morning of September 18th, as the group was ascending a sharp, but short hill, a ring which fastened the stretcher to the tongue of Chauncy G. Webb’s wagon gave away, and the lead horses, being under good speed, drew the lines from the driver and started off on a fast gallop. The horses had proceeded but a few yards, when the whipple trees, for some unknown reason, were instantly detached from the traces. These fastenings were hooks secured by steel springs. The horses ran about eighty rods and stopped without injuring either themselves or the harness. The amazing thing about the brakes was that they had the appearance of having been broken and thoroughly rusted for a considerable length of time, and had held while coming over two steep mountains.

William Clayton sums up the experience in the following words:

"This circumstance caused the hearts of the brethren to rejoice, and all who were acquainted with it could see that the angel of the Lord freed the horses from the whipple trees; because being fastened by steel springs it was utterly impossible for them to become unloosed by accident, and the fact that the four became unhooked at the same instant, proves beyond a doubt that some unseen power was present to perform such an act so speedily. The circumstance of the broken ring also is another evidence of the interposition of an unseen power for it had sustained the draught over
the two large mountains, and when after the lead horse ran away, the brethren took hold to assist the wagon up the hill, the ring instantly broke in two.

"This is not the only evidence that the brethren have had, that the angel of the Lord guards us by night and by day, and the hearts of the brethren are made to rejoice continually. It would scarcely be possible to find the same number of men traveling together, who manifest a better spirit, than has hitherto been manifested in this camp. Every man seems to be full of the spirit of his mission, and as far as can be discovered, no one has any other object in view but to go and fulfill the duties for which he has been called and set apart." 16

Elders Amos M. Musser and Joseph S. Simmonds arrived in the camp of the missionaries on Sunday, September 20th. These men brought the necessary licenses and passports for the brethren from Salt Lake City, also copies of the "Deseret News Extra." This "extra" edition of the Deseret News is the edition that publicly announced the doctrine of plural marriage to the world. The journal records: "This caused our hearts to rejoice as we can now proceed on our journey without delay." 17

The missionaries had traveled 148 miles by September 23rd, and were camped at Black's Fork. At this time, Clayton wrote a letter to a friend in Great Salt Lake City, referred to only as "Dear Doctor." A portion of the letter follows:

"We have had a cold stormy time so far, but yet not so much as to make it very disagreeable. This morning the ground was white with snow, and several mornings we have had ice in the pails about 1/8 of an inch thick; but in the midst of all, we are healthy, happy, cheerful, and in good spirits. I say in good spirits, for I never saw the same number of men travel together with as much union and good feelings, as has been manifested in this camp thus far, in all the days of my life. Every man seems to be filled with the spirit of his mission, and it is the leading topic of conver-
sation from morning till night. You hear no mourning about home, or wives or children; no wondering how their families are getting along; in fact, as far as I can learn, the brethren have left their families in the hands of God and their brethren, and their minds are altogether on the duties before them. The spirit of God is in the camp, and the brethren realized it daily. We have had proof that the angels of God are guarding us, and if the brethren will continue to cherish the same feelings and spirit they have hitherto done, we need have no fears, for God is with us. There is a general disposition manifested to store their minds with useful knowledge; and after the duties of the day are over, the time is generally spent in reading, writing, or in edifying conversation, and the spirit of peace prevails in the camp.

"Since the organization we have had prayers, with singing regularly every night and morning, and the Chaplain is careful to give every one an equal privilege, to pour out the feelings of his heart in prayer, and I assure you there is sincerity, and true supplication morning and evening.

"I should like you to read my letter to my family; there is nothing private in it.

"Doctor! I have not felt so well for years as I feel now, and my daily prayer is that I may magnify my calling on this mission, and return home (when sent for, for I don't intend to return until I am called back, if it be seven years) with honor and the approbation of my brethren.

"Remember me to your family, and may our Father in Heaven bless you and yours, is the prayer of your friend and brother in the harness of truth.

William Clayton" 18

About twenty miles from the Sweet Water River, at a place called Pacific Springs, the missionaries met a portion of the company freighting the new machinery for the manufacture of sugar in the Valley. It was reported that the oxen belonging to this company were very poor with many of
them scarcely able to stand on their feet. Brother Joseph Horn had gone on ahead to Salt Lake to procure more teams and was expected to return with them in a few days.

William states:

"The machinery which they are taking along, is far beyond the expectations of anyone, who has heard of it, and if the brethren will raise the beets, we are independent... The hearts of the Saints will be made to rejoice when this company arrives in the Valley and may God speed them on their way." 19

The group stopped at Fort Laramie on October 9th. Elder John Brown made arrangements with Lieutenant R. B. Barrett, the commanding officer, for twenty pounds of flour for each person in the entire company. As there were many who did not need flour, it provided an abundant supply for those who were in need. The camp purchased a total of 1700 pounds of flour, besides pork, bacon, ham, apples, and peaches. The price of the flour was $10.50 per hundred pounds; pork, $2.50 per pound; and bacon, 16 cents; dried apples, 16 cents; and dried peaches, 12½ cents per pound. The flour had been somewhat damaged with water; however, all the other articles were in good condition.

While at the fort, William Pitt, William Glover, and Washington Jolley sold their horses for $30.00 each and Jesse Turpin received $12.00 for his. The three former horses were lame and poor, and Brother Turpin's was blind and very lame. It was considered that the horses brought a good price, as none of them could have made the journey. Four other brethren traded their worn down horses with the Indians at the fort for a good pony each.

Elder Clayton says of this trading:

"This again convinces the brethren that the Lord is with us and favors us every day, for it seems unreasonable to suppose the Indians would have traded for the animals they have unless they were impressed by a superior power." 20

While camping at Fort Kearney, Elder Clayton
was forced to sell his double-barreled shotgun for $10.00. He stated that this was all the money he had for the remainder of the journey. 21

The day following their stop at Fort Kearney, the group passed five supply wagons laden with stores for the Fort. The drivers of the wagons stated that they had passed large bands of the Pawnees and they had fired the prairie grass. The atmosphere this day was thick with smoke and made traveling quite unpleasant.

The group made camp for the day at about 4:30 P.M., after traveling about twenty-five miles. Not long after stopping to make camp, it was noticed that the prairie was burning not far below them and was fast moving towards them, so much so that it soon became evident that immediate safety precautions had to be taken. The first thought was to set a back fire, or, in other words, set the grass on fire near the wagons so as to meet the big fire. Before the minds of the brethren were fully settled, however, they could plainly hear the roar of the raging element, which was now approaching so rapidly that not another moment could be lost. The entire camp was now in motion, which gave a picture of intense excitement. While some ran with fire below the wagons to set the grass burning, another party ran and drove the animals over to the islands opposite them. Others were backing the wagons across the road to within a few feet of the river bank. They then started to remove bed clothing, provisions, harnesses and other supplies from the wagons; then drenched the wagon covers and wagons with water. This was scarcely done, when the full force of the fire was upon them.

A dead silence ensued for a few seconds, for the fire was coming directly towards the wagons from the southeast. The sight was indeed grand, but awful. When within about three rods of the wagons, a sudden puff of wind sprang up from the northeast and drove the whole blaze in a south-westerly direction and the grass, which the brethren had fired, met it at the same time. The fire then deadened along the whole line of the wagons in a few seconds, and the brethren felt they were miraculously preserved.
For about two minutes, a solemn anxiety filled the breasts of the brethren as the vast volumes of rolling smoke nearly suffocated them. Most of the brethren were now standing by their wagons, ready, if the fire did take hold of them, to back them into the river, although the bank was about six feet perpendicular.

When the danger was discovered, the camp had just started to cook their evening meal. Nearly all of the coffee pots and vessels of different sorts containing water were dashed against the wagon covers. Others were kicked over, and supper things were thrown in heaps or scattered promiscuously as it happened. The excitement lasted for about an hour, but when passed, the only physical damage to the group was some scorched eyebrows, and all felt much too hot to be pleasant.

The camp journal records:

"It was indeed a providential thing our camping where we did; the space between the river bank and the road being barely wide enough for a wagon to stand. . . . The camp also plainly saw the power of God manifested in our behalf, when the wind struck the fire from us, when only about three rods distant, for it appeared then that there was no escape but to jump into the river."

An interesting group of Indians were met on October 27th. The plains appeared to be alive with the group for miles. The warriors, old and young, were carrying their bows and arrows, while the women were loaded with packs and papooses. Their pack animals were also heavily loaded with domestic implements and lodge poles.

As the missionaries approached the main body of the group, a great scene of handshaking and "how-de-do" took place. Many of the warriors inquired by sign language how far it was to the buffalo herds, and the answers they received seemed to give them great satisfaction. The entire group of Indians was passed without one unpleasant circumstance transpiring, much to the joyous gratitude of the group.
It is interesting to note that every man of the group—old, middle-aged and young—were blind in the right eye. It was supposed that it had been caused by their bow string bounding when accidently drawn tight. There were a number of very aged men and women in the company. Some appeared to be totally blind and had to work their way without any guide or help. In fact, the oldest females appeared to carry the heaviest packs. The great majority of the group, especially the men, were badly marked with smallpox. The entire tribe was very much inferior to the other Plains' Indians, both in statue and general appearance. There were also a number of half breed children noticed among them.

The Missouri River was reached by the second day of November. The brethren of the Church brought the ferryboat over and commenced crossing two wagons at a time. William Clayton crossed with the second load. It was necessary to wade about five or six rods, as the ferryboat could get no closer than this. The water was about two feet deep, so the group arrived on Iowa soil completely soaked.

That evening, after ferrying all the wagons across, Elder Orson Spencer addressed the brethren for sometime, as the missionaries were to divide up at this point and probably would not see each other until they arrived in England.

At Kanesville

On the following morning, the wagon, which William and his companions had used to cross the plains, was sold to Daniel H. Miller, for $35.00. The brethren felt that this was a good price and it was a great relief to have disposed of the wagon. Miller also agreed to carry their trunks and bedding to Kanesville, which was a distance of about eighteen miles.

At this point, Elder Clayton continued the journey with Elder Glover as his traveling companion. The two had decided not to travel further with Elder Treat, "in consequence of his disagreeable conduct," yet they felt "deeply grieved to part
from him."

The two of them started on foot for Kanesville. The roads were very muddy and the traveling was tiresome. They called at the home of David Gamuts, to get dinner, and received it for 50¢ each. The home of A. W. Babbitt was reached in Kanesville at about four o'clock in the afternoon. Upon arriving, Brother Babbitt welcomed them into his home and invited them to remain there as long as they were in Kanesville.

Thus the first lap of their journey was completed. They had safely crossed the plains and were now securely sheltered in the house of a friend.

"The brethren realized sensibly the kind mercies of their Father in Heaven had followed them by night and by day during their journey from Salt Lake City 'till the time they separated that morning."24

William Clayton, as clerk of the camp, summarized the journey in the following words:

"The brethren have endeavored to live faithful and humble before him continually, their minds have constantly been grasping after knowledge, and peace and unison of feeling have characterized the Elders of Israel during the whole journey; and in fact it is a matter of question whether the same number of men ever traveled together the same distance under the same circumstances with as much unison and kind feelings towards each other as has been manifested by this company of Elders; and may the same spirit and power continue with every man during his mission while abroad in the world. May the power of the most High attend all their labors, and when they shall testify of the truth before the saints of the world, may the spirit of God bear witness with them, that all the honest in heart may be constrained to embrace the truth and continue in it, that thousands may see the salvation of God through their instrumentality and when they are called home, may every man return 'with clean hands and a pure heart,' and may we all have just cause to rejoice in time and eternity that we had a part in this mission; and when we
have done with this world, may we all with our families be crowned with all the saints with eternal lives in the world to come. Even so, Oh! Lord, let it be, Amen."25

Several of the "old Saints" were met in Kanesville by William. He stated that they were waiting for the time to come when the Saints should return to Jackson County, Missouri, to build Zion. The missionaries were told that it was useless to go out to the mountains and then have to return again to Missouri. Some of these old saints were George W. Harris, Father Cutler, Bibius J. Coons, Joseph W. Collidge, Dustin Amy, and Luke Johnson.

Elder Clayton reported that they could find none who were willing to offer the least assistance for their mission and that "there is a great difference between the spirit of the Saints here and those at Salt Lake City."26

Across Iowa

Elders Clayton and Glover had planned to make the trip from Kanesville to Fort Des Moines by stagecoach. After checking at the local stage office, they discovered that one of the horses was sick, and it was uncertain when they would be leaving. It was finally decided to hire passage in a common covered, lumber wagon from a Mr. Stevens, who offered to take them for $4.00 each.

They left Kanesville on the morning of November 9th, in the hired wagon, in company with two other men. It was reported that the day was very fine and pleasant and the roads good, but generally hilly. They traveled some twenty-eight miles and arrived at a Mr. Anderson's Stage Stand after dark. Here they put up for the night and after supper, retired to rest.

William reported that he had been severely punished while riding the roads this day, and he was very badly afflicted with hemorrhoids.27

The following morning, after eating breakfast, the group started on. The weather was very poor for traveling, as early in the morning it commenced to rain and finally turned into snow, making
the air very chilly. The snow continued to fall, until it was about eight inches deep.

The deep snow made travel very difficult and it forced the group to travel until long after dark. They were in a strange country, where there were but few houses, and the brethren were forced to travel a considerable part of the journey on foot to hunt the road. Upon arriving at the body of timber, where they expected to find the stage stand, they had difficulty finding the road, and had to scrape the snow with their feet frequently to assure themselves that they were still on it.

At about quarter past seven, they arrived at Mr. Hamlin's Stage House, having traveled forty miles. The accommodations were very poor, as there were no beds and they were forced to sleep on the floor in their own buffalo robes.\(^{28}\)

The travelers finally arrived at Fort Des Moines at one o'clock in the afternoon, on November 13th. They remained there until the morning of November 15th, when they recommenced their journey, leaving at four o'clock that morning. The day was very cold and the roads were rough; in fact, they rarely went above a walk. They arrived at Pello, about six o'clock in the evening, and were informed that they would have to stay there. They had traveled only thirty-nine miles, instead of going to Fairfield, which was sixteen miles further.

The group, however, was not sorry to stay here, for it was snowing very fast and was very cold. They told the stage driver, however, that they wished to go on, because if they had desired to stay, they would have run the risk of the next stage being filled; but as it was, by their demanding to go on, the next stage would be bound by law to take them, whether there were other passengers or not. It was reported that they had very good entertainment at this stop and felt much better by a warm stove than to be riding in a cold hack all night.\(^{29}\)

The following morning, it was discovered that the proprietor of the Des Moines Stage Hotel had arrived at Pello, looking for a trunk that had been put on the stage by mistake. It was fortunate
for the missionaries that he was there, for he immediately engaged a sled to take them to Oskaloosa, thus saving them the wait for the next stage.

Upon arriving at Oskaloosa, later the same day, they discovered the stage had left earlier, taking the mail in an open wagon. The roads were so bad, they dared not trust the regular hack. There was no other alternative, but to remain at the Oskaloosa House until the following day.

William makes the following comments in regard to their accommodations:

"I consider this Hotel, under its present management, a disgrace to civilization. We had to stay in what is called a barroom, but its filthy appearance makes it much more like a hog pen. There was only one short bench and a broken chair for seats. Half the time we were near froze for they were too lazy to let us have coal for a fire; and a set of loafers and rowdies were constantly passing in and out. The place was disagreeable in the extreme. The table was miserably furnished, and we were fortunate if we got half enough to eat. The beds were about equal to all the rest, and it is truly the most miserable place to be called a Hotel I was ever in, in my life."30

The stage was to leave at eight o'clock the following morning, but did not arrive until noon, so they were forced to eat one more meal at the Oskaloosa House; after which, they settled their bills, which were just as high as if they had received the finest of accommodations.

At one o'clock they boarded the hack, glad to leave Oskaloosa and her "comforts," but soon found they had not bettered conditions very much. The hack was only built to hold four persons and there were six of them traveling. This made the quarters very cramped. The roads were dreadfully rough, and the hack was in continual danger of being upset. The road had been badly cut up because of the wet weather, and the hard frost had made them extremely rough. Sometimes the wheels would slide into the deep ruts, in spite of the efforts of the driver, and while the wheels on one side would be rolling on the hubs, the other
side would sometimes not touch the ground for a rod at a time.

After traveling in this condition for twelve miles, they stopped to change horses. Brother Fullmer was determined not to go any further because of the crowded condition. He was sure they would be upset if they undertook to travel in the night with so many in the hack. He, therefore, decided to wait for the next stage.

They put on new horses, received a new driver, and proceeded on in the same tossing, tumbling manner. After traveling eight miles, in a large body of timber, the driver ran the hack against the end of a log about eighteen inches in diameter, which brought the group up standing. While attempting to turn the horses a little so as to pass it, they broke the wagon pole square off, close to the axle. This all happened about nine o'clock in the evening, with the night being dark and very cold.

After a long tirade of bitter oaths and blasphemy, the driver started in search of a common lumber wagon to take us on. It was supposed that if they had not been carrying mail, they could not have persuaded him to go on.

The driver returned with an open wagon, after his passengers had set in the cold for two hours. They loaded the wagon, and then continued traveling all night, being tossed and jolted as they rode over the frozen, rough ground.

At daybreak, they arrived safe at another stage office, having traveled twenty-eight miles from where they left Brother Fullmer. They had breakfast at this stop and were able to wash and freshen themselves a little. A large, twelve passenger carriage then took them to Fairfield, where they arrived about 11:30 A.M., but had missed the Keokuk stage, which had already left. They had now lost two days travel time between Fort Des Moines and this place.

During the evening, while at Fairfield, Iowa, the Democrats held a torchlight procession, headed by a band of music, and saluted by the firing of a
cannon. This was all done in honor of the election of Franklin Pierce, to the presidential chair of the United States.\textsuperscript{31}

The following morning, they were called at five o'clock to proceed on. They found that Brother Fullmer had arrived during the night and was ready to continue the journey with them. He had caught another stage, but it had been upset off a bridge into a ditch; however, no one was hurt.

During the afternoon, the driver discovered that the king bolt of the carriage was broken, so the brethren were forced to walk through the snow for about five miles, arriving in Farmington, about 5:30 P.M. Here they had supper and waited until the stage arrived. It was seven o'clock when they started on the journey again, and the night was dark and very cold. William walked a great portion of the way and states: "My boots being wore through, my feet were very wet and almost froze with walking in the snow."\textsuperscript{32}

The group arrived at Keokuk at four o'clock the following morning, very tired and sleepy. They went immediately to the wharf and found a boat, the "Kate Kearney," laying there, expecting to start for St. Louis in a few hours. They loaded their things on the boat and after washing, felt much refreshed, as well as thankful for having the most disagreeable and toilsome portion of the journey, thus far, behind them. The stage fare from Fort Des Moines to Keokuk had been $9.00, and the average time of travel was three days, being a distance of 180 miles.

\textbf{On to New York}

The 180 miles had taken, however, five days and two whole nights. At every stage stand, it was the practice to change horses and the driver. The traveler was continually under the care of a new driver, some of whom were "foul mouthed, wicked men," which made it very disagreeable for the travelers.

The boat started at daybreak, the passage costing them $5.00; however, they considered the amount repaid for the privilege of laying down and
taking a refreshing nap. 33

They arrived at St. Louis, at noon on the following day, and immediately went to the home of William Clayton's sister, Ellen Howard, where, he states, both he and Brother Glover were kindly received and made welcome.

Elder Orson Pratt was also in St. Louis and had been preaching in regard to the "revelation." Elder Clayton states: "I understand quite a number have sent in their resignation in consequence." 34

The time in St. Louis was spent in visiting old friends and in trying to raise funds for the mission. Clayton states:

"There appears to be little disposition amongst the Saints to do anything, and there being so many of us, what little they can do is scarcely felt."

William was successful in borrowing $100 from a Mr. Kinkead, to be used for the passage of himself and Elder Glover to England. His brother-in-law gave him $10.00, which, with what he already had, would get him to Pittsburgh.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of November 21st, Clayton and Glover boarded the steamboat, "St. Clair" and started for Pittsburgh. 35

The boat arrived at Cincinnati, Ohio, during the early hours of the morning on December 1st. The boat was to spend the day docked, so the two missionaries tried to find some members of the Church, but were unsuccessful. William, however, bought himself a vest, pantaloons and a walking stick for $1.50. Brother Glover purchased a vest and a cravat.

They stated that Cincinnati was a very pretty place. The streets were wide and clean and most of them were adorned with shade trees. The buildings were generally large and handsome, many of them having marble steps in front. It appeared to be a great place for business. 36

Clayton and Glover left the steamship at a stop known as, Beaver Town, where they boarded the packet ship "Lake Erie" for Youngstown, Ohio.
A great part of this route was up the Beaver River, occasionally entering a canal, opposite the falls, to be raised by the locks, which were very numerous. The distance between the two towns was about fifty miles and was reported as the stillest and easiest traveling so far on the whole journey, which enabled them to get a very comfortable nights rest. 37

At Youngstown they left the ship, checked their luggage at the stage office, and walked about one and a half miles to the home of John Cowan, who was Elder Glover's father-in-law. The old lady was set at breakfast and Brother Glover asked if they could be accommodated with lodgings. It was sometime before she recognized him, but when she did, tears sprang to her eyes, and she cried, "Willie Glover." She then appeared highly delighted to see him.

While they were visiting, William spent his time looking at the many coal pits in the area. He points out how shocked he was to hear the terrible language of the little children, who could scarcely talk plain, but could swear and curse bitterly. He summed up his thoughts with:

"I think the people of the United States, especially the laboring classes, boatsmen, etc., are the most wicked and blasphemous people I ever was near in my life. The daily language we hear wherever we travel is truly shocking and disgusting."  

The evening was spent, until midnight, preaching the Gospel to Elder Glover's "in-laws," but Elder Clayton states:

"I was satisfied that all we said had no effect. . . . Although they are well off and know Elder Glover's want of means, they never offered him a cent, although he as good as asked them to do it." 38

The following morning, they bid farewell to the Cowan family, and returned to Youngstown. They arrived just in time for the stage and started for Salem, about twenty-one miles distant.

The hack was full, and then being very muddy, they could not travel fast. After going only five miles, it was necessary to wait for the regular mail
stagecoach, to which, upon its arrival, they were transferred.

At Salem, they took dinner and then proceeded to the railroad station. It was not necessary to wait long there, as the train soon came and they immediately embarked for Pittsburgh. William states:

"This is the first ride I have had on a railroad since I left England in 1840, and I confess I did not feel very easy under the severe jolting of the cars, from time to time. The cars here are very large. They will hold about 60 persons. They are very handsomely built, being ornamented and finished off in a very costly style. The average weight of the empty cars is from 7 to 8 tons. They are placed on 8 wheels--four under the fore part of the car and four under the hind part."

They arrived at Pittsburgh at 4:30 P.M. and immediately went to the Philadelphia Railroad Station. Here they were told that there would not be another train until three o'clock the following day, so they sought a room at a Dutch tavern close by. This proved to be a dirty place, where, Clayton states, when his supper was served, it looked so dirty that he could not eat it. He then shaved and retired for some rest. 39

The following morning, they were on the Philadelphia train, which cost them $9.00 for the fare. This was the first time that William had crossed the Alleghany Mountains. He explains that the trains were drawn up four lengthy and steep inclines of the west slopes by stationary engines. At 9:30 P.M., they arrived safely in Philadelphia, having traveled 350 miles, which, William states, was the greatest distance he had traveled in only one day. 40

Upon arriving at Philadelphia, the two missionaries split up, as Elder Glover was going to visit relatives who lived about eighty miles north of Philadelphia. Elder Clayton then went to the home of a Brother Osgenthorpe and had dinner. While there, he had placed in his hands a letter from three members of the Church living at Wallingford, Connecticut, which stated that if one of
the Elders could come to that city, they would do all they could to help him with funds. After thinking over the proposition for an hour, William decided to investiage the offer.

He crossed the river by boat and then boarded the train for New York City, the fare being $3.00. The distance of ninety-one miles was covered in about four hours; the arrival in New York City being at 9:30 P.M.

It was too late to find the presiding Elder, so Clayton decided to check into the Jersey Hotel, at the foot of Courtland Street. As he settled in his hotel room, the following thought was recorded:

"I have thus arrived in this place only one day later than I appointed to get here when crossing the plains and considering the little encouragements we have met with among the brethren, I feel that I have been abundantly prospered on the journey." 41

The presiding Elder in New York was a man by the name of Ricks. William states that he was very coldly received by Elder Ricks and found this had been the case with all the missionaries that had arrived in New York. He also discovered that sixteen of the missionaries had engaged passage to England on the packet ship "American Union," which was scheduled to sail on the following day for $22.50 each, including their sea stores. 42

The morning of December 13th, found William Clayton, in the railroad station at the corner of Canal and Broadway, waiting for the New Haven train. The train started at half past seven o'clock and arrived at New Haven, a distance of seventy miles, at 11:30 A.M. Upon arrival, he discovered that the next train to Wallingsford would not leave until three o'clock that afternoon.

He was in Wallingsford at 3:30 P.M., as it was only twelve miles from New Haven. Inquiry was made for the New England Knife Factory, and there he found John Barnes, George Teloley, and Samuel Wells, all members of the Church from Sheffield, Yorkshire, England.

These men immediately left their work and accompanied William Clayton to Brother Doolittle,
the presiding Elder, who gladly received the group. It was soon learned that the brethren in this locality were very scattered, and, as it was impossible for William to stay only until the following day, they could get the notice to only a few for a meeting.

The meeting consisted of seven brethren and one sister, who came to hear what Elder Clayton had to tell them. He talked to them until 1:00 A.M., after which the brethren gave him $26.00, which they had collected from among them. Brother Barnes and Wells each presented the missionary with a knife of their own make. He then administered to three of the group, for the restoration of their health, and finally retired, very much fatigued, at two o'clock.43

Crossing the Atlantic in 1852

The return trip to New York was made on the following day, where it was discovered that several more missionaries had arrived to take passage to England. These Elders were dissatisfied with the crowded state of the ship "American Union," and had partially concluded to go on board the packet ship "Columbia," which was advertised to sail on the following day.

They went to inspect the ship, and liking her appearance, immediately engaged passage at $22.50 each, including the sea stores. Jacob Wilson, the ship's agent, also guaranteed to hire them a cook, but this was later learned to be a hoax.

William states: "This Jacob Wilson is a thorough land shark and evidently lives by swindling emigrants."

In the meantime, Elder Glover had arrived in New York, and the evening of this day was spent with a visit to Barnum's Museum, where the two missionaries witnessed the frolics of the living sea tiger, which is recorded as a "great curiosity." They also witnessed the theatrical performance of the celebrated, Miss Mesteyer, "one of the greatest stars now shining." Following the performance, Elder Clayton returned to his room at the Jersey Hotel.44
The following morning, they took their luggage to the shipping agent's office, where they received their sea stores; also purchased some extra rations to add to the comfort of their journey across the Atlantic. These included oysters, oranges, lemons, and soda powders, which were not included in the regular sea stores.

At 11:30 A.M., on Thursday, December 16th, the group was taken on board the "Columbia" in a steamer and then towed a distance up the river, where they anchored until the following morning.

Some twenty missionaries had booked passage on the "American Union," with only nine traveling on the "Columbia." The nine men were: William Clayton, Richard Cook, William Glover, Levi E. Riter, William Woodward, and John A. Hunt, who were going to England; Elders Jesse Haven, William Walker, and Leonard I. Smith, who were going to the Cape of Good Hope. The two ships were to sail the same day, with the captains of each vessel planning a race to see who could arrive at Liverpool first.

At eight o'clock the following morning, the steamers (tug boats) arrived with another passenger and the sailors. The sailors were all brought on board with the majority of them being drunk. Several had their faces badly bruised, probably from drunken "brawls." When the hands were mustered to answer their names, it was found that there were only about six good sailors on board, the remainder of the group being all raw hands, "and of the poorest and weakest kind." William states: "I never saw a meaner-looking crew." One of the old sailors stated that they should not even start, for if they were to encounter a gale with such a crew, the ship would surely be lost.

It appeared that the seamen were employed by the proprietors of the line, which was the West Black Bale. The Captain was also employed, so he knew nothing of the qualifications of his hands until they were brought aboard. The chief mate was also a new hand and a complete stranger to the Captain.

At eight o'clock, the steamer commenced
towing the ship up the river, and at noon they were in the open sea, off Sandy Hook, where the tug left them. The sails were unfurled and they started on their voyage. Most of the passengers were soon sick and vomiting, William Clayton being one of the worst.

William writes: "We had fair wind, which caused the vessel to sway bad, and I was glad to keep my birth. Eight of us occupied one state-room."

This terrible siege of seasickness lasted with Clayton for three days, during which time it was impossible for him to eat a single thing.

Although the old seamen were hopeful there would be no gale with such an inexperienced crew, the gale came. The fury of this gale is best captured in William Clayton's own words:

"Tuesday, December 28th: Ten o'clock the gale seemed to be at the height of its fury. The moon, once in a while being visible, showed that the clouds were hurled past with the fearful rapidity and everything betokened the most awful danger. The Captain governed the helm himself and the mates and all hands were obliged to screen themselves from the fury of the tempest by taking shelter in the wheel house. It was impossible to stand on deck as the waves were continually sweeping over the vessel and nothing could be done, but to keep her fair before the wind and steer her so as to ride over the foamy mountain waves and keep her out of the trough of the sea. About this time, most of the passengers were gone to bed and I was standing alone near the cabin door. A heavy sea, more furious than usual, dashed over the bulwarks and again dashed down the door, pouring its flood into the cabin and again burying me completely over. It was sometime before I could get any help to fasten up the doorway.

"Wednesday, December 29th: About four o'clock this morning the door was again burst open by the force of the waves. Two large casks filled with barrelheads had broken from their lashings and were hurled by the water on deck from side to side of the ship like a sledge hammer. One of
these had struck the door and broken it down; The
gale appeared to be somewhat abating and as I could
get no help to fasten up the doorway again, it had
to take its chance. I had slept none all night and
felt weary and uncomfortable. I commenced bail-
ing the water out of the cabin to get myself warm,
and continued at intervals until six o'clock, when
several of the brethren and other passengers came
to my help. The gale was evidently abating, but
the ship looked gloomy enough. The empty barrels
and barrelheads were floating from side to side of
the deck. The sides of the ship were pretty well
shattered. The force of the barrels had knocked
the planks off her side for eight or ten feet in
length and from two to three feet high. Through
these holes, the ocean was continually washing in
and out of the ship rendering it dangerous for any
person to attempt to go outside the cabin door."

At the conclusion of the journey, William
records that the floor of their stateroom had never
been dry from the time they started to sail until
they landed at Liverpool. His boots, having been
ripped, left his feet constantly wet and cold. 46

A group of Irish passengers, celebrating the
New Year, also the approach to land, exhibited
their joy by singing and getting drunk. A regular
Irish row was the consequence, and swearing and
fighting, with women screaming and threatening,
closed the scene. Clayton summarized this event
with: "Truly the wicked soon forget the mercies
of God, and those prayerful feelings, instigated by
the fear of death, vanish as a light when the danger
is past." 47

On January 3rd, the "Columbia" docked in
Liverpool and William Clayton once again set foot
upon the soil of his native land. His remarks upon
arrival were:

"We anchored opposite to Princess Dock, all
safe, in good health, and truly thankful to God that
we are thus safely on the shores of England. Thus
we have been wafted across the bosom of the Ocean,
through gales and storms, with a wretched crew in
the short period of ten days and eight hours sailing
time."
Upon arrival, they learned that ships which sailed six and ten days prior to theirs had not arrived in England. The group also felt considerable anxiety for the brethren on the "American Union." This ship did not arrive until January 6th. The brethren were truly thankful, for they immediately received reports of terrible shipwrecks and disasters which had befallen many other vessels, especially when they were informed that they had passed through the most severe portion of the gale. 48

The following day, after the custom officers had finished with the missionaries, they proceeded to the Temperance Coffee House, on Great Crop Hole Street, which was an inn owned by a Church member, referred to only as Brother Cowley. After eating dinner, the group went to the public bathhouse, where they had a "glorious scrubbing," which lasted for an hour. This, with a change of clothing, refreshed the brethren very much. That evening, they went to the Church offices, which were located on Wilton Street, and spent sometime with President Samuel W. Richards; the mission president. Following the meeting, they returned to Brother Cowley's, where a warm and comfortable bed awaited them. 49

January 5th was spent sightseeing around the city and purchasing some much needed articles. William purchased a pair of boots and two pairs of socks, which, he states, was paid for by a Brother Shurtleff.

The Elders received their assignments and papers from President Richards, during a meeting held the evening of the next day. Elder Glover was appointed to be president of the Sheffield Branch and Elder Clayton was assigned to the Pastoral charge of the Sheffield and Lincolnshire Conferences. A Pastor was the president of several districts. William borrowed two pounds from the mission president, also obtained a Book of Mormon, a Hymn Book, and Pearl of Great Price. They were each presented a copy of the Doctrine and Covenants by President Richards. 50
Home Again in England

Elders Clayton and Glover arrived in Preston on January 7th, where they went to visit the old Cock Pit, a hall where some of the first sermons of Mormonism were preached in England. After visiting several other places that Clayton was well acquainted with, they had dinner at a tavern, and then hired a hack to take them to Bashal's Factory, which they visited from end to end.

William states:

"Some of the old Reelers, who were there when I left, were indeed glad to see me; one of them, Elizabeth Beck, a Baptist, ran to me, put her arms around my neck, and embraced like a long lost child would its parent."

Following the visit to the factory, they went to Charnock Moss and paid a visit to the old house where William Clayton was born and raised. Of this visit, William records: "Many solemn thoughts passed through my mind while thus viewing the scenes of my childhood."

After returning to Preston, they visited Mr. James Fielding, the brother of Joseph Fielding, who was one of the first missionaries to England, and the first president of that mission. The missionaries had a letter of introduction to him from his brother, but stated that he was as bitter against Mormonism as he had been some fifteen years earlier, when the first sermon about Mormonism was preached in his church. He did, however, speak briefly with them. 51

Problems

On the following day, Elder Clayton visited Manchester, where he had first preached the Gospel of Jesus Christ many years before. He had with him some letters, which he had been requested to deliver personally.

After checking the baggage, they started to look for the persons to whom the letters were addressed, but found that they had all moved. When they could not find them, Clayton left Glover to go to dinner with the presiding Elder, and
agreed to meet him at the railroad station at 4:30 P.M.

The arrival back to the railroad station was about two minutes late, as the cars were just moving out, so William missed the train. William decided to take lodging until the following morning, and then follow Elder Glover by the first train. His journal then states:

"I found a place to stay, which I afterwards learned to my sorrow was the house of an apostate Mormon, and through him I have passed through the most unpleasant and bitterest period of my life. On getting set down, being wet with perspiration through walking so much with my heavy cloak on, I began to chill and was soon taken very sick indeed with cold on my lungs." 52

What this bitter and unpleasant experience was, we cannot say, as the pages following January 8th, have been removed from the journal of William Clayton. We find, however, in the Millenial Star, under date of Saturday, February 5, 1853, the following notice:

"Notice: Elder William Clayton, by late appointment Pastor of the Sheffield and Lincolnshire Conferences, is suspended from acting in any official capacity in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

S. W. Richards
President of said Church in the British Isles"

Whether or not this act of disfellowship has any relationship to the experience mentioned in the journal notation of January 8th, it is not possible to say, as the official Church records of the time are silent as to the reason that the above mentioned action was taken. Clayton was soon restored to full status in the Church; however, for we read the following, under date of February 26, 1853:

"Notice: Elder William Clayton is fully restored to the Pastoral charge of the Sheffield and Lincolnshire Conference, and has our confidence in the discharge of all duties pertaining to his office and
calling in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

S. W. Richards
President of said Church in
the British Isles"53

Under the date of April 6, 1853, we find another astonishing account recorded in the "British Mission History": "William Clayton, late Pastor of the Sheffield and Lincolnshire Conferences, sailed in the "Camillus," on his way to the Valley."54

The only explanation for Elder Clayton being released from his mission after such a short stay in England, comes in the following brief statement taken from a letter written by Samuel W. Richards to President Brigham Young: "Elder W. Clayton, I have counselled to return to the Valley."55

The ship "Camillus" had a company of 228 members of the Church, which consisted of 164 adults, 56 children, 5 emigrants, and three cooks and stewards. The company, which was under the presidency of Elder Curtis E. Bolton, cleared on April 6th, and sailed from Liverpool on April 13th.

After a prosperous voyage, the company arrived in New Orleans, and then proceeded up the Mississippi River to the outfitting place near Keokuk, Iowa. They arrived here about the middle of June.56 William Clayton finally arrived at his home, in Great Salt Lake City, during the last part of October of this same year.57
CHAPTER VI

WILLIAM CLAYTON: POLITICIAN
AND PUBLIC SERVANT

State of Deseret and the Territory of Utah

A goodly portion of William Clayton's life, after coming to the Salt Lake Valley in 1848, was devoted to several public offices, which he held for a good many years. In this chapter, we shall attempt to review the duties he performed and the positions which he held in the provincial State of Deseret and in the Territory of Utah.

It appears that one of the first assignments he received after moving his family to the Valley, was to assist in the minting of the gold currency, which was coined in Great Salt Lake City. The inscriptions for these coins were made by Brigham Young, John Taylor, and John M. Kay. These inscriptions were "Holiness to the Lord" with an emblem of the Priesthood on the obverse side, and on the reverse side was printed "Pure Gold" and the value of the coin, surrounded by two clasped hands representing friendship.

For the minting of this money, Alfred B. Lambson made the dies; John M. Kay cut them, assisted by William Clayton. Thomas Bullock was the accountant and weigher.¹

A Bounty Hunt

Two groups were organized in the Salt Lake Valley, under date of December 24, 1848, for the purpose of carrying on a war of extermination against all ravens, hawks, owls, wolves, foxes, and other pests in the valley. There were 180 men named to the two groups, with John Pack and John D. Lee each acting as captains over the two teams. It was agreed that the two groups should participate in a social dinner with their ladies, in

¹
the home of John Pack, on a date to be named later, and the company that exterminated the least number, would pay for the event. The contest was to last until February 1, 1849, and William Clayton was named a member of John D. Lee's company. 2

The two captains with Isaac Morley and Reynolds Cahoon, who acted as counters, and Thomas Bullock, the clerk, called at President Young's office on March 1, 1849, to make a report of the success of the companies.

John Pack's side killed 2 wolverines, 247 wolves, 151 foxes, 10 mink, 5 eagles, 377 magpies, and 558 ravens, thus winning the contest. John D. Lee's group reported killing 84 wolves, 65 foxes, 4 eagles, 130 magpies, and 340 ravens.

This hunt provided a great benefit to the country in the destruction of many pests; also furnished writing quils for the clerks, which would last for several years. 3

At another meeting held on the same date, as reported to President Brigham Young, it was voted that the Seventeenth Ward should be entirely fenced and this should be completed by April 1st; also, there should be a road around each block, two rods in width. Lorin Farr and William Clayton were assigned to act as a committee to assign the owners, or representatives of the lots, their quota of fence and the place where the fence should be built. 4

Auditor of Public Accounts

A call for a convention to form a civil government in the Great Basin was sent forth from Salt Lake City, under the date of February 1, 1849. The convention was to convene in Great Salt Lake City on March 5th, for the purpose of drafting a constitution, under which the inhabitants of the territory might organize and govern themselves, until the congress of the United States should otherwise provide by law. 5

During these proceedings, the Constitution was adopted by the convention and the following state officers were chosen:
Governor: Brigham Young
Secretary: Willard Richards
Chief Justice: Heber C. Kimball
Associate Justices: Newel K. Whitney and John Taylor
Marshal: Horace S. Eldredge
Attorney General: Daniel H. Wells
Assessor and Collector: Albert Carrington
Supervisor of Roads: Joseph L. Heywood

This government, known as the State of Deseret, served the people of this area until the organization of the Territory of Utah took effect in 1851.

Shortly after the formation of this new government, William Clayton and Thomas Bullock were appointed by the State Legislative Council, as auditors of public accounts.

Later in the year, William Clayton was appointed a member of a committee, along with Daniel H. Wells, Willard Richards, Newel K. Whitney, and Daniel Spencer, to draft an ordinance in relation to branding horses, mules, and cattle in the state.

When the General Assembly of the State of Deseret met in the New Council House in Great Salt Lake City, it was only partially finished; however, the Senate had organized in the northeast room on the second floor. Lieutenant Governor Heber C. Kimball was presiding and William Clayton was selected as the Secretary of the Senate.

As the organization of the Territory of Utah replaced the State of Deseret, William was selected to continue with his duties as Auditor. Under the date of February 28, 1852, William received his official commission from the Territorial Governor and Legislative Assembly to perform the duties of Territorial Auditor and Territorial Recorder of Marks and Brands.

These positions were held only until the following September, when he resigned so he could fulfill a mission for the Church to which he had been called in England.
It appears that the duties of Territorial Auditor were performed even before the official commission, for on January 2, 1852, William Clayton delivered the Auditor's Report to a joint session of the Council and House of Representatives of the Utah Territory. The report reveals that the auditor was having problems in his office.

"Gentlemen; In presenting to your Honorable body, the general report of Public Accounts, for the Territory of Utah, for the year 1851, I must crave your indulgence for its imperfections and brevity, inasmuch as circumstances which cannot be controlled by human agency, have rendered it impossible to present all the statistics which are ever desirable to those upon whom devolve the responsibility of directing and governing the affairs of nations, and especially of this young but rapidly growing territory. These circumstances are many and various, one or two of which I will mention, viz: The organization of new counties, and consequent appointment of new officers, who have not had time to understand in full the duties enjoined upon them. The removal of officers, such as Justices of the Peace, from one county to another and consequent disarrangement of their accounts etc., upon whom the Auditor has to depend in some measure for reports to be embraced in the general manifest at the close of the year. But the greatest difficulty has arisen from the apparent scarcity of money, which has delayed the collection of nearly the whole of the year's taxes to within the last two months; and even now, at this late period, the weekly receipts amount to from five-hundred to one-thousand dollars, in wolf bounty, wheat and etc., in consequence of which fact it has been considered advisable to keep the Collector's Books open a few weeks longer, in order that the vast delinquency which appears on this report may be diminished, and a better prospect afforded for the commencement of the business for the year ensuing."  

A Trip to Southern Utah

An expedition, under the leadership of Brigham Young, was made into the southern part of the
PLATE VI

Appointment and release of William Clayton as Territorial Auditor as filed in the "Book of Elections and Commissions" at Utah Historical Society Library.
territory, during the spring of 1852. The object of the journey was "for the purpose of visiting the southern settlements; exploring the country; ascertaining the situation of the Indians; making roads; building bridges; killing snakes; preaching the gospel; and doing and performing all other acts and things needed to be done, as they may be led by the Good Spirit." Assisting Governor Young was Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Professor Albert Carrington, General Daniel H. Wells, Judge Zerubbabel Snow, Attorney S. M. Blair, Sheriff James Ferguson, Doctor Samuel L. Sprague, Surgeon W. M. Andrews, William Clayton, John Kay, and some two or three dozen more citizens. They left Great Salt Lake City on or about the 22nd of April. 11 The following letter was sent by William Clayton to Willard Richards in regard to the journey:

"Canal Creek, Sanpete County
April 27, 1852

Dear Brother Richards: We have arrived at this point safe and in good spirits. This creek is 116 miles from Great Salt Lake City, as measured by the odometer, and is said to be 14 miles from Manti City, which point we expect to reach tomorrow by noon. We have had pleasant weather since Saturday last, and have traveled as fast as could be anticipated. The camp is all enjoying excellent health, and a more cheerful, peaceful, happy company I never saw travel together before.

"Last evening we camped at Nephi City, which is 89-1/3 miles from G. S. L. City, at which place the camp was organized by appointing the following officers, viz:

Brigham Young . . . President of the Camp
Heber C. Kimball . . . 1st Counselor
Geo. A. Smith . . . 2nd Counselor
Daniel H. Wells . . . Captain of Camp
James Ferguson . . . Captain of Guard
William Clayton . . . Historian for Camp
S. M. Blair and
John Kay . . . . . . Chaplains
William Pitt . . . . Captain of Martial Music
W. M. Andrews... Surgeon
O. Pratt and A. Carrington... Topographical Engineers
Jacob F. Hutchinson... Dancing Master
Elijah B. Ward and Miles Weaver... Interpreters
George S. Clark and J. L. Robinson... Bishops
W. W. Major... Artist
Samuel L. Sprague and Ezra G. William... Botanists
Geo. A. Smith, Orson Pratt
Albert Carrington, Z. Snow and Morgan
Phelps... Geologists and Mineralogists
Wilford Woodruff... Phonographic Reporter

"The camp numbers 64 men, 3 boys, 11 women, 1 girl; also 30 wagons, 67 horses and 12 mules.

"There are several beautiful settlements on the road to this point, among which, perhaps Springville may rank the first, and Nephi the second. At both of these places the spirit of energy and industry is almost without a parallel. All the houses look clean and neat, fences in good order, and everything shows that saints live there. The city of Nephi was commenced in September last. There are now twenty good houses, a splendid corral for cattle, and a good quantity of land under cultivation.

"Summit creek is also a pleasant place, but there are only four families located there yet, and it is probably not calculated for a large settlement.

"I will not be tedious. I wish you could see the camp; you would think the good spirit prevails, and you would see every countenance smiling and cheerful. We know we have the prayers of the saints, and they are constantly remembered by us.

Your friend and brother,
W. Clayton"

The group was back in Salt Lake City on May 21st, and on that day, President Young records in his history:
"I returned with the exploring company on the 21st, having visited many Indian tribes and preached in all the settlements in the southern part of the territory. The energy and industry displayed by the settlers generally were commendable. At Coal Creek (Cedar City) they had erected dwelling houses and corrals and have just organized into an Iron Manufacturing Company, for the purpose of carrying on that business."\(^{13}\)

Shortly after returning from the expedition to the southern settlements, William was called on a mission to England. This mission has been treated extensively in Chapter five, so will not be repeated here.

Secretary of the Territorial Council

The 1853-54 session of the Territorial Legislature convened on December 12th, in Salt Lake City. William Clayton, having just returned from England, resumed his duties as a clerk by being elected as the assistant secretary of the Territorial Council (Senate) of Utah. He received for his services, during this session, $120 for forty days work. Governor Brigham Young also approved another resolution granting him $150 for his duties as Recorder of Marks and Brands.\(^{14}\)

As the Legislature met during the following year, it was William Clayton that called the Legislative Council to order. Later in the day, when elections were held for the new 1854-55 session, he was elected Secretary for the Council, with Robert Campbell as Assistant Secretary.\(^{15}\)

Recorder of Marks and Brands

After returning from the Mission to England, Clayton was re-elected to his former offices of Territorial Recorder of Marks and Brands and Territorial Auditor of Public Accounts. These positions were held for many years, and, according to Orson F. Whitney, he had them until the time of his death in 1879.\(^{16}\)

Some of the salaries listed for his positions are as follows:
"Auditor for 1863, $200 and for the Recorder of Marks and Brands the fees received from the recording of brands. 17

Auditor for 1865, $400 and Recorder of Marks and Brands $300 (Clayton to stand cost for printing brand sheets); 18

Auditor for 1866, $500; 19

Auditor of Public Accounts for 1867, $1000; 20

1868, $ 600; 21

The Deseret News carried the following notice in its July 4, 1855 edition, which pertains to Clayton's activities as Recorder of Marks and Brands.

"We take the liberty of calling the attention of cattle owners to Brother Wm. Clayton's advertisement of 'The Alphabetical List of Marks and Brands,' the first on the 8th page of No. 16 of the 'News.' The list is conveniently arranged, has 39 printed pages, is neatly printed in quarto form, stitched and paper covered, and contains 1000 marks and brands, and we trust that each owner of animals will readily and cheerfully hand over a dollar (an extremely low price of the labor and matter) and speedily exhaust the edition, and thus reap the great benefits to be derived by those who mark and brand their animals and sustain the law upon that subject. This course will magnify our law, and cheer and sustain the Recorder, in the position in which you require him to act.

"The pamphlets can be had at the Post Office and Deseret Store."

Problems with the U. S. Marshal

The year 1870 found conflict in Utah between the Federal Judges appointed to the Territory of Utah and the Territorial Legislature. The Federal Courts were lacking funds to defray their expenses. The Legislature, which held its nineteenth session early in 1870, had appropriated sufficient money to pay the expenses of the courts up to date, and provide a contingent fund for their immediate future needs. The law expressly stated, however, that these funds must be drawn and disbursed by the Territorial Marshal, John D. T. McAllister.
The first "Book of Marks and Brands"
for the State of Deseret as recorded
by the pen of William Clayton
Courtesy Utah Historical Society
This situation became very involved, as the District Court had deposed Marshal McAllister and all his duties were invested in the United States Marshal. The incumbent U. S. Marshall, at this time, was Colonel M. T. Patrick, who, in July 1870, applied to the Territorial Auditor, William Clayton, for funds to pay the expenses of the Third District Court. This was the first time that a United States Marshal in Utah had ever asked for Territorial funds for any purpose whatever, and the Auditor, being doubtful as to his authority, concluded to lay the matter before the Territorial Attorney-General, Judge Snow. 22

The Territorial Auditor, accordingly, wrote the following letter to Judge Snow:

"Hon. Zerubabel Snow, Attorney General for Utah Territory

"Dear Sir: M. T. Patrick, Esq., U. S. Marshall has applied to me for funds to pay the expenses of the District Court for this Territory, such as witnesses fees, expenses of arresting and boarding prisoners, serving notices on jurors, etc. As this is the first time in the history of the territory that a United States Marshal has asked for Territorial funds to disburse in payment of expenses of District Courts on Territorial Business or otherwise, grave doubts have arisen in my mind as to where in the face of existing facts, which I will endeavor to enumerate in part, I can be justified in acceding to Marshal Patrick's request under any circumstances by issuing warrants on the Territorial Treasury as above contemplated. As you are the legal advisor of Territorial Officers, I have concluded to lay the matter before you and solicit your legal opinion on the subject before proceeding any further.

... . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

"Being very desirous that no act of mine shall expose me to the merited and just censure of the Legislative Assembly, who are the representatives of the people, I appeal to your Honor and solicit your legal opinion on the subjects named herein, for my future guidance and protection, and trust you will favor me at as
early a day as possible.

Very respectfully yours,
Wm. Clayton

Auditor of Public Accounts, Salt Lake City,
July 23, 1870

Attorney-General Snow, in advising Auditor Clayton upon the matter, stated that while the U. S. Marshal was amendable only to the power that appointed him, and could not, therefore, be required to file bonds with the Territorial Auditor, being already under bonds to the Judge of the District Court, yet neither would the Auditor be justified in paying out funds to any person not authorized by law to receive them.

Mr. Clayton, accordingly, refused to pay any Territorial funds to the United States Marshal, as we see from the following letter:

"Territorial Auditor's
Office
Salt Lake City
August 1, 1870

"M. E. Patrick, Esq., U. S. Marshal

"Sir: Referring to our interview on the 19th ult., in regard to paying expenses of Courts out of Territorial Funds on voucher presented by you, as U. S. Marshal, I addressed a communication on the subject to Hon. Z. Snow, Territorial Attorney General, and solicited his legal opinion as to my duty in the premises. I am in receipt of his reply from which it appears that the law will not bear me out in paying the expenses of the Courts only on order of J. T. McAllister, Territorial Marshal, on vouchers to be approved by the Auditor.

"With this legal opinion of the Territorial Attorney General before me it would be in open violation of law for me to issue Auditor Warrants to pay expenses of Courts to any other officer or in any other way only on 'orders of J. T. McAllister, Territorial Marshal on vouchers to be approved by the Auditor of Public Accounts' as specific in the Act of appropriation.

Very Respectfully,
Wm. Clayton, Auditor of
Public Accounts"
After the letter had been received by the U. S. Marshal, it appears that action was taken by the Territorial Governor, J. Wilson Shaffer, to have William Clayton replaced as Territorial Auditor. This account is preserved in another of the letters of William Clayton.

"Territorial Auditor's Office
Salt Lake City
August 13, 1870

'Hon. Z. Snow, Attorney General,

'Dear Sir: On Thursday the 11th inst., a gentleman called at my office and presented what purported to be a commission signed by Governor Shaffer, appointing and commissioning G. W. Bostwick, Auditor of Public Accounts for the Territory of Utah; said commission was dated August 11, 1870. After glancing over the document I stated to the gentleman that I was not aware the Auditor's Office was vacant: That I was duly elected by the Legislature its last session, and held a commission as Auditor of Public Accounts from the Acting Governor by virtue of said election. He then demanded the books, papers and property pertaining to the Auditor's Office. I informed him that I should take legal advice before doing anything further about the matter, and that is the object of this communication.

'On the sixteenth day of February A.D. 1870, I was elected by the unanimous vote of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah to the office of Auditor of Public Accounts for said Territory. An 'Act prescribing the term of certain offices and designating where their bonds shall be filed' approved January 19, 1866 defines the term of office to be four years, 'and until their successors are elected and qualified, unless sooner superseded by Legislative election.' On the seventeenth day of February 1870, I presented my bond to the Probate Judge for Salt Lake County, and filed in his office; a certificate of that fact was issued by him, which I handed to His Excellency S. A. Mann, the Acting Governor. I received a commission from Acting Governor Mann, dated first day of March A.D. 1860, commissioning me Auditor of Public Accounts for the Territory of
Utah, from which commission I extract as follows: 'authorize' and empower him to discharge the duties of said office according to law, and to enjoy the right and emolument there unto legally appertain-ing for the term prescribed by law and until his successor shall be elected and qualified to office.' The term prescribed by law is four years, less than six months of which have transpired, and there certainly has been no successor elected and qualified as contemplated in said Act, neither have I been 'superseded by Legislative election.'

"Now, Sir, I am not aware of having neglected any duty, as Auditor of Public Accounts for the Territory of Utah, neither have I been advised that any one has complained of my having either neglect-ed any duty or transgressed any law pertaining to said office or otherwise since the date of my com-mission on the first day of March last; and it seems to me that I would be recreant to the trust confided to me, by the Honorable Legislative Assembly, were I to surrender the office of Auditor of Public Accounts for the Territory of Utah, or the 'books, paper and property' pertaining thereto, to any person, under any circumstances unless 'Super-ceded by Legislative enactment.' I therefore respectfully solicit your legal advice as to my duties under these circumstances herein enumerated.

Very respectfully,

Wm. Clayton" 26

After the "gentleman" tried to take over the control of the office of the Auditor of Public Accounts, William was not bothered again and continued with his duties. He was, however, called on to make a report to the House of Representatives of the Territory when they next met in session, during January of 1872. 27

The same problem reoccurred on March 12, 1872, when Marshal Patrick sent another statement to the Territorial Auditor's Office for keeping Terri-torial convicts in the Utah Penitentiary. 28 The same reply was again sent to the Marshal by Clay-ton, stating that the only person authorized to receive the pay to settle the account was J. D. T.
McAllister, Territorial Marshal. 29

Correspondence was also received from J. L. High, the Assistant United States Attorney for Utah, asking for a settlement, but he received the same reply as the U. S. Marshal. 30

Other Positions

Many other positions were held by William Clayton, in various capacities of the Territory. He was appointed a Lt. Colonel in the Corps of Topographical Engineers of the Nauvoo Legion, by order of Lt. General Daniel H. Wells. 31 In 1862, at the Constitutional Convention, which was held in hopes that Utah could obtain statehood, William Clayton was elected as Secretary of the Convention. 32 After the Convention, when the people of Utah had ratified the Constitution adopted, he informed Brigham Young, that he had been unanimously elected to the office of the Governor of the State of Deseret by a unanimous vote. 33

During the thirty-second annual conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Elder Clayton read the financial report of the Trustee-in-Trust of the Church and explained the present financial condition. 34 His name also appears as a member of the Committee of Arrangements for Independence Day for the year 1862, also 1863. 35 On the July 24th program of 1862, he read an address to the Pioneers, written by Miss S. E. Carmichael. 36

A great mass meeting was held in the tabernacle in Salt Lake City on March 3, 1863, for the purpose of petitioning President Abraham Lincoln to remove Stephen S. Harding as the Territorial Governor of Utah, as well as two Federal Judges, Thomas J. Drake and Charles B. Waite. William Clayton was appointed one of the clerks for the proceedings and at the conclusion of the meeting, read the resolution which would be sent to President Lincoln. 37

Evidence is also found that William Clayton served at least one term as Alderman from the Second Ward of Salt Lake City; however, there is no information as to his exact activities in this
capacity. 38

Although it never received the sanction of Congress, the organization of the State of Deseret was kept intact. This was done so if and when they were granted statehood, the state would be able to "more readily assume the robes of sovereignty." William Clayton continually held the position of Auditor of Public Accounts in this government, which never had any power after the creation of the Territory of Utah. 39

The Deseret Telegraph Company was constructed during the year of 1866, and had lines running from Cache Valley to St. George. On the 18th of January, 1867, when the company was incorporated under the laws of Utah, William was selected to be its treasurer. 40 Other evidence shows that he served many years in the capacity of a Notary Public for Salt Lake County. 41

Z. C. M. I.

Although the organization of Zion's Cooperative Association (Z. C. M. I.) was not related to the Government of Utah, it was very closely related to the economic development of the Territory. William Clayton was closely connected to the development of Z. C. M. I., so we will mention, briefly, his role and thoughts in regard to this institution.

To start at the beginning of Z. C. M. I., we find the following editorial in the Deseret Evening News for October 10, 1868:

"For years past the necessity of being self-sustaining and of confining their trading and mercantile operations to those who had the welfare of Zion at heart, and were willing to spend their time and means for the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God upon the earth, have been persistently and continually urged upon the attention of the Latter-day Saints by their leaders. Owing to the teachings on this subject, the great necessity of adopting such a policy has long been very apparent to the people at large, but through circumstances, too well known to need recounting here, it has not been so generally adopted as was desirable.
"For sometime past, through the various settlements of the Territory, this matter has been more forcibly brought to the notice of the Saints, and the position and absolute necessity of universally carrying it out has been very clearly demonstrated.

"A number of gentlemen met together yesterday afternoon, and discussed this subject, and decided that the establishment of a co-operative wholesale store is feasible. Among the few who were present, nearly $40,000 in money were subscribed; ... In order to further the objects of the movement now contemplated, this city and the adjacent settlements; during the next six days, will be canvassed by the following named gentlemen, who have been appointed to address the people on the subject at the times and places specified below:"

Among the seventeen gentlemen sent into the Salt Lake Area was William Clayton, who, along with H. S. Eldredge, was sent to speak in Bountiful on the following Sunday morning. 42

The formal organization of the new institution took place in the City Hall at Salt Lake City on October 16th. At this time, Brigham Young was selected president of the association and among the other officers elected to various duties was William Clayton, Esq., as secretary. Clayton was to receive the names and subscriptions of any and all persons who had not yet joined the association and still wanted to buy some shares. His office, at this time, was listed as being in Eldredge and Clawson's Store on East Temple Street. 43

Later in February, Secretary Clayton gave notice through the Deseret News that the wholesale store would soon be ready for business, his advertisement being headed by the afterwards familiar motto and title: "Holiness to the Lord—Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution." Accordingly, on March 1st, 1869, the doors of one branch of the wholesale store were opened in Jennings' Eagle Emporium. 44 His own words in regard to this event were: "The parent store has commenced
business and it is likely to be a great success. It will give me heavy work early and late, I have scarcely time to eat."45

One of Clayton's duties before the organization of Z.C.M.I., had been the collecting of claims from the Federal Government for men, who had participated in the Indian campaigns in Utah. From the following letter, however, we see that his new responsibilities forced him to give up this practice.

"... my time is so completely occupied with the business of Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution that it leaves me no opportunity to devote attention to collecting claims on Government. I have had to desist from all such business for the present.

"... Perhaps I may have more time during the winter months, but at present, I have to forego every kind of outside business, except my collections in foreign countries, and those I cannot dispense with, as I have so many of them in hand."46

Although William Clayton continued to serve the new institution during its early years, it seems that he was not entirely satisfied with conditions. He also seemed to be suffering from financial difficulties, which were so serious that he was having trouble in supporting his family.

The following extract from one of his letters, to Horace S. Eldredge, a director of Z.C.M.I., gives us a picture of his feelings:

"I think I will now ask you one or two questions which have very often flashed across my mind when I have met you. You were one of the Committee appointed to fix salaries of the officers and clerks of the Institution. H. B. C's [H. B. Clawson] was fixed at $500 per month, mine at $300, a little over half. H. B. C's position as Superintendent gives him advantages, perquisites and presents worth over $100 per month. He has three sons and two teams constantly employed for the Institution, all at good, liberal wages. I have tried several times to get one of my boys a situation there. I have also tried to get one of my teams into a job but this cannot be done. Mr. Beattie, a
brother-in-law of H. B. C. has three sons constantly employed in the Institution all at very liberal wages. Now what I would like to ask is, what has H. B. C. or H. S. B. [H. S. Beatie] ever done for the Kingdom that they should thus have its benefits and wealth stuffed into them at both ends, while others, who have perhaps done as much for Israel and been as long tried and proved faithful can only have a menial's position and a menial's pay compared with others.

"My pay does not support my family. When Wm. Jennings employed J. W. Ellerbeck to keep his books, he paid him $500 per month for about forty-eight hours work per week. When H. S. Eldredge and Wm. Jennings employed me to take charge of the books of six stores, with all the responsibility and anxiety attending, handling from one and a half to two-million dollars per annum, working average of seventy-two hours per week, my work is worth only $300 per month, and no perquisites, favors, presents or employment for sons or teams either present or in prospect. When I was appointed Secretary, I had made a business which was worth from five to six-thousand dollars a year. This is all ruined and gone because I have not time to attend to it. Now if you, as an Elder in Israel, can see any justice or anything Godlike in such a distribution of public favor, you see very different to what I do. I confess it has destroyed my confidence in men very considerably, and having once referred to it, I shall let the matter drop, believing there will be no such partial and unjust dealings in the next world. Praying that you may be blest and sustained in your present position and in all your future career, I remain as ever yours.

William Clayton\(^{47}\)

Although the above complaints had been registered, William Clayton was unanimously re-elected as the secretary to Z. C. M. I. at the annual stockholders meeting held in the Tabernacle at Salt Lake City, the following October.\(^{48}\)

Clayton's personal feelings did not seem to improve, however, in regard to how he was being treated, and he again wrote a letter. This time
the letter was sent directly to the President and Directors of Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution, which consisted of the following:

"Dear Brethren:

"To relieve my mind of a terrible load of anxiety and in justice to my family, I feel constrained to lay before you a few facts pertaining to my present situation. I will do so in as few words as possible.

"When I was appointed Secretary of the Institution, I had a first class business, which had been steadily improving for several years. The last years previous to my appointment as Secretary, my income from foreign collections and business as Notary Public, amounted to near seven-thousand dollars. My time spent was from six to eight hours per day. I had leisure and opportunity to attend to my family affairs.

"When the committee who were appointed to fix the salary of the clerks of the Institution, named the compensation they allowed me, they put it at about half what I was previously earning. When told of it, I felt discouraged, but after reflection, I concluded that if I could keep up my foreign business I could still make a comfortable living. I soon found that my duties for the Institution would monopolize my entire time and attention; consequently I have lost the foreign collection business almost entirely, and the only help in addition to my salary as Secretary is the Auditor's Salary, the duties of which I perform night and mornings.

"My salary as Secretary for the Institution gives to each member of my family the small pittance of twenty cents per day for food, clothing, shoes, fuel, wear and tear, and all other family expenses, a sum which you are well aware is utterly inadequate to the support of a family under any circumstances. The consequence is, notwithstanding the most rigid economy, I am gradually sinking deeper and deeper in debt, the thought of which destroys my peace of mind, causing me sleepless nights and comfortless days.

"The business of the Institution is on the
increase. The amount of money I now receive and pay out will aggregate at the rate of some three millions per annum. The responsibility connected with handling so large an amount of money in the way it has to be done may be imagined. The anxiety and care attending it cannot be imagined.

"The Institution has been and is prosperous, very prosperous, yielding to the stockholders satisfactory dividends and profits on their investments. To increase my compensation to an amount sufficient to allow my family to live comfortably could be done and the stockholders never know the difference, so small would be the additional expense compared with the vast amount of business annually done by the Institution, on all of which there is, or should be, more or less profits.

"By consulting the Superintendent, you can learn whether I perform my duties faithfully, carefully and satisfactorily. He can also inform you in regard to the severely laborious and confining nature of my duties. What it cost me in labor, thought and anxiety to organize the system of bookkeeping for so large a concern, composed now often of different branches, unaided and alone, cannot be understood only by a practical bookkeeper, after a thor' investigation. It now runs as smoothly as any business possibly can under the circumstances, the office being much too small, and being very ill adapted to so large a business, as well as very unhealthy.

"Brethren will you kindly consider these matters and realizing that I only desire to support my family comfortably for faithful services, be kind enough to increase my compensation in an amount sufficient to free me from the harassing thought that the harder I work the deeper I have to go in debt to live. Any questions you may wish to ask will be cheerfully answered. I will rejoice in my position as Secretary, serve you as faithfully as in my power. Brethren will you kindly allow me enough for a comfortable living while I thus serve you.

Your friend and brother

William Clayton"
It appears that the situation was not improved for William, as he writes the following:

"... I have resigned my position as Secretary of Z.C.M.I. I did it at the suggestion of President Young as the confinement was destroying my health. I am at present out of employment with a large family to support and we already feel severely our cramped circumstances."
CHAPTER VII
WILLIAM CLAYTON: MUSICIAN AND CHAMPION
OF THE FINE ARTS

The Nauvoo Period

This work would not be complete if it did not contain a few pages in regard to William Clayton's role as a contributor to the fine arts of his society. He was a gifted violin player, a composer of sacred hymns, and participated in dramatical productions of the pioneer period.

We turn to the Nauvoo period, when history first records his activities in this field. As this city was being constructed, one of its cultural attractions was the Nauvoo Concert Hall. This was a building some thirty by fifty feet and stood eleven feet high, with an arched ceiling. The hall had been built even though there had been many difficulties and discouragements in consequence of the poverty of the people. The building cost nearly one-thousand dollars, with much of the burden being placed upon the Trustees, who were Stephen H. Goddard, William F. Cahoon, and William Clayton.¹

During the fall of 1845, as the citizens of Nauvoo were preparing to move to the West, there was much activity in building wagons, procuring teams of horses and oxen, as well as trying to sell their property. In the midst of all this excitement, the fine arts were not neglected, for Brigham Young commissioned William Clayton to purchase instruments for a brass band to accompany them on the plains and gave him $150 to purchase them.²

William Clayton and several of his friends were called upon to furnish entertainment at various functions in Nauvoo. For example, on January 2, 1846, Clayton, along with William Pitt, J. F. Hutchinson, and James Smithies, "performed
several very beautiful pieces of music" before the High Council, High Priests and Seventies. 3

After the main body of the Church was forced to leave Nauvoo, during February of this same year, William Clayton was kept busy arranging concerts for the band in the various settlements of Iowa, which we have already mentioned in Chapter III of this work. The band also performed a great mission by keeping up the morale of the group as they made their evening camps along the way.

It was at this time that William made his greatest musical contribution to the Church, by writing his song, "Come, Come Ye Saints." The story of this song is also found in Chapter III.

The Nauvoo Legion Band

When the Saints were finally settled in the Salt Lake Valley, William Clayton was one of the men responsible for the re-organization of the Nauvoo Legion Band. At a meeting of the band, held at the house of Robert Burton, on the evening of April 9, 1850, he made the following remarks:

"I have a conscientious notion in organizing this band, which was organized by Joseph Smith under the name of the 'Nauvoo Band.' I have as firm a notion in the organizing of this band as I would have in being baptized. The minute I see any division of this band, that moment I retire, but still do not consider that I leave the 'Nauvoo Band.' My feelings are that we organize as members that stood on the old list."

At the same meeting, it was moved and carried that the band adopt a straw hat "for the covering of the head," a white dress coat, and white pantaloons, a sky-blue sash, and a white muslin cravat as their uniform. A committee was then appointed to "commence negotiations for such a uniform."

At another meeting, held several days later, a committee was appointed to make arrangements relative to procuring a "Band Carriage," and by unanimous vote, Brigham H. Young, was appointed to the office of "Standard Bearer." He was to
replace William H. Kimball, who had resigned. 4

A special Pioneer Day Program was held under the Old Bowery on July 24, 1853. At this program, President Young addressed the assembly "in his usual interesting strain of intelligent eloquence" after which a song by William Clayton, "A Home for the Saints," was sung by Brother John Kay. 5

"Resurrection Day"

Two of William Clayton's songs have appeared for many years in the L. D. S. Hymn Books. One, "Come, Come, Ye Saints," which is still widely used, was first published in 1851. 6 The other, "Resurrection Day," (now entitled, "When First the Glorious Light of Truth") first appeared in the Deseret News, while William Clayton was on his mission to England, in 1853. The words to the song are as follows:

RESURRECTION DAY
by William Clayton
(Tune:--The Field of Monteray)

When first the glorious light of truth,  
Burst forth in the last age  
How few there were with heart and soul  
T'obey it, did engage;  
Yet of those few how many,  
Have passed from earth away,  
And in their graves are sleeping,  
Till the Resurrection Day.

How many on Missouri's plains  
Were left in death's embrace,  
Pure honest hearts too good to live  
In such a wicked place  
And are they left in sorrow  
And in doubt to pine away,  
Oh no! in peace they're sleeping  
Till the Resurrection Day.

And in Nauvoo, the city where  
The Temple cheer'd the brace,  
Hundreds of faithful saints have found  
A cold yet peaceful grave,
And there they now are sleeping
Beneath the silent clay,
But soon they'll share the glories
Of a Resurrection Day.

Our Patriarch and Prophet too
Were Massacred, they bled,
To seal their Testimony,
They were numbered with the dead,
Ah; tell me, are they sleeping?
Me thinks I hear them say
Death's icy chains are bursting,
Tis the Resurrection Day.

And here in this sweet, peaceful vale
The shafts of death are hurled,
And many faithful saints are call'd
T'Enjoy a better world,
And friends are often weeping
For their friends who pass away
And in their graves are sleeping,
Till the Resurrection Day.

Why should we mourn because we leave
These scenes of toil and pain,
O happy change, the faithful go
Celestial joys to gain;
And soon we all shall follow
To realms of endless day,
And taste the joyous glories
Of a Resurrection day. 7

This song was also sung by the choir and congregation at the funeral services for William Clayton. 8

During his short stay in England in 1853, it appears that William was looking for materials that would help the cultural program in Utah. We find recorded in his journal the following statement: "I have purchased another Book of Plays to send to the Valley, by Schofield." 9

The Deseret Musical and Dramatic Association

Brigham Young, looking toward the advancement of his people, saw the need of increased preparation for entertainment; and being a firm
198 When First the Glorious Light of Truth

William Clayton

Fervently \( \text{\textit{\textbf{f}}} = 108 \)

1. When first the glorious light of truth Burst forth in this last age, How
2. How man-y on Mis-sou-ri's plain Lie prone in death's em-brace. Pure
3. And in Nau-vo, that cit-y where A tem-ple cheered the brave, A
4. Our Fu-ter-arch and Proph-et too, Were mas-sa-cred; they bled To

few there were en-rolled their names Up-on its sacred page! And of those
bless-ed souls, too good to live In such a wicked place! And are they
mul-ti-tude of saint-ed souls Have found a rest-ful grave. And there they
seal their tes-ti-mo-ny and Were num-bered with the dead. Ah, tell me,

few how man-y Have passed from earth a-way And in the grave are
left for-ev-er Be-neath the si-lent clay? Ah, no; they are but
now are sleep-ing, But shall not sleep al-way, For soon they'll share the
are they sleep-ing? Me-thinks I hear them say: "Death's i-ey chains are

sleep-ing Till the res-ur-rection day! Till the res-ur-rection
sleep-ing Till the res-ur-rection day! Till the res-ur-rection
glo ries Of a res-ur-rection day! Of a res-ur-rection
burst-ing! 'Tis the res-ur-rection day! 'Tis the res-ur-rection

day! And in the grave are sleep-ing Till the res-ur-rection day!
day! Ah, no; they are but sleep-ing Till the res-ur-rection day!
day! For soon they'll share the glo ries Of a res-ur-rection day!
day! Death's i-ey chains are burst-ing! 'Tis the res-ur-rection day!"
believer in the educational value of drama, he requested that a society be formed whose sole purpose would be to supply dramatic entertainment. In response to his request, a meeting was held at the home of William Clayton, on Monday evening, February 20, 1852, and the Deseret Musical and Dramatic Association was organized. There were thirteen individuals present at this first meeting, among them being William Clayton.10

The performance of March 8, 1862, was the first where admission was charged. The plays were "The Pride of the Market" and "State Secrets. The doors of the theater opened at six o'clock and the performance commenced at seven o'clock.

Members of the first production staff were:

Manager... H. B. Clawson
Stage Manager... John T. Caine
Treasurer... T. W. Ellerbeck
Prompter... William Clayton
Scenery... William Morris
Lamp Man... William Derr
Property Man... Charles Millard
Costumes... Claude Clive and Mrs. Maiben

Stage Barber and
Wig Maker... John Squires
Make-up... George Ottinger11

The play "Pride of the Market" was complete with an orchestra, with Mr. C. J. Thomas having the honor of directing the music.

The orchestra for the production was composed of the following:

First violin... William Pitt
David Evans
Second violin... William Clayton
Stephen Alley
Ebenezer Beesley
Violas... John Toone
George D. Watt
Violin cello... Joshua Midgley
James Smithies
Contrabass . . . David O. Calder
Flutes . . . . H. K. Whiney
           Mr. Minches
Clarinets . . . Henry Sadler
           Stephen Hall
Cornets . . . Mark Croxall
French Horn . . Charles Evans
            Thomas McIntyre
Trombone . . . Charles Lawrence
Ophicleid . . . J. N. Waler

Clayton, no doubt, played in the orchestra
for other productions when he was not involved
with the activities of prompter upon the stage. 13

The position of prompter was held by William
Clayton for sometime, and when he resigned, the
position was replaced by Robert Clayton. 14

At an informal meeting of the Deseret Drame-
tic Association, held on the stage of the theater
after the performance of Saturday, October 15th,
1864, Mr. Clayton was appointed secretary for the
organization. 15

There is, no doubt, much more that could be
written about William Clayton in the field of fine
arts; however, he seldom mentioned his activities
of this field in his personal writings, other than
possibly, "I composed a new song today." Some-
times the title of the song is listed, but never the
words, and only two of them seem to have been
preserved.
CHAPTER VIII
THOUGHTS AND EXPERIENCES FROM THE
PRIVATE LIFE OF WILLIAM CLAYTON
1850-1879

A Public Speaker

William Clayton became a permanent resident of Salt Lake City after his arrival in 1848, with the exception of the one year, during 1852-53, he was called to England as a missionary. We have mentioned his activities in regard to the government of the Territory of Utah, also his interests in the fine arts. In this chapter, we will attempt to bring out some of his personal problems and interests in connection with his private businesses, which were varied; also his personal and family life, while a resident of this city.

Elder Clayton was a very prominent citizen of his time, both in civic and Church affairs. Although there is no specific mention of him holding any Church position after coming to Utah, we find evidence of him being called on various occasions to speak. An example of this is found in the "Journal History," under the date of May 12, 1850, where we find that he was a speaking companion with President Brigham Young at the regular Sunday morning meeting held in the Bowery at Salt Lake City. This Bowery was constructed in 1848 and was located immediately north of the present site of the Assembly Hall, and would accommodate several thousand persons.1

The Annual Conference of the Church for 1851 was also held in the Bowery. William was the clerk of the conference and records: "Conference was opened and then adjourned to the following day on account of the heavy rain and the leakage of the roof of the Bowery."2
On several occasions he was invited to meet in special prayer services with the General Authorities of the Church.  

He also participated in the 1852 Annual Conference of the Church held in the Old Tabernacle on Temple Square. This building was constructed during the fall and winter of 1851-52, by the Saints, and was 62 x 126 feet. It consisted of adobe walls, a gable roof with white pine shingles, and a seating capacity of twenty-five hundred. It ran north and south near the spot where the Assembly Hall now stands.

His first duty at the Conference was to read the financial report of the Church in regard to the amount of tithing received and the expenditures. Three days later, with the Tabernacle filled to overflowing, Elder Clayton was one of the speakers at the afternoon session of Conference. He spoke with Elders Daniel H. Wells, William I. Appleby, G. D. Watt, and President Heber C. Kimball. It was stated that many interesting topics of discourse were introduced. Several other accounts are also found where William spoke in Sunday meetings held in the Tabernacle.

The Seventeenth Ward

One Sunday, while Elder Clayton was sitting in the congregation of his home ward, the Bishop (Heywood) called on him to deliver a discourse on any subject he desired. Brother Clayton spoke "as the spirit led him for about an hour." The people, according to the ward minutes, were very interested in his words, his subject being, "Everything that can be shaken will be shaken, that what cannot be shaken will remain." He then spoke on the subject of "Consecration."

When he had finished his remarks, Bishop Heywood arose and said that Brother Clayton spoke just as he wished he would speak and "exactly" on the same subject he intended to speak on, "so that he did not feel to say anymore on the subject of Consecration."

Two months later the Bishop called on Brother William to speak to the congregation and again gave
him the privilege of speaking on anything he had on his mind. After the invitation, Elder Clayton came forward and gave "a beautiful discourse" on the prosperity of the people since they had arrived in the mountains. He also spoke on tithing, the persecutions of the Saints, the building of the Temple, and "felt very happy and glad in the capacity of the meeting."

After he had concluded, the Bishop gave notice that for the future, Brother William Clayton will preach every Sunday evening "until he is satisfied." The minutes offer no further explanation as why he was given the privilege to talk by the Bishop; however, on the following Sunday evening, he came to Sacrament meeting, "according to the appointment made." This time Brother Clayton spoke on "progression," the resurrection, the Priesthood, and "made a beautiful and also very interesting discourse." The congregation was very attentive.

He evidently was "satisfied" after this meeting, as he was not scheduled for the speaker the following week.

The Civil War

The writings of William Clayton reveal that he took a keen interest in public affairs, both on the local and national levels. During the early 1860 period, a number of comments are found in regard to his thoughts and opinions pertaining to the Civil War. Although the Civil War did not commence until April of 1861, we find the following comment in one of Clayton's letters to George Q. Cannon, who was at this time in England, presiding over the European Mission:

"... having been twenty years a resident of the United States where guessing is lawful and tolerated, I take the liberty to guess that the union will be dissolved before many months roll over, and that the consequences will be civil war, and a scene of blood, death and destruction which has not been witnessed on this continent for the last sixteen-hundred years. The nation that has cruelly banished the people of God from their midst, after
coolly witnessing the martyrdom of two of the noblest and best men that ever lived, friends of God, of His Kingdom and of His people. "11

The cold and wet morning of Sunday, April 21st, 1861, found a large crowd gathered in the old Tabernacle on Temple Square in Salt Lake City. The group was eager for information in regard to the great Civil War, which had commenced when Fort Sumter had been fired upon.

Elder John Taylor, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, was the main speaker at this meeting and he "showed that all the prophecies that had been spoken by the Servants of God would come to pass." Following his remarks, William Clayton was called upon to read the dispatch received on Saturday evening, by Pony Express, relative to the commencement of hostilities in South Carolina. 12

During the year of 1862, the people of the Territory of Utah again made an effort to secure the admission of the State of Deseret into the Union. An election was held on the first Monday in February, at which the people adopted an amended Constitution of Deseret and re-elected the Hon. William H. Hooper as the delegate to Congress, as well as Representative for the State of Deseret. During this period, there appears to have been much discussion in regard to the chances of Deseret being admitted to the Union. William Clayton, in his continued correspondence to George Q. Cannon, informs us of his personal view in regard to the matter, as we read:

"Many are sanguine that we will be admitted into the Union as a Sovereign State, but to me this looks impossible, for I cannot conceive the possibility of the "Stone in mountains" becoming a part of the "Great Image" before smiting it on its toes. I do not think the Lord designs that His Kingdom shall ever become one of so corrupt a family as the States have proved themselves to be, nevertheless I can see the propriety of seeking and pleading for admission, in order that the United States may be left entirely without excuse when they strike their last blow at the Kingdom of God. They will justly deserve the consequences."14
A new governor was appointed by President Abraham Lincoln during the early part of 1862, to preside over the Territory of Utah. The new governor was Stephen H. Harding of Indiana, who was replacing John W. Dawson, who had deserted his post as head of the Territory.

The opening of the legislature in December, 1862, brought on a crisis between the new governor and the territorial legislature. He charged the people of the Territory with a lack of loyalty for the United States Government, and attacked the whole body of the territorial laws.

The address was so insulting to the legislature that they completely ignored the address to the point that they did not even have it recorded in the official record of the body or even in the Deseret News. A proposal was then sent by Harding and the two federal judges, Waite and Drake, to the United States Senate. This proposal recommended giving the Territorial Governor great power in regard to the Territorial Militia, also a weakening of the local courts.15

William Clayton in commenting of the affair states:

"We have frequent tokens that Governor Harding and Judges Waite and Drake are doing all they can to bring us into collision with the Government. The recent action of a committee in Congress, who were instructed to inquire whether Governor Harding's Message to the Legislature of Utah has been suppressed, and etc. is proof positive of this. The committee inquired and made a bitter report, ... but I think the Session of Congress is so nearly ended and they have so many matters much nearer home of so far greater importance to attend to that the report of the committee will lie where it is and be forgotten. One thing is certain, if this Administration had not their hands pretty full, they would be after us with a vengeance. What for? To gratify political hatred and rascality, and cater to the cry of hypocritical demagogues. If Governor Harding had attempted to deliver such an abusive and slanderous Message to any other body of men, as he did to the Legislature of Utah, I doubt
whether he would ever have had occasion to deliver another."16

Political Aspirations

Harding was removed as the Territorial Governor late in the spring of 1863, by President Lincoln. At this same time two other officers, very friendly to the Mormons, were also removed from office. These men were Chief Justice J. F. Kinney and Secretary Frank Fuller.

It appears that ex-Secretary Fuller then left the Territory and traveled to San Francisco. While in that city, William Clayton sent him a letter (see complete letter on the following page) to inform him how his many friends in the city hoped that he would soon return.

In this same letter, we also get a clue of the political aspirations of Clayton, for he writes:

"... the people here from the highest to the lowest, would appreciate the favor if you would write to Pres. Lincoln and solicit the appointment of the writer (Clayton) to the office of Secretary believing that you have much influence with Mr. Lincoln, and that your recommendation would do much towards securing the appointment. Perhaps you have other political friends to whom a letter would be of much service."17

There appears to be no evidence, however, that any further action was taken by either party in regard to William's political aspirations.

California Volunteers

During the latter part of 1862, President Abraham Lincoln ordered a military body, known as the "California Volunteers," and under the command of Colonel P. Edward Connor, to move into Utah and establish a military post in the vicinity of Salt Lake City. While, according to the official orders, the army was sent to the territory to guard the mail routes and telegraph lines from the Indians in the region of the Intermountain West, many of the Mormons were very suspicious of them and felt that surveillance of the people of
Salt Lake City, August 7, 1863

Dear Mr. Frank Fuller,

It is stated by certain prominent gentlemen (and of our people) that you have decided to remain at San Francisco and not return to this city. My facts positively and I say knowingly, the consequence is, that an effort is on foot amongst the outsiders to procure the appointment of your successor, as matter in which we citizens are deeply interested, as you are well aware. Your numerous circles of friends here would be much pleased to have you return, if agreeable to your feelings and interests, for you would always meet with a warm and cordial welcome. I need not say that your warmest friends amongst the most prominent of our citizens, and they would take the greatest pleasure in again greeting you in our midst.

Should it however be true, that you have concluded to remain at San Francisco, the people here from the highest to the lowest, would appreciate the favor if you would write to local friends and intimate the appointment of the writer to the office of Secretary, believing that you have much influence with Mr. Lincoln, and that your recommendation would do much towards securing the appointment.

I think I need not say that the feelings of our citizens on this subject are so united, especially amongst the most influential, but it would be much better placed to learn of your intention to return.

Please honor me with an immediate reply and address.

Truly yours,

[Signature]

(Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.)
Utah was, in part, the purpose of the government in sending these United States troops to Utah.

There were probably few individuals more suspicious or critical of the army than was William Clayton. His letter-books of this period are full of comments in regard to the troops and their influence upon the community. For example, in a letter to President George Q. Cannon, we read:

"Brother George, I dislike to refer to these subjects. To see our brethren barter their salvation and our sisters their honor and virtue for soldiers green backs is too dark to think of. At Camp Douglas they are building quite a city. They have bought all the adobies and other building materials they can find and are building fast. The enquiry is often heard, what are the soldiers building so much for? To me, the answer is plain, viz., To form a nucleus for hell to gather round, and being within the City Corporation, bye and bye to outvote us at the City election. Then what, ---You know enough to keep these things to yourself, there are dark clouds ahead unless the saints rouse up and repent."  

Much of the spare time of these soldiers was taken up prospecting for minerals in the near by mountains, which led to success for some of the group. Clayton reports:

"The soldiers and others are doing everything they can to get up an excitement by constantly reporting the vast mineral wealth of Utah. How much real cause they may have for such reports, I do not know for I do not enquire after gold, either shall I trouble myself about it. It has had the effect to raise the price of everything here very materially. Flour has sold at $12 per 100 lbs. all winter; butter at 75¢ per pound and other things in proportion, which has made it pretty hard on laborers and the poor. To me one thing is certain, if rich mines are opened in Utah, the Priesthood and honest saints will soon have to leave for some other region and I confess, the signs look ominous. One thing we know the Lord will take care of the Kingdom, and if we do right, all will end right."
The year 1865 brought the surrender of General Lee's forces and peace again returned to the United States. William, however, did not write very confidently that the peace would be permanent.

"Some appear to think that since the surrender of Lee's army, the war between the north and south is virtually ended, that peace and prosperity will soon follow, that union will be restored and things go on more sinningly than ever. This seems to be the feelings of many of our people, but I do not so understand the designs of the Almighty. I look for war, pestilence and famine, earthquake, fire and floods to increase until the earth is pretty well cleared of the wicked abominations that now ride rampant and prevail in all the nations. I think the troubles of this country are but just fairly commenced, and I do not think it will be long before desolating war will step over the Atlantic and involve Europe as bad or worse. That has been the case for four years on this continent. I know of no promise of cessation of the judgments of our Father, until the nations have been made to bow and recognize him as the Supreme ruler and law giver. Do they do it now? No! I don't think a more wicked race ever lived on the earth than at present."20

William Clayton appears to have thought that the Mormons would have to again move before the year 1865 had passed and was even making plans for it as late as April of that same year. We read:

"I believe you know my opinion in regard to the future pretty well. I am of the same mind I have been for years in regard to our having to move before the year '65 passed away. I know the general opinion is far different, but each day now only confirms me more and more in the same views. The clouds now appear to be constantly increasing in volume and blackness, . . . hence I am more and more anxious to get this season four to five hundred bushels of wheat ahead for family use."21

Prior to this date, the following lines had been written to President Cannon:

"Our lease for the fair and peaceable valley of Deseret is nearly expired for the time being, and soon the saints will again have to take to
wagons and tents, and try camp life again. The time for hiding up for a season is near at hand. The vast settlements and many other significant tokens, all indicate that our stay here will now be short, but the Lord rules and all will be well.

"Now Brother George, don't think I write in a gloomy tone. It is not so, for altho' we may soon have to leave here, be assured that the end of the next trip will be Jackson County, Mo. It may, however, take seven years travel to get there."22

The Clayton interests also extended into the Indian problems of the day. In writing to the editor of the Cherokee Advocate, he states that he had written a letter to Chief John Ross of the Cherokee Nation, as Joseph Smith's clerk, during the winter of 1842-3. This letter was written in response to Chief Ross asking the Prophet Joseph's advice as to whether or not the Cherokees should part with their lands. His comments further continue:

"The Latter-day Saints commonly called Mormons, are more deeply interested in the welfare of the Indians than any other people upon the face of the Earth. Many hundreds of the Indians, living in and near Utah Territory, have been baptized into our Church within the last three years. They have ceased their wild roving habits, have commenced to cultivate the land, and have become in a measure, self-sustaining. They are peaceable, industrious, and are far better neighbors than many of the so-called Christians. Ere many years have past, thousands more will also join this Church. There are a great many singular, remarkable, and important circumstances, that have, within the last three years, transpired among and with the Indians located around us East, West, North, and South, but they are very prudent, cautious, and reticent in regard to these matters, and it is wisdom they should be. Their example is a living reproach to what is called Christianity. You need not wonder than at the interest felt by our people in the redmen—their preservation and future prosperity and welfare."23
The large family of William Clayton, made it necessary to work very hard at many different interests in order to provide for them. His interests, after coming to Utah, varied from collecting debts in the mercantile business, to freighting and mining interests. The first account we have is that he was engaged in fixing a book shop in the Council House in Salt Lake City, and it had become necessary for him to start a boarding house for the emigrants who tarried in the city, so as to provide food for his family.  

During the night of October 28th, of the same year, misfortune struck William, as his office was broken open and robbed of money amounting to between $30.00 and $40.00. Several days later, Captain George D. Grant, apprehended five of the thieves, who were on their way to the gold mines. The record does not mention whether the losses were recovered.

A Collector of Debts

During the 1860's and until the time of his death, William Clayton's main interest was acting as a type of attorney in the capacity of collecting money for people of the Utah Territory both in this country and in Europe. An example of his services is found in the following letter, which is only one of literally hundreds of letters in his letter-books, showing attempts to get county land for those who helped in the Indian troubles of 1853.

"Salt Lake City, Utah Territory
28th January 1862

"Sir:

"Inclosed please find declaration County land under Acts March 3rd 1855 and May 14, 1856 of Franklin Wilcox for services in Capt. Henry Standages company of volunteers, Utah Militia, during the months of July and August AD 1853.

"This claimant was enrolled as a teamster, but like all other teamsters in our Indian difficulties, had to perform all the duties of his fellow-soldier on arriving at the scene of difficulty, as in every instance the team animals had to be used to mount the men, and every man put on active
service as a soldier.

"Please acknowledge receipt and when the warrant is issued, forward to address of

Very respectfully,

Your Obt. Servt.

Wm. Clayton

Hon.
Jos. H. Barrett
Court of Pensions" 26

In this collecting business, Clayton states that he was prominently known throughout the Utah Territory, as well as most parts of the United States, especially in Washington, D. C. 27

It appears to have been President Young's desire to have this service performed for the members of the Church so they could obtain the money due them. 28 When performing these duties, William worked on a percentage basis, charging at first a fee of ten percent of the total amount that he collected. 29 Later his fee was changed to fifteen percent, plus expenses for collections in England, unless that amount was $150 to $500, for which it was ten percent; $500 to $1000, seven and one-half percent; and over $1000, five percent. 30 The process by which the money was collected was to send a Power of Attorney, signed by the parties interested, to his contacts in Europe, empowering them to represent the parties in America. 31

One of the great problems, after collecting the money, was getting it to America, where many had to take a loss of from twenty to thirty percent when it was converted into American legal tender notes. 32

The missionaries in Europe were used as contact men in making arrangements to collect the money. The greatest difficulty here, however, was to get the brethren to interest themselves in such matters and to learn to understand the business. 33

The reason for using the missionaries of the
Church to help with the collections, was not for economy, but to develop business men. Clayton writes:

"I could do this business much quicker and with comparatively trifling expense, through responsible gentile bankers or solicitors and etc., than through our brethren, but in his (Pres. Young) estimation it is very important that the Church have practical business men, competent to attend to all such matters without having to depend on gentiles all the time, and we cannot have such men amongst us unless they have the experience and devote a portion of their time and attention to such matters in order to gain that information and experience which is so necessary. Hence, President Young has not limited me as to who I shall call upon abroad to aid in these collection matters. I have the privilege of calling upon any of the Elders abroad whom I think competent and qualified to attend to the business and he will never find fault. Much of the money collected abroad through my agency is used for the Church purposes, immigration and etc., and the other portion paid to the parties here for whom the money is collected."34

William was asked by Brigham Young to continue the business of collecting foreign accounts for the Church members as he had been more successful than others that had tried it.35

The most difficult country from which to make his collections was Sweden, where it was seldom collected in less than three years, because of their strange court laws.36

The collecting of money in foreign countries was only one of his responsibilities during this time, as he acted also as a bookkeeper for several merchants in Salt Lake City, where he was allowed a share of the business compensations rather than a set salary. In addition to this, he was serving as Auditor of Public Accounts for the Territory of Utah, as an Alderman, and Chairman of the Committee on License in the Salt Lake City Council. He states that his time was monopolized by business from 7:00 A.M. to 11:00 and 12:00 P.M. every day in the week, "and, in fact, nearly my whole time
is spent in endeavoring to do my duty and do
good." 37

After the organization of the Zion's Coopera-
tive Mercantile Institution, Elder Clayton's duties
were further increased, so he was desirous of
quitting the foreign collection business. President
Brigham Young would not listen to this, however,
but wished him to devote still more attention to
it, and suggested that he hire an assistant. 38

It appears that the advice of President Young
was taken and a partner, by the name of Jonasson,
was employed and the title of "Clayton and Jonasson,
Conveyancers and Collectors" was given to the
business. 39

In the Mercantile Business

The Deseret News of September 30, 1863;
announced to the Utah Territory the formation of
a new mercantile business when the following
appeared:

George Cronyn William Clayton

Having formed a co-partnership under the

firm name of

CRONYN & CLAYTON

Doing business on the west side of Main Street,
in Great Salt Lake City, opposite Walker Brother's Store
have just

OPENED AN ELEGANT ASSORTMENT OF
NEW GOODS!

Consisting in part of Staple and
FANCY DRY GOODS AND NOTIONS,

A Splendid Lot of
Boots, Shoes, Hats and Caps,
Ladies' Dress Goods and Trimmings,

Porcelain, Queensware and Glassware,
Hardware, Groceries and Dye Stuffs.

With a general assortment of everything in the
trade which we now offer at fair prices, at the
old stand of GEORGE CRONYN
CALL AND SEE
CRONYN & CLAYTON

The above mentioned partnership was formed when George Cronyn offered William Clayton half of the profits of the business if he would take charge of its office portion. There does not seem to be any record as to how long the above partnership lasted.

Evidence of another partnership, however, is found between William Clayton and C. W. Dotten. This again was a mercantile business, which had two branches; one branch in Fillmore, Millard County, and the other at Beaver, the county seat of Beaver County. It appears that Dotten had been running the businesses, while William was in Salt Lake City, but he had not been doing a very satisfactory job of it, for the year 1869 found the business very much in debt. One of Clayton's letters, at this time, states that his partner had stolen and squandered $12,000 of his private property in reckless waste and high living, "and left me without a cent to look at the fruits of five years hard toil and saving."41

A list of the following debts appear: 42

R. T. Burton. . . . . $2301.50
H. P. Tuin . . . . 400.00
City Council . . . . 452.50
Eldridge & Clawson . . 1068.55 plus 1 years interest
Walker Brothers . . . . 1695.52 plus 10 months interest
W. Jennings & Co. . . 1442.59 plus 9 months interest
President B. Young . 203.76

Upon the payment of $7,564.42, Clayton was going to sell and release all of his interests in the two stores at Beaver and Fillmore, including the debts to Dotten. 43

The above payments were to be made from a mail contract the firm had with the government, referred to as the "Hiko mail route." Hiko is located some thirty miles west of Pioche, Nevada, and the mail route was evidently between there and Beaver. Tragic news came during the fall of the
PLATE X
Scene on Salt Lake City's Main Street during the year of 1868. At this time, William Clayton's office was located in Eldredge and Clawson's store at the extreme right, today known as the Constitution Building.

PLATE XI
In 1878 Clayton's office was located in the east end of the Deseret Bank Building, located at the corner of First South and Main Streets in Salt Lake City. The First Security Bank Building today occupies this location.

(Photos courtesy of Utah Historical Society.)
year when William records that the mail contract had been cancelled by Erastus Snow, as he felt the country was unfit for settlements. 44

Conditions did not improve and we find that William was further notified by the High Council that an individual had entered a complaint against him for $55.00, owed him by the firm of Clayton and Dotten. Again he mentions that he knew nothing of this debt, and lays it to his partner Dotten, of whom he says:

"If he doesn't send the $55.00 before the case comes to trial, he may take the consequences. I shall not spare him for I have suffered enough by his rascality otherwise. How can such a man escape the damnation of hell?" 45

William further writes:

"The truth is his family [Dotten] lived off the store, fed their horses, cows and hogs, paid rents, taxes and other private expenses and not one dollar in ten was ever charged, all of which I have the documents to prove before the First Presidency and High Council when the proper time comes." 46

A law suit was then brought against Clayton for $100 owed to George Stringham, by the firm of Clayton and Dotten. He again states that he knew nothing of the debt and advised Stringham to sue Dotten before the District Court. 47

No further mention is made of the Dotten affair in any of William's letters, so we can only assume that the difficulties were finally cleared up.

Mining Enterprises

As the mining industry further developed in the Utah Territory, it eventually attracted the attention and interest of William Clayton. We find evidence of him making a claim on fifteen-hundred feet of property along a silver bearing ore vein. This claim was made in partnership with Rufus Walker, Nathan Pratt, and William Mudd at the Hot Spring Mining District. Their claim was to be known as the "Homeward Bound Lode," and
was located about five-hundred feet west of a discovery known as the "Georgia Lode." 48

Although Clayton later became secretary of the Wasatch Mining Company, 49 there is no evidence that he shared in any of the wealth derived from the mining industry, but we do learn that it further contributed to his financial difficulties.

The portion of the following letter shows the condition and problems facing the Clayton household during the fall of 1876.

"To my mortification, I confess that I owe you an apology and two dollars, in the matter of Bridget Shand, who received her money early in July last. I overlooked it, but I will try not to do so again.

"If I had the two dollars I would send it with this, but I have not got it. Last Friday I had to get a sack of flour on credit and I am not yet able to pay for it. If you can get it of Brother Merriam, I will credit him on tax accounts, or; if Brother Reid has any brands to record, have him pay you the two dollars, and I will make it right with him.

"To tell the truth, Brother George, I have not been in such straitened circumstances for over twenty years. I am not doing any business and this month has been worst of all. What I am going to do this winter the Lord only know. My prospects are terribly dark." 50

It appears that much of the above mentioned difficulty stemmed from a partnership formed with John R. Robbins, a man who owned a saw mill and timber rights in White Pine Canyon, about thirty miles east of Salt Lake City. At the close of the year 1866, Robbins urged Clayton to take charge of his books and lumber year, offering him one-half of the net profits made at the lumber year. Accordingly, in December 1866, William moved his office to the lumber yard in Salt Lake City and immediately commenced overhauling and posting the books.

It was soon discovered that Robbins had several large debts, which were drawing interest, so Clayton borrowed money on his own signature
to pay off the debts, which reduced the payments some three percent per month. During the winter, he learned of other notes, so William again borrowed on his personal notes to appease the creditors of the lumber concern.

All was going well, and many of the small debts were paid, but the fall of 1867 found gold fever breaking out at the South Pass and the City of South Pass was planned. Rumor was that lumber was in great demand at fabulous prices. Brother Robbins then got the fever and, along with two other partners, Zenos R. Evans and C. F. Decker, decided to move the saw mill.

Clayton states that he told Robbins, "If you let that mill be moved out of Utah Territory, you will never see a dollar either of the products or value of the mill." This angered Robbins and he stated that he would do as he pleased. The mill was moved to South Pass, but it appears that not a cent was realized through the transfer.

The business folded and all that William received for his efforts and debts was a note that Robbins held against John M. Homer, for $33,900 in gold coin. The note had been made in 1853, and given to Clayton in 1868. To make matters even worse, Robbins died in 1872, leaving Clayton in a "very unfortunate and embarrassed situation" making it necessary for him to borrow more money to pay the interest on the notes.

Clayton contacted Homer in 1876 and stated:

"My homestead is mortgaged for a part of the debt, and at the present time I am exposed to utter and absolute ruin, all through my efforts to save Brother Robbins from ruin."

He continued that Robbins, prior to his death, had deeded all of his property to his widow, which made it impossible to obtain anything from the estate.

As a last resort, a plea was made to Mr. Homer to settle the note that William Clayton had against him for the sum of $12,000, as he states:

"For this debt, my homestead is mortgaged.
The interest I have to pay deprives my family, not only of the comforts, but of the necessaries of life. I am dunned and harassed from day to day, until my life is a burthen to me. The distress and agony of mind I endure prevents me from sleeping nights. I am almost disqualified for business, owing to this intense anxiety. I am over sixty-two years of age and, consequently, cannot launch out into new business, as I could twenty years ago. I am intensely anxious to pay every dollar I owe to any person, whether I have used it for myself or other, knowing that what I fail to pay of my just debts in this life, has got to be met in the world to come, for the uttermost farthing must be paid either in this life or next. I have not brought difficulty on myself by speculation, or by the extravagance of my family. My difficulties grow solely out of my efforts to save Brother Robbins."

William pointed out that the note might be outlawed according to the laws of California, "but under the laws of Heaven it is not; nor ever can be outlawed," and further states:

"I appeal to your honor, as an Elder in Israel, to help me in this hour of deep distress... place yourself in my situation, and before that God, in whose presence we shall both soon appear. I appeal to your honor, as an Elder in Israel, to help me in this hour of deep distress. Don't cast this letter lightly aside. Reflect seriously on what I have written. Place yourself in my situation, and before that God, in whose presence we shall both soon appear, determine to do this act of justice and mercy, and you will be blessed in the act, and I know that by so doing you will reap more and you will be blessed in the act, and I know that by so doing you will reap more joy and solid satisfaction than any act of your life has heretofore brought you."51

Again, evidence has not been discovered as to whether or not the settlement was ever made. However, it appears that these trying financial circumstances continued until the death of William Clayton, less than three years later. A plea was also made to the President and Board of Directors of Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution, to
give him flour and potatoes for some $530.00 worth of stock he had to his credit on the books of the Institution, so he could feed his family during the coming winter. 52

In conclusion to our comments of the private businesses of William Clayton, we might state that in this area he did not exercise the ability of King Midas of old in that everything he touched turned to gold and riches.

Some Interesting Purchases

It has been said of William Clayton, that he wore very little jewelry, but what he had was the best that money could buy. 53 This statement seems to be verified in several of his letters, which have been preserved. For example, when in need of some new reading glasses, he wrote the following letter to his good friend, George Q. Cannon, who was still presiding over the Church Mission in Europe:

"I find my eyesight begins to fail some, and I want to get of A. Abrahams Optician of Liverpool, as good a pair of pebbles, with heavy gold bows as can be bought for Two pound ten shillings. The pebbles to be of pure quality, for reading and for age from 50 to 60 years; I also want to get one of these double opera glasses, such as are now used instead of telescopes for crossing the plains. I want a first class good one for long distances, not to cost over two pounds ten shillings. If you come home next season I would like you to bring the pebbles and opera glass with you; and if you do not I would like to have them sent by Brother W. C. Staines, or some other good man who will bring them and deliver them to me when he gets here. . . .

"The pebbles are designed to be worn on the head like the common spectacles, but I want heavy gold bows for I always find the most valuable thing is best taken care of." 54

Several years later, when in need of a new watch, the following letter was sent to a missionary in Switzerland:
"In regard to the 2000 francs to be returned for me, I would here remark that it does not matter whether it is retained out of this or the other money, or both. If I am plainly advised I can keep the matter right. As I mentioned in my former letter, with this 2000 francs I want you to see Mess. Fatio and C. Fabric Aorologer, Plainpalais, Geneve, and get Mr. Fatio to make as good a gold chronometer watch with heavy gold hunting cases, as he can possibly make for the money. Tell Mr. Fatio, that I want him to do his best for me. I want as good a time keeper as can be made, and one that will wear a long time. I want it made heavy, i.e., the cases solid, and of as good a quality of gold as he ever makes his best watches. I would rather have you retain and pay five-hundred francs extra, than have anything imperfect or slighted about the watch. I want to wear it for the remainder of my lifetime and for this reason, you know I want the best time keeper and the most endurable and perfect watch he can make for the money.

"Now this watch, when you get it made, . . . I want Mr. Fatio to pack it carefully in a suitable case or box, so that neither dust nor air nor damp can get at it. As I said before I want the watch to last me the remainder of my life, and as I have now the opportunity and may never have another one, I am thus anxious and particular in regard to every thing connected with it. When the watch is made and packed up, tell Mr. Fatio to pack up with it one-half dozen good main springs and one-half dozen best hair springs and one or two extra pieces of any of the works which he thinks would be likely to require renewing in ten or fifteen years, so that in case of accident, the watch would not be rendered useless, but could be immediately put in good order again."55

A further letter continues:

"I should like engraved on it 'Wm Clayton, Great Salt Lake City, 1864.' I should like to have it tested and rated at the observatory as you suggest and every thing else done that can be to secure what I want."56

The letters of William Clayton further reveal

There is also evidence that William sought the advice of astrologists and may have used these devices to guide him in some of his business ventures. For example, we quote from a letter which has a number of astrological symbols drawn and concludes with the following statement:

"Now if you will be kind enough to give me your candid judgement on these three figures you will do me a kindness which I shall be glad to reciprocate. I would like the last one first for the reason that it may be of importance to me in business operations."58

We further read:

"I am kept so much confined with business I have no time to study, nor even to raise a figure on the new and full moon, which is important to us. . . . Men, who get a little understanding of the Science of Astrology, act so unwisely, generally, that it takes those who are true friends to the science, a great deal of time to counteract the influence so foolishly created."59

Another personal secret is revealed in this letter:

"I am very much in want of some of your hair dye, such as I had of you last fall and winter. Can you tell me how I can obtain it. If you will send me the receipt so that I can make it myself I will try to satisfy you for it and will give you my word that I will not use it for any one only myself, neither will I sell or give or loan the receipt to others, unless you should instruct me to do so. I will hold it sacred for my own use only. My desire to have it constantly on hand prompts me to make this request."60

Being the father of forty-seven children, the orders of provisions for the Clayton family looked like an inventory of a pioneer general store. An
example is the following order sent to a firm in San Francisco:

2 chests  best Y. H. or Gunpowder Tea
1 sack    pure Java Coffee
5 sacks   granulated sugar (or whichever is best)
10 boxes  Adamantim candles
3 boxes   best Sayer raisins
100 pounds rice
25 pounds blue vitriol
10 pounds nutmegs
60 pounds black pepper
50 pounds cart. soda
50 pounds tartaric acid
10 pounds best root ginger
2 boxes   pure castile soap
6 dozen   table knives and forks, rivitted handles. The best you can get.
2 dozen   pocket knives, very good and strong, but not the largest. Assortment!
1/4 gross good iron table spoons
1/4 gross Brittania table spoons
1/4 gross Brittania tea spoons
1/4 gross Iron tea spoons
2 dozen   good German silver tea spoons
60 pounds best saleratus
6 dozen   good fancy toilet soap
2 pieces  good dark satinet
2 pieces  good Kentucky jeans
6 pieces  3 yards each fancy cassimers, dark colors, small plaids, ass. & C.
1 dozen   Cal. grey blankets
2 dozen   blue or grey overshirts
1 dozen   fancy overshirts
8-1/3 dozen seamless sacks
10 pounds white skein cotton
5 pounds  Col. skein cotton
2 dozen   ladies skirt hoops to cost from say 12 to 15 cents
4 dozen   ladies white cotton hose. Good quality.
4 gross   India rubber dress coat buttons ass't sizes
2 gross   India rubber dress vest buttons ass't sizes
10 pieces  good bleached Muslin (for domestic)
X 3 pieces  dark colored cambric
X 2 pieces  black glazed cambric
X 1 piece  green chambray
X 1 piece  Franch merino dark wine color or maroon
X 1 piece  linen (suitable for Temple robes)
2 pieces  all wool delanies, similar to samples
X 1 piece  ladies white linen hkfs
3 only  dark pattern winter wool long shawls
        72 x 44 inches
4 only  silk parasols
X 1 dozen  ladies black kid gloves
X 1 dozen  ladies silk gloves, lead color
X 2 pieces  black velvet trimmings  2 inches wide
X 4 pieces  black velvet trimmings  1 inch wide
X 3  handsome photograph albums to hold
       36 plates each
X 1  ladies trunk to cost say $6 or $8.
2 only  fancy vest patterns for self. Something nice and good.
20 pieces  prints similar to samples inclosed. Include 4 pieces small pattern green
         prints if you can get them.
10 pieces  shirting prints similar to inclosed patterns, best quality
10 pieces  English prints; small patterns (dark colors; if to be had)

"I would much prefer all the prints to be wide English prints if they can be had in the mar-
ket. As I talked with you, these goods all being for family use, I want the best of everything
ordered. A few cents a yard difference in price is of no consideration to me compared with quality
of goods. I always buy the best article the cheapest.

"This private order is larger than I first thought to send, but I gave my daughters the privi-
lege of ordering a number of articles which are included in the bill. The albums are for the girls
and, of course, they want something good and pretty. All goods marked "X" in the margin are
ordered by the girls. I mention this to be some guide in the kind you purchase."61
The annual family order for boots and shoes was just as impressive, for it included the following for the year 1864:

30 pairs Women's best calf peg walking bootees
   Nos. 2 - 5
30 pairs Misses best calf peg walking bootees
   Assorted sizes
30 pairs Boys' Kiss Brogan Shoes
30 pairs Youth's Kiss Brogan Shoes
60 pairs Children's Calf Copper Toe'd Shoes
12 pairs Men's Grain Boots
   6 pair No. 7,
   6 pair No. 8
6 pairs Men's Double Sole Calf Boots No. 8
6 pairs Men's Fine Calf Boots No. 8

"All of the very best quality.

"... It would be impossible for me to feed and cloth my family if I had to pay retail prices for goods, and for the sake of my family, I ask many favors which I would not ask for myself."62

An order for spelling and reading books for the Clayton family, during this same year, included:

3 dozen Primary Spellers
3 dozen Primers
3 dozen First Readers
3 dozen Second Readers
2 dozen Third Readers
1 dozen Fourth Readers
1 dozen Fifth Readers63

On another occasion, arrangements were made to send $100.00 to a friend to purchase a good stereoscope for between $10.00 and $15.00, with the remaining sum to be used to purchase an assortment of views, both of comics and foreign scenery. He states: "The investment is designed mostly for the girls, still I would have no objections to a peep once in a while."64

During this period of time, in the Utah Territory, there was a great dearth of money, so many transactions were made by trading goods with one's neighbors and friends. For example, William Clayton, on one occasion, was negotiating a trade for
some pork, butter, and eggs with men's and boy's cloth caps for exchange. He was willing to trade for 500 or 1000 lbs. of butter, also the same amount of eggs. 65

Further comments in regard to the support of his family are revealed in the following lines written to a nephew:

"I support a family of near forty persons on a salary of $3,600 per annum and we live well, are well clothed and very comfortably situated. . . . I have six wives, whom I support in comfort and happiness and am not afraid of another one. I have three children born to me during the year, and I don't fear a dozen more."66

William Clayton bought everything at wholesale prices for his family. On one occasion, he states, he purchased 300 sacks of flour at $3.00 per sack, whereas, if he had bought bread at the bakers, it would have cost at least double. He purchased all his beef on foot and his boys slaughtered them. Coal was purchased by the ton, sugar by the barrel, and butter by the hundred pounds. His daughters all spun, wove, and sewed for the family. He stated:

"Every member of my family works and tries to do good to themselves at least, for industry is the only safeguard for a virtuous and prosperous life. It is a ruinous policy for any family to buy their stores at retail, and I am utterly and decidedly opposed to it."67

Land Problems

A large farm of some 280 acres was purchased by Clayton from John R. Robbins, probably during the year of 1867. This farm was located on the west bank of the Jordan River and was purchased for the sum of $3,000. A considerable amount of it was planted with wheat, oats, and vegetables. His boys were the caretakers of the new purchase, and during the following three years, put up nearly 500 rods of "good" fence around the property at an estimated cost of at least $5,000. Part of his family was living on the farm, and plans were to build a good home
When arrangements were made to have the property properly listed at the recorder's office, William came into trouble in trying to prove ownership of one-half of a quarter section of land. The problem was taken to court, with the trial set for July 29, 1870.

The following remarks are recorded in regard to the approaching trial:

"The trial between me and Maeser [he also claimed ownership of the property] is set. . . but all I can learn I have nothing to hope from Maxwell, [the land register] and I suppose I will have to appeal to the Secretary of Interior. . . . Now the idea of having spent so much time and means to make a farm where my family could help to support themselves and then to be swindled out of it by apostates instigated by one to whom we look to protect us in our rights, is something that may be borne, but it is not very pleasant. This system. . . being practiced generally against all who are friends to President Young and it is to be feared that all will not submit to be patiently robbed of years of hard earnings and have their farms given to enemies and apostates. It is evident they are determined to drive us to extremes and should they do so, may God defend the right."

In comments directed to President Brigham Young, we read:

"Gentiles are jumping every piece of land over Jordan not legally entered and mine is daily and hourly exposed to be entered for reasons before stated. . . . I do not know of any other way to secure my land, only to send for Heber [his oldest son] from the South and let him live on the land for one or two years, and by that we can secure the Government title, because it can only be done legally by actual residence. Should you feel to consent for me to send for Heber for this purpose, I would be glad if you will let me know without delay, and the matter is urgent owing to the operations of outsiders. Perhaps on reflection you will see some better way and will advise accordingly. Whatever counsel or advice you give me on the
subject, I shall endeavor to carry it out to the letter..."

Father

As with most families, as they grow up, they commence to scatter from the family home. William Clayton's family was no exception. Some of his boys left home, it appears, for the purpose of engaging in the freighting business.

The following letter was sent to one of his sons and reveals the parental desires he had for his children:

"My Dear Moroni:

"I received your note today and it gives me much pleasure to learn that you are well... My great anxiety is, as I have often told you, to have you do well for yourself, and to do this, you, with all the rest of us, will have to work, and to work hard, for there are but few men who can live without hard work of one kind or another. Idleness begets mischief and a long train of evils, while the hard working industrious man is generally virtuous, honest, and respected. You are now commencing to form a character for the future, and my anxiety is to see you take that course which will make you honorable and universally respected. As I have said previously, I want you to listen to Uncle Winslow's counsel, and not follow too much your own opinions. You are young yet in experience, and if you will listen to your uncle, he will do you good.

"... Try earnestly to raise all you can, and all you earn honestly, take good care of it, and it will be a blessing to you... I would like to hear from you whenever there is opportunity. Be a good boy and God and all good Saints will bless you.

Your father

Wm. Clayton"

It might be remembered that Moroni was the child whose birth was commemorated with William's new composition, "All Is Well," or as we know it today, "Come, Come Ye Saints."
After arriving in the mountains, William Clayton continually bore testimony to the blessings of the Lord upon his people. His spirit is caught in the following statement:

"It is useless to undertake to partienlarize [sic] the immensely great blessings the Lord is bestowing upon his people in the mountains. I believe I could write a week in succession on this subject and leave much untold. If ever a people on earth had cause to love their Father-in-Heaven and be humbly grateful to Him for the great abundance of his kind favor continually showered upon them, the Saints in the mountains are that people. Truly God is kind to his Saints."73

Some Personal Problems and Views

We have previously mentioned that it appeared that Clayton had some interest in the subject of astrology. This is again brought forth in relation to one of his children, Albert Cassius, who seemed to be suffering from a lingering illness. The boy had been ill for some six months and was still less than two year old. He was first taken with what was supposed to be canker and dyssentary. Medicine seemed to relieve this situation, but he was still very much afflicted with a pain in his head, which was thought to be caused by his cutting teeth. His eyes, most of the time, were very dull and heavy, which was accompanied by almost continual, frantic screaming both day and night.

After describing the forementioned ailment, the following plea is sent to Brother John Sander-
son:

"Now I believe if you can find the time, you can tell me what is the real cause and nature of his disease, and what is the best remedy? If you will take pains to give your judgement on these questions, you will confer a favor."74

It also appears that William was living in fear of great famine and scarcity during the late Civil War Period, for we find the following advice:

"I am truly glad your prospects are so favor-
able and I hope they will not only continue so, but
improve more and more, because faithful labor, industry, prudence and economy are sure to be followed by prosperity. Now if you will let me advise you, raise all the grain you can until you have secured enough for yourself and your mother to last you five years, and let neither high prices nor gold tempt you to part with it. Then I would have home made clothes enough made up to do the same length of time. I am doing all I can to provide my family with a seven years supply and I shall also try to get me some wagons and cattle. Prepare yourself for a time of famine and scarcity, for its nearer our doors than the people are aware of. You know 'the prudent man foreseeth the evil and hideth himself.' Say nothing, but get ready, for be assured, troublesome times are ahead of us."75

Arrangements were also made with Miles Romney, in the community of Grafton, Kane County (now Washington County), to care for himself and his family in case it was necessary to once again move from their homes. He was desirous of sending several loads of supplies to store there for emergency purposes, and asked in regard to the chances of renting a home for his family.76

In writing to his father-in-law, Amasa Lyman, William Clayton makes the following remarks in regard to his wife, Maria, who acted as the teacher for his family school. "She is a good girl and a wife with whom I have much enjoyment. I wish there were more such."77

It appears that all did not remain well between William and Maria, however, for we later read:

"Maria has entirely left my premises. She has carried everything away she can and has already sold her bureau and will probably sell the rest of her furniture. I shall not interfere. So far, she keeps Marian with her [their son], but from what I learn, she will soon tire of him and I am in hopes I will get him back again, yet. . . . I think she is preparing a sod that will give her sorrow and heart ache 'till she is satisfied. It will be long before she finds as good a home as
she has deserted, but she has chosen her course." 78

The latter years of William Clayton's life were filled with much sickness and physical discomfort. On one occasion he writes that he had been terribly afflicted with erysipelas for four months, and that his right hand was so terribly afflicted, that it was only with the greatest difficulty he could write. 79

On another occasion, he complains of not being able to sleep because of a severe pain in the crown of his head, accompanied by a buzzing sound and nervous irritation so acute that he had trouble controlling his hand while writing. 80

The year of 1877 was also a year of poor health for William. During the spring months his rheumatism was so severe in his right knee and left foot that it was necessary for him to walk on crutches when not confined entirely to his bed. 81 Following this severe attack of rheumatism, he had the misfortune to dislocate his right shoulder, which made it impossible to use his right arm for a period of nine weeks. 82

The Deseret News, under date of July 9, 1879, then carried the following notice:

"Very Ill. We regret to learn of the serious illness of Brother William Clayton, Territorial Auditor. He has been suffering from an attack of dropsy for about two weeks, and is now so low that very little hope is entertained for his recovery. He is at his residence in the 17th Ward."

Death and Final Rites

Death came to William Clayton on Thursday, December 4th, 1879, at his home in Salt Lake City. He died at 12:40 P.M. Five minutes previous to his death, he was conversing with Dr. J. M. Bernhisel about the old days of Nauvoo, "hence the uppermost thing in his mind was his religion." 83

He had been suffering for several months from an attack of dropsy, which for several years had been his ailment. The last attack had been so severe as to confine him to the house and compelled him to forsake all his business cares. It
was hoped, at times, that he would recover, his
symptoms being quite favorable, though for months
it had been necessary to have a watcher to sit up
with him through the night. 84

The obituary reads:

"He embraced the Gospel at an early day,
and was an intimate associate, and a tried and
trusted friend of the Prophet Joseph, to whom, for
many years, up to the time of the latter's martyr-
dom, he acted as private secretary. While in this
capacity, he transcribed the revelation on Celestial
Marriage and many others, under the Prophet's
dictation and direction. From that day to this he
has been with the Church, and held various offices
of public trust and responsibility in the community.
He was for several years treasurer of Z. C. M. I.,
for many years Territorial Recorder of Marks and
Brands, and up to a few months ago, when he
resigned his office on account of sickness, Terri-
torial Auditor of Public Accounts. He was a man
of sterling integrity, remarkable ability, a faithful
Latter-day Saint, and a good and useful citizen,
whose death, though a happy relief from his suf-
ferings, will be felt deeply by hosts of personal
friends." 85

The day of his funeral services and burial,
Sunday, December 7th, 1879, was a very pleasant
one in Salt Lake City, after a stormy night, when
both hail and snow fell, thus two inches of snow
covered the ground in the morning. 86

The funeral services were held in the Seven-
teenth Ward Meeting House, with many of the old
time acquaintances of the deceased being present;
among these were President John Taylor, Daniel
H. Wells, Joseph F. Smith, Bishop Alexander
McRae, M. G. Attwood, S. F. Attwood, Captain
W. H. Hooper, A. H. Raleigh, A. M. Cannon,
Bishop E. Wooley, D. O. Calder, Jacob Weiler,
Bishop Sheets, Joseph E. Taylor, Dr. Bernhisel,
Bishop Kesler, Wm. C. Staines, Z. Snow, Joseph
Horne, George H. Wallace, John Pack, John
Cottam, Wm. F. Cahoon and others. 88

The funeral services were conducted by J.
Tingey, a counselor to Bishop John H. Smith, who
was absent from the city.

The opening song was "Thou Dost Not Weep to Weep Alone." Prayer was then offered by Elder James Cummings, and the choir sang, "We Have Met Dear Friends and Brethren." This was followed with remarks by Apostle Joseph F. Smith; the choir and congregation sang one of William Clayton's own songs, "The Resurrection Day," after which Elder Elias Smith spoke. The concluding speaker at the services was President John Taylor. The closing song was "Unveil Thy Beacon Fateful Tomb," with the benediction being offered by Bishop Edward Hunter, Presiding Bishop of the Church. 89

The family and intimate friends of the deceased then accompanied his remains to the City Cemetery, where today his grave can be located in the southwest section of the cemetery.

Thus ended the life of a man who had crossed the broad Atlantic three times trudged over the Great Plains of America on five other difficult journeys, plus serving in a score of capacities and enduring many hardships for the new belief to which he was converted in his native land of England, and through the following years, history verifies he never doubted nor denied it.
The home of William Clayton and Sarah Ann Walters. This home was located at 144 West North Temple Street, Salt Lake City. Identified in the picture from left to right are two of Clayton's daughters, Victoria Helen and Lucy Loretta, with their mother, Sarah Ann Walters.

(Photo courtesy of June M. McDonnel.)

His home was open to his friends, who loved to gather there for social hours. Another larger home, which stood on the southeast corner of North Temple and West Temple Streets was known as the "Big House" in early days. It had a very large living room and was the gathering place for young and old alike. They loved to dance, and the orchestra was usually made up of children of William Clayton, some of whom played two or three instruments. 87
APPENDIX I

THE CLAYTON FAMILY

A man by name of Robert, born in Caudebac, Normandy, France, accompanied William the Conqueror to England and fought in the Battle of Hastings in 1066. Robert was a soldier well skilled in arms and gave valient service to William in this battle. For his service, he had the Manor de Clayton conferred upon him and he was afterward known as Lord Robert de Clayton of the Manor de Clayton. He was the first Clayton in the history of England.

Lord Robert de Clayton had three sons--John, Robert, and William. John Clayton was killed in battle in Penrith, Cumberland, fighting Malcolm, King of Scotland.

William was also killed in battle fighting for King Stephen in 1141. This is the first time the name of William Clayton appears in history. The third son, Robert, succeeded as Lord Robert de Clayton of the Manor de Clayton. He had a son whom he named William, the second known William Clayton in history.

Robert died in 1152 and was buried at Lancashire, England.

William Clayton, as a family name, follows from father to son down this line of Claytons for twelve-hundred years.

John married Mary Mainwaring and from this marriage comes the blood of Norman kings, the old Earls of Saxony, kings of England, Earls of Marcia and Scotch kings and the nobility of Normandy, which merge into the Clayton ancestry.

In 1499, Robert Clayton, of the manor de Clayton, had a son born whom he named John. This John settled in Yorkshire and founded Clayton
Hall. He was a direct descendent of Robert de Clayton, the first, and connects the ancestry of William Clayton (of this work) without question to those already recorded by the Clayton Genealogical Committee. Until the above genealogy was found, the Clayton line went back only to Clayton Hall. It now goes back four-hundred years further and to the beginning of the Clayton ancestry in England.

The Claytons first came to America as early as 1670. The line is traced clearly from the Manor de Clayton of 1066 and Clayton Hall of early in 1500 to this date. There is no break in the line.

The first Clayton to come to America was named William, son of Thomas Clayton of London, and grandson of William Clayton of Okenshaw, Yorkshire, England.

William Clayton had a patent granted to him by the British Government for 500 acres of land at Chichester, Pennsylvania, where he settled in 1671. He presided over the first court held under the proprietary government at Upland, Chester Co., Pennsylvania, September 13, 1681. He was a member of William Penn’s Council during 1683-84, and assisted in drafting some of the laws of Pennsylvania. He was the ancestor of the numerous Claytons, who now reside in Pennsylvania, and was a personal friend of William Penn. He died in 1691 as a prominent member of the Quakers.

Joshua Clayton, cousin of William Clayton, accompanied William Penn to America on his first visit. His line is traced the same as that of William Clayton, direct from Clayton Hall.

Joshua settled in Delaware and became the forerunner of the Delaware Claytons. He had two sons who settled in Delaware as early as 1695. These sons were John and Joshua, who were born in 1675 and 1677 respectively. Joshua was a devoted Quaker and died in Delaware.

A Thomas Clayton settled in Virginia, on York River in 1680 and claimed relationship with the Delaware and Pennsylvania Claytons.

A descendent of the above, John F. Clayton, graduated from Yale, studied law, and was admitted
to the bar in 1819. He served as Secretary of State 1826-28, was leader of the Adams Party in 1828 and a U. S. Senator at the age of thirty-two. He served in this capacity with Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and John C. Calhoun.

John Clayton served as Secretary of State under Zachary Taylor and negotiated the Clayton-Bulwar Treaty. He also served as Chief Justice for three years.

Dates, family names, marriages, coats of arms, etc., show that the Claytons, who came to America and settled in Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, the Southern States and the Western States, are all from the original family of Robert de Clayton, who had the Manor de Clayton conferred upon him by William the Conqueror.¹
APPENDIX II

FAMILY RECORD OF WILLIAM CLAYTON

William Clayton  -  1
Son of Thomas Clayton  -  2 and Ann Critchley
Son of Thomas Clayton  -  3 and Ellen Mayor
Son of John Clayton  -  4 and Mrs. John Clayton
Son of Thomas Clayton  -  5 and Martha Horton
Son of Thomas Clayton  -  6 and Ann Atherton
Son of Thomas Clayton  -  7 and Mrs. Thomas Clayton
Son of Robert Clayton  -  8 and Elenore Atherton
Son of Thomas Clayton  -  9 and Ann Blondell
Son of William Clayton  -  10 and Elizabeth Rigby
Son of Thomas Clayton  -  11 and Ann Jackson
Son of Robert Clayton  -  12 and Jane Farrington
Son of John Clayton  -  13 and Mary Mainwaring
Son of Thomas Clayton  -  14 and Dorothy Thelwell
Son of John de Clayton  -  15 and Mary Ferby
Son of John de Clayton  -  16 and Mary Langton
Son of Ralph Clayton  -  17 and Mrs. Ralph Clayton
Son of John Clayton  -  18 and Ruth Latham II
Son of Thomas Clayton  -  19 and Ruth Latham I
Son of John Clayton  -  20 and Cicely Peel
Son of Robert de Clayton  -  21 and Elizabeth Parker
Son of William Clayton  -  22 and Elizabeth Farrington
Son of Robert de Clayton  -  23 and Margarette Osbaldeston
Son of William Clayton  -  24 and Mary Hide
Son of Robert de Clayton  -  25 and Mrs. Robert de Clayton

Which Robert came over to England in the year 1066 with William the Conqueror and was granted the Manor of Clayton for his valor in war and from which the name of Clayton first originated.
Family of Thomas Clayton -
Father of William Clayton

Thomas Clayton his wife Ann Critchley
son of Thomas Clayton daughter of John and
Mary Sarrdifield

Born: February Born: January 1793
Died: June 16, Died: July 15, 1848
at St. Louis, at Nauvoo, Ill.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Birth</th>
<th>Death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William</td>
<td>17 Jul 1814</td>
<td>4 Dec 1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alice</td>
<td>28 Mar 1816</td>
<td>27 Apr 1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>14 May 1818</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucy</td>
<td>21 Mar 1820</td>
<td>16 Apr 1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellen</td>
<td>12 Jun 1822</td>
<td>12 Oct 1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James</td>
<td>23 May 1824</td>
<td>28 Nov 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>5 Jul 1826</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Ann</td>
<td>18 Nov 1828</td>
<td>9 Apr 1829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliza</td>
<td>5 Dec 1830</td>
<td>14 Feb 1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>15 May 1832</td>
<td>9 May 1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinah</td>
<td>11 Jan 1835</td>
<td>4 Jun 1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Jane</td>
<td>16 Oct 1836</td>
<td>2 Feb 1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>26 Feb 1839</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew H.</td>
<td>14 Nov 1840</td>
<td>6 Feb 1841</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX III

WILLIAM CLAYTON'S FAMILY

RUTH MOON CLAYTON

Ruth Moon became the wife of William Clayton in Penwortham Church, England, on October 9, 1836. She first accepted the teachings of "Mormonism" and was followed by her husband, William.

She journeyed to America with her husband in 1840, and there settled in the City of Nauvoo. It was in this city that she was sealed to William Clayton by the Prophet Joseph Smith, for time and eternity.

Following the expulsion of the Mormon people from the City of Nauvoo, she brought her family out to Utah and made a home in Salt Lake City.

Children of Ruth Moon and William Clayton

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sarah L.</td>
<td>1 Aug 1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>25 Apr 1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henrietta Lucretia</td>
<td>6 May 1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Heber</td>
<td>28 Feb 1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vilate Ruth</td>
<td>8 Dec 1844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newell Horace</td>
<td>12 Jan 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Hyrum</td>
<td>17 Sep 1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lydia Ann</td>
<td>22 Nov 1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algena Moon</td>
<td>21 Nov 1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brigham John</td>
<td>15 Mar 1857</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MARGARET MOON CLAYTON

Margaret Moon was married to William Clayton in Nauvoo, Illinois, on April 27, 1843, by the Prophet Joseph Smith.

It is reported that she was engaged to marry Lorin Farr, but was advised to marry William Clayton by Joseph Smith.

She was beautiful, a woman of noble charac-
PLATE XIV
MARGARET MOON CLAYTON
1820 - 1870

PLATE XIII
RUTH MOON CLAYTON
1817 - 1894

PLATE XVI
DIANTHA FARR CLAYTON
1828 - 1850

PLATE XV
ALICE HARDMAN CLAYTON
1828 - 1850
ter, but died in the prime of life.

Children of Margaret Moon and William Clayton

Daniel Adebert . . . . 18 Feb 1844
Joseph Thomas . . . . 10 Jan 1847
Lydia Arahbella . . . . 28 Mar 1849
James Leroy . . . . 8 June 1852
Lovinia Terscilla . . . . 17 Dec 1854
Don Carlos . . . . 31 Oct 1857

ALICE HARDMAN CLAYTON

Alice Hardman, born in 1816, was baptized by David Wilding in the River Irwell, Manchester, England. She was the first female baptized in the Manchester Branch of the Church.

She was married to William Clayton at Nauvoo, Illinois, on September 13, 1844, by Heber C. Kimball.

Children of Alice Hardman and William Clayton

Clara Agness . . . . 5 Aug 1852
Isabell Agness . . . . 16 Dec 1854
Moses . . . . . . . . 15 Jan 1857
Aaron . . . . . . . . 15 Jan 1857

DIANTHA FARR CLAYTON

Diantha Farr was very beautiful, occasioning jealousy, causing much heartache. William Clayton wrote of her:

"Sweet in life, beautiful in death.
"Aged twenty-one years, ten months and 29 days. Diantha has gone to the regions of rest,
"To commune with her friends in the realms of the blest,
Her sufferings are o'er,
her deep sorrows past.
And the long sighed-for peace is her portion at last.

"No more shall the poison of jealousy fill
That bosom so pure, so free from all ill.
Hence forth thou art free
from all sorrow and pain,
Our deeply felt loss is thy
infinite gain."

Diantha was married to William Clayton at Nauvoo, Illinois, on July 9, 1845.

While crossing the Plains of Iowa, William shows much concern for Diantha, who is expecting her first child. It is after the birth of this child that William wrote "Come, Come Ye Saints."

Children of Diantha Farr and William Clayton

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moroni</td>
<td>31 Mar 1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olive Diantha</td>
<td>7 Aug 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rachel Amelia</td>
<td>18 Aug 1850</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AUGUSTA BRADDOCK CLAYTON

Augusta Braddock was born in Bedfordshire, England and married William Clayton on October 5, 1850.

Children of Augusta Braddock and William Clayton

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Walter Alfred</td>
<td>1 Apr 1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nephi Willard</td>
<td>8 Oct 1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel John</td>
<td>29 Dec 1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Cassius</td>
<td>3 Jul 1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrie Gladys</td>
<td>2 Feb 1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac Ambrose</td>
<td>3 May 1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annie Matilda</td>
<td>11 Sep 1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose Read</td>
<td>22 Nov 1870</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SARAH ANN WALTERS CLAYTON

Sarah Ann Walters was born in Sheffield, England and came to Utah in 1856 with a Handcart Company.

During the journey across the plains, her father died, and it is recorded, "The sun never seemed to shine so fair again for Sarah Walters."

After arriving in Salt Lake City, she was married to William Clayton by Brigham Young, on November 30, 1856.
PLATE XVIII
SARAH ANN WALTERS
1838 - 1915

PLATE XVII
AUGUSTA BRADDOCK
1833 - 1923

PLATE XIX
MARIA LOUISA LYMAN

PLATE XX
ANNA ELIZABETH HIGGS
1853 - 1946
Children of Sarah Ann Walters and William Clayton

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archer Walters</td>
<td>10 Apr 1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athalia Rose</td>
<td>10 Mar 1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Adelaide</td>
<td>14 Mar 1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harriet Lilly</td>
<td>19 Dec 1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julia</td>
<td>12 Jan 1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria Helena</td>
<td>24 Jan 1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles William</td>
<td>19 Feb 1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Walters</td>
<td>9 Jun 1871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucy Loretta</td>
<td>23 Aug 1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alma Carlos</td>
<td>8 Oct 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irene</td>
<td>23 Dec 1879</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MARIA LOUISA LYMAN CLAYTON

Maria Louisa Lyman was born May 8, 1849, at Little Cottonwood, Salt Lake County, Utah. She was a daughter of Amasa Lyman, an early pioneer of Utah and former member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles of the L.D.S. Church.

She was married to William Clayton on October 3, 1866; however, the marriage met difficulty as has been mentioned earlier in this work.

Children of Maria Louisa Lyman and William Clayton

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amasa Marion</td>
<td>12 Aug 1869</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ANNA ELIZABETH HIGGS CLAYTON

Anna Elizabeth Higgs was married to William Clayton on December 30, 1870.

Children of Anna Elizabeth Higgs and William Clayton

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William</td>
<td>26 Sep 1871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Higgs</td>
<td>11 Sep 1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levi Murdock</td>
<td>14 Aug 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helaman</td>
<td>May 1878</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX IV

FUNERAL SERVICES OF
ELDER WILLIAM CLAYTON

The funeral services of Elder William Clayton were held on Sunday morning, in the Seventeenth Ward meeting house.


In the absence of Bishop John H. Smith, his Counselor, J. Tingey acted for him in conducting the services.

The opening hymn--"Thou dost not weep, to weep alone," was sung by the choir.

Prayer was offered by Elder James Cummings.

Singing by the choir--"We have met, dear friends and brethren."

Apostle Joseph F. Smith then made the following remarks:

By request of President John Taylor, I arise to make a few remarks. I deeply and sincerely sympathize with the family, the wives and children of the deceased, Brother Clayton, who remain to mourn the loss of the society of their husband and father for a little season. And yet, when we consider all the circumstances we may conclude that

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we have not very great cause to mourn. For when a man has lived to a good old age worn out as it were through toil, passes away, we can realize at least that he has accomplished his mission, that he has performed his work on this earth, and is ready to return to the father from whence he came; behind the veil.

Brother Clayton had reached a ripe age, after laboring unceasingly among his brethren from his first connection with the Church.

He has had a long and varied experience among this people. He was a friend and companion of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and it was to his pen, to a very great extent that we are indebted for the history of the Church—that is, the history of the Prophet Joseph more particularly, during his acquaintance with him and the time he acted for him as his private secretary, in the days of Nauvoo. We have the journals which he kept during that time, in the Historian's Office, from which—in connection with those of Elders Willard Richards and Wilford Woodruff and the Times and Seasons, a publication of the Church at that time—we have obtained the history of the Church during that period. It was his pen that wrote for the first time the revelation in relation to the eternity of the marriage covenant and of a plurality of wives. Although that revelation had been given to the Prophet Joseph many years before, it was not written until the 12th of July, 1843, at which time Elder William Clayton, acting as scribe for the prophet, wrote it from his dictation.

I am happy to say that he has left on record a statement in the shape of an affidavit, prepared by himself, in relation to this important subject, for it is a subject that is of the most vital importance, not only to the Latter-day Saints, but to the whole world; for without the knowledge contained in that revelation we never could consummate the object of our mission to this earth, we never could fulfill the purposes of God in this estate.

I have this paper in my possession and have had for a number of months past. In fact it was written at my request and then given into my care;
and I have preserved it with a view, when thought proper, to have it published. And as it is a sermon of itself, it would perhaps be more interesting than anything I could say on the present occasion, and therefore, with President Taylor's permission, I will read it to the congregation.

(The affidavit was then read by Elder Smith, but as he intends shortly to publish it in connection with other papers, it is for the present withheld.)

He then continued:

As I before said, I felt to read this document because of the instruction it would afford, and for the further object of showing that although "he is dead, he yet speaketh." For this testimony of Brother Clayton will stand forever, though his body moulders into dust. And I am, and so was the deceased when living, at the defiance of the world to dispute those statements. They are made from personal knowledge derived from personal associations with the Prophet Joseph Smith himself, not with a view to gain notoriety, but rather to leave behind him his testimony with regard to this important principle. He has done so. And as he has here stated, as having come from the mouth of the Prophet, this doctrine of eternal union of husband and wife and of plural marriage, is one of the most important doctrines ever revealed to man in any age of the world. Without it man would come to a full stop; without it we never could be exalted to associate with and become gods, neither could we attain to the power of eternal increase, or the blessings pronounced upon Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the fathers of the faithful.

There are but a few witnesses now living in relation to the coming forth of this revelation; there never were many that were intimately acquainted with the Prophet and his teaching upon this subject, I look around me and see a number of persons in this assembly whose heads have grown bald and gray in the service of God, and who had an intimate acquaintance with our martyred Prophet; but few, if any of them, were so closely identified with him in this matter as Brother Clayton.
There are, however, enough witnesses to the principles to establish them upon the earth in such a manner that they never can be forgotten or stamped out. For they will live; they are destined to live, and also to grow and spread abroad upon the face of the earth, to be received and accepted and adopted by all the virtuous, by all the pure in heart, by all who love the truth, and seek to serve him and keep his commandments; they are bound to prevail because they are true principles. Now we are called upon to pay our last respects to Brother Clayton. His spirit has taken its flight; it has gone to the Father from whence it came, as is taught in the Book of Mormon. When the spirit leaves the body, it returns, says the prophet, immediately to God to be assigned to its place, either to associate with the good and the noble ones, who have lived, in the Paradise of God, or to be confined in the "prison" house to await the resurrection of the body from the grave. Therefore, we know that Brother Clayton has gone to God, gone to receive the partial judgment of the Almighty which pertains to the period intervening between the death of the body and the resurrection of the body, or the separation of the spirit from the body and their uniting together again. This judgment is passed upon the spirit alone. But there will come a time which will be after the resurrection, when the body and spirit shall be reunited, when the final judgment will be passed on every man. This is in accordance with the vision of the Apostle John the Revelator.

"And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God, and the books were opened, and another book was opened, which is the book of life, and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.

"And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. That is the second death.

"And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire."

That is the final judgment, which we will all receive after we have performed this our earthly
mission.

The Savior did not finish his work when he expired on the cross. When he cried out, "It is finished." He in using those words had no reference to his great mission to the earth, but merely to the agonies which he suffered. The Christian world I know say he alluded to the great work of redemption. This, however, is a great mistake, and is indicative of the extent of their knowledge of the plan of life and salvation. I say he referred merely to the agonies of death and the sufferings he felt for the wickedness of men who would go so far as to crucify their Redeemer. It was this feeling and this alone that prompted him to cry out in agony of his soul, "It is finished," and then he expired.

But his work was not completed; it was in fact only begun. If he had stopped here instead of his beginning the Savior of the world, he, as well as all mankind, would have perished irredeemably, never to have come forth out of the grave; for it was designed from the beginning that he should be the first fruits of them that slept; it was part of the great plan that he should burst the bands of death and gain the victory over the grave. If therefore his mission had ceased when he gave up the ghost, the world would have slumbered in the dust in interminable death, never to have risen to live again. It was but a small part of the mission of the Savior that was performed when he suffered death; it was indeed the lesser part; the greater had yet to be done. It was in his resurrection from the tomb, in his coming forth from death unto life, in uniting again the spirit and the body that we might become a living soul; and when this was done, then he was prepared to return to the Father. And all this was in strict accordance with the great plan of salvation. For even Christ himself, though without sin, was required to observe the outward ordinance of baptism, in order to fulfill all righteousness. So after his resurrection, from the dead, he could return to the Father, there to receive the welcome plaudit, "Well done; you have done your work, you have accomplished your mission: you have wrought out salvation for all the children of
Adam; you have redeemed all men from the grave; and through their obedience to the ordinances of the Gospel which you have established, they can also be redeemed from the spiritual death, again to be brought back into our presence, to partake of glory, exaltation and eternal life with us." And so it will be when we come forth out of the grave, when the trump shall sound, and these our bodies shall enter into them again, and they shall become a living soul no more to be dissolved or separated, but to become inseparable, immortal, eternal.

Then we shall stand before the bar of God to be judged. So says the Bible, so says the Book of Mormon, and so say the revelations which have come direct to us through the Prophet Joseph Smith. And then those that have not been subject and obedient to the telestial law, will not be quickened by a telestial glory; but they will have a kingdom without glory. While the sons of perdition, men who had once been in possession of the light and the truth, but who turned away from it and deny the Lord, putting him to an open shame, as did the Jews when they crucified him and said, "Let his blood be upon us and upon our children; men who consent, against light and knowledge, to the shedding of innocent blood, it will be said unto them, "Depart ye cursed, I never knew you; depart into the second death, even banishment from the presence of God for ever and ever, where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched, from whence there is no redemption, neither in time nor in eternity." Herein is the difference between the second and the first death, herein man became spiritually dead; for from the first death he may be redeemed by the blood of Christ through obedience to the laws and ordinances of the gospel, but from the second there is no redemption at all.

We read in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants that the devil tempted Adam and he partook of the forbidden fruit, and transgressed the commandment, wherein he became subject to the will of the devil because he yielded unto temptation, and because of this transgression he became spiritually dead, which is the first death "even the same death which is the last death, which is spiritual,
which shall be pronounced upon the wicked when I shall say, depart ye cursed!" -- Book of Doc. and Cov. p. 147. [Now 29:40-41.]

But who will receive such punishment? Only those that deserve it, those that commit the unpardonable sin.

Then there is the banishment of the transgressor, (not the sons of perdition) into the prison house, a place of punishment, with no exaltation, no increase, no dominion, no power, whose inhabitants after their redemption may become servants of them that have obeyed the laws of God and kept the faith. That will be the punishment of such as reject the truth, and such as abide not in the faith, but sin not unto death.

But as touching the terrestrial kingdom, as the stars differ from each other in lustre, so those who enter into the telestial kingdom differ in glory.

"Well, now, how is it with Brother Clayton? He was not without faults in the flesh"? But what were they? Were they such as partook of a deadly character? Did he ever deny the Prophet Joseph, or did he deny the truth or prove unfaithful to his covenants or to his brethren? No, never! I can in all truthfulness before God and man bear that testimony of our departed brother, for I have known him from my youth. Yet, he was not without his failings; but then, they were of that nature that injured nobody perhaps except himself and his own family. But not withstanding his unflinching integrity, and his long life of fidelity and usefulness, let me say to you, that for his faults, however trivial, or important, he must answer. But he will be able to pay his debts and to answer for his failings, and he will come forth, and all that has been pronounced upon his head by Joseph Smith and the Apostles will be confirmed upon him through all eternity; and there is no power on the earth or in hell that can deprive him of them. For it is said--and indeed, I need not refer you to the revelation on celestial marriage; but will quote from the words of Christ, as given in the New Testament. "Wherefore I say unto you, all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto
men, but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men, neither in this world neither in the world to come." Our departed friend and brother whose remains are now before us, has not sinned unto death. I would not have it understood, for a moment, that I or any of the Elders attend funerals to smother over the weaknesses of the departed dead, trying to make it appear that they were without faults, and therefore will not have to answer for any. We know that every man will be judged according to the deeds done in the body; and whether our sin be against our own peace and happiness alone or whether it affects that of others, as the Lord lives we will have to make satisfaction or atonement; God requires it, and it is according to his provisions, and we cannot escape it. We must comply with the provisions of the law, which Brother Clayton, in my belief, is abundantly able to do. And when this shall have been done, he will come forth to receive his crown, his glory, dominion and kingdom, and the blessings of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob which have been pronounced upon his head.

Then let me say to the family of our deceased brother, follow in the footsteps of your husband and father, excepting wherein he may have manifested the weaknesses of the flesh; imitate his staunch integrity to the cause of Zion, and his fidelity to his brethren; be true as he was true, be firm as he was firm, never flinching, never swerving from the truth as God has revealed it to us; and I will promise you, in the name of the Lord, that you will rise, to meet your husband and father, in the morning of the first resurrection, clothed with glory, immortality and eternal lives. Which may God grant, in the name of Jesus. Amen.

The following hymn, which was composed by the deceased, under the peculiar circumstances that attended the church in its early rise, was then sung with marked effect by the choir and congregation. [This song was "The Resurrection Day" or currently referred to as "When First the Glorious Light of Truth." ]
Elder Elias Smith then said it was at the request of President Taylor he arose to make a very few remarks, which he would do if he could overcome the feelings which then pervaded his bosom, which arose from his long and intimate attachments to his departed friend, and the infirmity from which he had suffered nearly the entire period of his life.

This solemn occasion brought fresh to his memory many things that had transpired in the history of himself and the deceased. He apologized to the family who were called upon to mourn the loss of their beloved husband and father, for not visiting the deceased during his last sickness. It was not because his love and esteem for him had abated in the least, but rather from affinities from which he himself had been suffering, together with the press of business that had of late crowded upon him. He sympathized with the family in their bereavement, and said that when everything was considered in the light of the glorious Gospel, there was really nothing to mourn for after all. Brother Clayton was a true man all his days. He never denied his God or his religion, he never betrayed a friend. In his long and intimate acquaintance with him, whether in private conversation or otherwise, he found that he could always depend upon his word; when Brother Clayton told him anything he always believed it, he could take his word just as confidently without being under oath as he could with.

There were some things connected with the history of the deceased and himself which were known only to themselves. One of them was associated with his (the speaker's) refusing to do what he was counseled to, which, he said, was the first and only time he ever did such a thing; he had his motives for so refusing, for which, he said if he had done wrong, he expected to pay the penalty. Elder Smith said he was pleased to hear Brother Joseph F. remark that Brother Clayton was able to atone for any and everything he might have done that was wrong; he (the speaker) hoped to be able to do the same. That little incident in his early life, however, had changed his circumstances
ever since he had been in this country and sometimes he thought he was paying the debt; if so, it was all right, he would rather his sins go before him than follow after.

The speaker concluded by invoking the blessing and mercy of God upon the family of the departed dead, and hoped his children would remain true and faithful to the cause of God, and live to emulate their father's virtues.

Elder Daniel H. Wells

I cannot well let the opportunity offered pass without adding my tribute of respect to the memory of our departed friend. Brother Wm. Clayton was a friend to this people, a friend of God, a friend of the Prophet Joseph, and a friend to the Priesthood. A very companionable man to talk with. I was frequently in his company while in this Territory more particularly, and it always afforded me a great deal of pleasure when opportunity occurred, to stop and talk with him on the things of the kingdom. This topic was the burden of his mind. I never knew him to converse upon anything else. When he had any leisure and also in his preaching, the Prophet Joseph and the kingdom of God were uppermost upon his mind.

I knew him in Nauvoo as a friend, and as a private secretary to our martyred prophet. During my long acquaintance with him I can bear testimony to what has been said of his unswerving integrity. There is a great deal in this. It was said that David was a man after God's own heart, but that he committed a very heinous sin. He however, got a promise from the Lord, which I suppose was because of his integrity to Him, that He would not leave his soul in hell. I do not know how long it would remain there, but this I do know, he will come out, if he has not already and receive an exaltation.

Brethren and sisters, we live in a momentous age, when things which have been hidden from the foundation of the world have been and are being revealed. The key has been turned in regard to the doctrine of eternal marriage. This principle
has and is being revealed from time to time to the understanding of the children of men. I apprehend there are some this day that have heard some arguments in regard to this principle that were entirely new to them. It is revelation to them, and its principle is being revealed more and more by the servants of God.

I do not purpose occupying the time, but felt in my heart to pay a humble tribute of respect to our departed friend. He has gone; all is well with him, and will be. God loved him, and will save him; and so far as his faults are concerned, we all have them more or less; we all have need to say, "God be merciful to me a sinner." We can all say this for all have need of the mercy of God. It is upon the mercy of God we depend at last, each and every one of us.

That he may save us in His kingdom, and that we may live so as to be enabled to come forth in the morning of the first resurrection, together with our kindred and friends, to an inheritance, to mansions prepared for the righteous, is my prayer in the name of Jesus, Amen.

President Taylor

I have been much interested in listening to the remarks made by Brother Joseph F. Smith, the more so because I know them to be true in all particulars. I know that the affidavit which has been read in your hearing to be true. I know that the testimony that has been left by Brother Clayton pertaining to the matter to be true. I also know a little of the weaknesses of our departed brother, as has been referred to, but which I do not care to mention. At the same time I know of his goodness, his virtue, truth, honesty, and integrity. I have been acquainted with him for a great many years. The first time I met him was upwards of 40 years ago, in Manchester, England. I was a good deal associated with him in early times, and was conversant with some of these events that have been referred to by Brother Joseph F. in regard to history. At that time was acting for the Prophet Joseph, who was then editor of the Times and Seasons. The Prophet spoke to me more particu-
larly about introducing his history, and Brother Clayton assisted in getting it out; but I was more or less engaged on it—having charge of that department under the supervision of Joseph at the time.

In regard to the doctrine of plural marriage, that I know to be true. Joseph Smith was the first I ever heard mention that principle. President Young and Heber C. Kimball were present at the time, and I think Elder Hyde, but I am not positive. He gave us the full details of the doctrine, showing to us the revelation in relation to this matter, and bore testimony to it and required us to go and meet the responsibilities that devolved upon us. It was a very heavy thing for us to meet, for we generally professed to be and were pure men and did not wish associations of any kind but what would be approved and acknowledged of God. But although it was a severe trial we felt that we would, in the name of the Lord, fulfill the duty, which we did as well as other duties that had been committed to us. In fact, among other things he told us that the Kingdom of God could not go on one step further, neither could anything further be communicated to the Church, until the principle was not only believed in but practiced and lived up to.

We have received some of the most glorious principles associated with the Gospel of the Son of God, and unless these covenants that bind husband and wife to husband for eternity should be fulfilled, we never could be prepared to associate with the gods in the eternal world, nor be in possession of what the prophet termed "eternal increase." Although it was painful to our feelings to embark in it, yet we did it, and the Lord has sustained us so far, and He will sustain us to the end, if we prove ourselves true and faithful to our God and to our covenants as has been frequently remarked this morning that Brother Clayton has been to his.

Men generally do not understand the position we occupy nor the responsibilities that rest upon us. God committed to us certain eternal principles which he expects us to carry out, and if we were to fail He would remove us out of our places and raise up others who would do it; for the eternal principles
of God and those eternal laws unto us existed with the Gods in the eternal world, and if we ever asso-
ciate with them we have to enter into these cove-
nants set forth in the revelation and carry them out in fidelity, with truthfulness and singleness of
heart and honor before God and men, and for one I
feel like maintaining the law of God no matter who
says to the contrary. These are my feelings, they are the feelings, I know, of my brethren. We cannot
forsake our God, we cannot betray our religion, we cannot exchange the principles of eternal life and our knowledge of the laws thereof, and our covenants with God, for the notions and opinions, the falsehoods, corruptions and iniquities of this
generation. God has called us to be bearers of the
truth; He will expect and does expect us to obey and be governed by it. That is all. We need not talk a
great deal about it but do it, be true and faithful to each other, be true and faithful to God, maintain
our integrity before Him and before the heavens, and feel to say in our hearts—"Thou, God seest
me. I am in thy presence and in the presence of the holy angels, and as I have covenanted to serve thee and keep thy commandments, O Lord help me to do it." These ought to be our feelings.

In speaking of the departure of Brother Clay-
ton, do I feel sorrowful? No; and yet I do. Why?
Because a good man that I have associated with for
years and years has left. There is a feeling with-
in us that we would like still to have enjoyed his
society and heard him speak of sacred things com-
municated to him by the Prophet and be edified and instructed thereby, but still, if he has been a good
man, a man who has lived in the faith and died in
the faith, and gone behind the veil to another state of existence if he has fought the good fight and finished his course, who can murmur, who can be
sorrowful? Brother Clayton is better off today than he was here, being free from the cares of
life and the corroding care, anxieties and afflic-
tions of the body from which he has suffered for
many years. Therefore it is better he should go into another state of existence where he will be
free from the cares, toils, and tribulations that we have to meet with while tarrying on the earth.
Brother Elias, here, referred to something--I do not know what--wherein he himself had once done wrong in the matter of disobedience to counsel. He is alive and I will testify of him that he is a good faithful man, and that God will bless him in time and in eternity. Therefore be comforted, Brother Smith, for all is right and all will be right. All is well with the righteous inasmuch as we fear God and keep His commandments and abide in and remain true to the covenants we have made with Him; if we are not, if we forsake God and violate His laws and turn our back upon the principles of truth, and reject the counsels of the holy priesthood and the light of revelation and the spirit of eternal truth, and give way to folly, vanity, evil and corruption, or to unfaithfulness of any kind, we shall have to abide the consequence; we cannot get around them.

I do not wish to talk long today. We have heard some very excellent remarks, and the time, I see, is about expired for the present. I would say, however, that I sanction these things spoken of by Brother Joseph F. and bear testimony of their truthfulness. I know it and I bear witness of it, not because I heard it from the Prophet Joseph only; but because I know for myself, for I asked the Lord to show me of this doctrine, which he did, and therefore I have confidence in these things, I know of their truth, and I only ask God to help me to be true to my covenants. And let us all be true to our covenants and faithful to God and our religion and fear Him and obey His laws.

And to the family I would say--Follow your husband and father as far as he has followed Christ. If there were any weaknesses in him pass them by, and live for God and for truth. He will be all right; you prepare to meet him by living your religion and keeping the commandments of God. Don't be fearful about the consequences, the Lord will take care of you. He has said; "I will be father to the fatherless and a husband to the widow." He will take care of His Saints who put their trust in Him; as long as you do what is right, putting your trust in the Lord, you shall never suffer.
May God bless you, God bless all who are desirous of doing His will and keeping His commandments, and that we may be saved in His Kingdom, is my prayer in the name of Jesus, Amen.

Singing--"Unveil thy bosom, faithful tomb."

Benediction by Bishop Hunter.

The intimate friends of the deceased were invited, after the close of the services, to view the corpse, after which it was conveyed to the cemetery, followed by 27 carriages.
APPENDIX V

WILLIAM CLAYTON'S TESTIMONY IN REGARD TO THE REVELATION ON PLURAL MARRIAGE

The following statement was sworn to before John T. Caine, a notary public, in Salt Lake City, February 16, 1874.

Inasmuch as it may be interesting to future generations of the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to learn something of the first teachings of the principle of plural marriage by President Joseph Smith, the Prophet, Seer, Revelator and Translator of said Church, I will give a short relation of facts which occurred within my personal knowledge, and also matters related to me by President Joseph Smith.

I was employed as a clerk in President Joseph Smith's office, under Elder Willard Richards, and commenced to labor in the office on the 10th day of February 1842. I continued to labor with Elder Richards until he went east to fetch his wife to Nauvoo.

After Elder Richards started east I was necessarily thrown constantly into the company of President Smith, having to attend to his public and private business, receiving and recording tithings and donations, attending to land and other matters of business. During this period I necessarily became well acquainted with Emma Smith, the wife of the Prophet Joseph, and also with the children--Julia M. (an adopted daughter), Joseph Frederick and Alexander, very much of the business being transacted at the residence of the Prophet.

On the 7th of October, 1842, in the presence of Bishop Newel K. Whitney and his wife Elizabeth Ann, President Joseph Smith appointed me Temple Recorder, and also his private clerk, placing all records, books, papers, etc., in my care, and
requiring me to take charge of and preserve them, his closing words being, "When I have any revelations to write, you are the one to write them."

During this period the Prophet Joseph frequently visited my house in my company, and became well acquainted with my wife Ruth, to whom I had been married five years. One day in the month of February, 1843, date not remembered, the Prophet invited me to walk with him. During our walk, he said he had learned that there was a sister back in England, to whom I was very much attached. I replied there was, but nothing than an attachment such as a brother and sister in the Church might rightfully entertain for each other. He then said, "why don't you send for her"? I replied, "in the first place, I have no authority to send for her, and if I had, I have not the means to pay expenses." To this he answered, "I give you authority to send for her, and I will furnish you with means," which he did. This was the first time the Prophet Joseph talked with me on the subject of plural marriage. He informed me that the doctrine and principle was right in the sight of our Heavenly Father, and that it was a doctrine which pertained to celestial order and glory. After giving me lengthy instructions and informations concerning the doctrine of celestial or plural marriage, he concluded his remarks by the words, "It is your privilege to have all the wives you want." After this introduction, our conversations on the subject of plural marriage were very frequent, and he appeared to take particular pains to inform and instruct me in respect to the principle. He also informed me that he had other wives living besides his first wife Emma, and in particular gave me to understand that Eliza R. Snow, Louisa Beman, Desdemona W. Fullmer and others were his lawful wives in the sight of Heaven.

On the 27th of April, 1843, the Prophet Joseph Smith married to me Margaret Moon, for time and eternity, at the residence of Elder Heber C. Kimball; and on the 22nd of July 1843, he married to me, according to the order of the Church, my first wife Ruth.

On the 1st day of May, 1843, I officiated in
the office of Elder by marrying Lucy Walker to the Prophet Joseph Smith, at his residence.

During this period the Prophet Joseph took several other wives. Amongst the number I well remember Eliza Partridge, Sarah Ann Whitney, Helen Kimball and Flora Woodworth. These all, he acknowledged to me, were his lawful, wedded wives, according to the celestial order. His wife Emma was cognizant of the fact of some, if not all, of these being his wives, and she generally treated them very kindly.

On the morning of the 12th of July, 1843, Joseph and Hyrum Smith came into the office in the upper story of the "brick store," on the bank of the Mississippi River. They were talking on the subject of plural marriage. Hyrum said to Joseph, "If you will write the revelation on celestial marriage, I will take and read it to Emma, and I believe I can convince her of its truth, and you will hereafter have peace." Joseph smiled and remarked, "You do not know Emma as well as I do." Hyrum repeated his opinion and further remarked, "The doctrine is so plain, I can convince any reasonable man or woman of its truth, purity or heavenly origin, or words to their effect.

Joseph then said, "Well, I will write the revelation and we will see." He then requested me to get paper and prepare to write. Hyrum very urgently requested Joseph to write the revelation by means of the Urim and Thummim, but Joseph, in reply, said he did not need to, for he knew the revelation perfectly from beginning to end.

Joseph and Hyrum then sat down and Joseph commenced to dictate the revelation on celestial marriage, and I wrote it, sentence by sentence, as he dictated. After the whole was written, Joseph asked me to read it through, slowly and carefully, which I did, and he pronounced it correct. He then remarked that there was much more that he could write, on the same subject, but what was written was sufficient for the present.

Hyrum then took the revelation to read to Emma. Joseph remained with me in the office until Hyrum returned. When he came back, Joseph
asked him how he had succeeded. Hyrum replied that he had never received a more severe talking to in his life, that Emma was very bitter and full of resentment and anger.

Joseph quietly remarked, "I told you you did not know Emma as well as I did." Joseph then put the revelation in his pocket, and they both left the office.

The revelation was read to several of the authorities during the day. Towards evening Bishop Newel K. Whitney asked Joseph if he had any objections to his taking a copy of the revelation; Joseph replied that he had not, and handed it to him. It was carefully copied the following day by Joseph C. Kingsbury. Two or three days after the revelation was written Joseph related to me and several others that Emma had so teased, and urgently entreated him for the privilege of destroying it, that he became so weary of her teasing, and to get rid of her annoyance, he told her she might destroy it and she had done so, but he had consented to her wish in this matter to pacify her, realizing that he knew the revelation perfectly, and could rewrite it at any time if necessary.

The copy made by Joseph C. Kingsbury is a true and correct copy of the original in every respect. The copy was carefully preserved by Bishop Whitney, and but few knew of its existence until the temporary location of the Camps of Israel at Winter Quarters, on the Missouri River, in 1846.

After the revelation on celestial marriage was written Joseph continued his instructions, privately, on the doctrine, to myself and others, and during the last year of his life we were scarcely ever together, alone, but he was talking on the subject, and explaining that doctrine and principles connected with it. He appeared to enjoy great liberty and freedom in his teachings, and also to find great relief in having a few to whom he could unbosom his feelings on the great and glorious subject.

From him I learned that the doctrine of plural and celestial marriage is the most holy and important doctrine ever revealed to man on the
earth, and that without obedience to that principle no man can ever attain to the fulness of exaltation in celestial glory.¹

(signed) WILLIAM CLAYTON
Salt Lake City
February 16, 1874
APPENDIX VI

ORSON PRATT COMMENTS
ON THE ROADOMETER

For several days past, Mr. Clayton and others have been thinking upon the best method of attaching some machinery to a wagon to indicate the number of miles daily traveled. I was requested this afternoon by Brigham Young to give this subject some attention; accordingly, this afternoon I proposed the following method:—Let a wagon wheel be such a circumference that 360 revolutions make one mile. (It happens that one of the requisite dimensions is now in camp.) Let this wheel act upon a screw, in such a manner, that six revolutions of the wagon wheel shall give the screw one revolution. Let the threads of this screw act upon a wheel of sixty cogs, which will evidently perform one revolution per mile. Let this wheel of sixty cogs be the head of another screw, acting upon another wheel of thirty cogs; it is evident that in the movement of this second wheel, each cog will represent one mile. Now, if the cogs were numbered from 0 to 30, the number of miles traveled will be indicated during every part of the day. Let every sixth cog of the first wheel be numbered from 0 to 10, and this division will indicate the fractional parts of a mile or tenths; while if any one should be desirous to ascertain still smaller divisional fractions, each cog of this division, will give five and one-third rods. This machinery (which may be called the double endless screw) will be simple in its construction, and of very small bulk, requiring scarcely any sensible additional power, and the knowledge obtained respecting distances in traveling will certainly be very satisfactory to every traveler, especially in a country but little known. The weight of this machinery need not exceed three pounds.

"Orson Pratt's Journal"
May 10, 1847

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This may certify that Peter Fullmer, is entitled to the privilege of the 12¢ tithing font, having paid his property and labor tithing in full to April 12th, 1846.

City of Joseph
January 15, 1846.

J. W. Clayton
Recorder.

TITHING RECEIPT SIGNED BY WILLIAM CLAYTON

A copy of a tithing receipt issued by William Clayton while serving as Temple Recorder of the Nauvoo Temple. (Courtesy of Brigham Young University Library.)
THE RIVER RIBBLE

The River Ribble, showing the location where many early converts were baptized at Preston, England. It was probably here that William Clayton was baptized on October 21, 1837, by Heber C. Kimball. (Courtesy of the Deseret News, used by permission.)
REFERENCES

Chapter I


2. Ibid., p. 489.

3. Ibid., p. 495.

4. "British Mission History", MSS, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historian's Office.

5. Smith, II, 506.


7. Clayton Family Records, on file at Utah Genealogical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, and Clayton Family History in possession of June M. McDonnel, Van Nuys, Calif.

8. Ibid.


10. Letter from William Clayton to John Gillibrand, July 24, 1869, copy filed in Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, (used by permission).


13. "British Mission History", MSS.


16. "British Mission History", MSS.
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17. Ibid.
18. Clayton Family History
20. Doctrine and Covenants 118.
21. Elder Clark later became the first mission president of the Hawaiian Mission.
22. Smith, IV, 76.
23. "British Mission History", MSS.
24. Ibid.
25. Letter from Wm. Clayton to Willard Richards, Jan. 30, 1840, filed in L.D.S. Church Historian's Library.
26. "British Mission History", MSS.
27. Times and Seasons (Nauvoo, Illinois), May 1840, p. 110.
28. Ibid., April 1, 1845, p. 861.
29. Smith, IV, 114.
30. Ibid.
31. Smith, IV, 147.
32. Ibid.
33. Millenial Star (Liverpool), I, August 1840, p. 90.
35. Letter on file in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historian's Office.
36. "British Mission History", MSS.
37. Ibid.
38. Elders Hyde and Page had been called on a special mission to Palestine and had come this far on the journey. Page traveled no farther, but returned to Nauvoo. Hyde continued the mission alone.
39. Kate B. Carter (ed.), Heart Throbs of the
Chapter II


2. Ibid., p. 30.


5. Smith, IV, 352.

6. Ibid., p. 382.

7. "An Interesting Journal," Juvenile Instructor, XXI, (February 15, 1886), 60. (The journal kept by Elder Clayton during the Nauvoo period is written in narrative style and not in the form of a diary. It, however, contains some very interesting incidents of Church History.)

8. "The Book of the Law of the Lord," was a record kept by Joseph Smith in which he recorded the names of those who had proved themselves loyal to him and the Church. It also contains some revelations of the Church.

9. Juvenile Instructor, XXI, 60.

10. Smith, IV, 287.

11. Ibid., IV, 493.

12. Ibid., V, 49.

13. The "Journal History" of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints verifies that Joseph Smith made this statement, but has the date as Saturday, September 3, 1842. (See the "Journal History" entry for October 23, 1842.)

14. The appointment of William Clayton as clerk to Joseph Smith was at this time only of a temporary nature while Willard Richards went east on personal business. Upon returning Elder Richards had more work than he could take care of with the Church History, so William's appoint-
ment then became permanent. (See Juvenile Instructor, March 15, 1886.)

15. William Clayton, "Plural Marriage", The Historical Record (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jensen, 1887), VI, 224-226.

16. The reader will note that in writing the life of Wm. Clayton in Nauvoo, it is also telling much of the life of Joseph Smith, as the two were so closely associated during the time.

17. Smith, V, 72.

18. Ibid.


20. Ibid., p. 104.

21. Ibid., p. 108. Underline is the writer's.

22. Ibid., p. 118.

23. Ibid., p. 164.


26. "Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." (Unpublished ms., at Church Historian's office, Salt Lake City, 1830 to date), January 6, 1843. Note: Hereafter referred to as "Journal History."

27. Ibid., January 11, 1843.

28. Juvenile Instructor, XXI, 86.

29. Ibid.


32. Roberts, pp. 112-118.

33. William Clayton, "Plural Marriage", The Historical Record (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jensen, 1887), VI, 224-226. (The entire statement is quoted in the appendix of this work.)

34. Ibid.

35. Smith, V, 391-392. (See also Doctrine
and Covenants 131:1-4.)

36. An instrument used by Joseph Smith in translating the Book of Mormon and other ancient documents. It is also mentioned in the Old Testament.


38. Smith, V, 393-394. (also the Deseret News, September 2, 1857.)

39. Ibid., V, 395-398.
40. Ibid., V, 435-436.
41. Ibid., V, 439.
42. Ibid., V. 443, 446.
43. Ibid., VI, 350, 363.
44. Ibid., VI, 383-384.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., VI, 188.
47. Ibid., VI, 261.
48. Ibid., VI, 262-263.
49. Ibid., VI, 271.
50. Ibid., VI, 341.
51. Ibid., VI, 523-524.
53. Original letter on file in Church Historian's Office.
54. Ibid.
55. Juvenile Instructor, XXI, 122, 123, 158.
56. "Journal History," December 31, 1844. (It should be mentioned that the narrative type journal, kept by William Clayton during this period, is one of the most detailed sources of information available in regard to the construction of the Nauvoo Temple.)
57. Ibid., July 6 and 16, 1844.
58. Juvenile Instructor, XXI, 141.
59. Times and Seasons (Nauvoo), October 15, 1844, pp. 675-676.

60. Ibid., December 1, 1844, p. 728.


63. Ibid., May 16, 1845.

64. Ibid., May 19, 1845.

65. Smith, VII, 417.


68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid., December 11, 1845; (Underlining is the writer’s.)


72. Ibid., p. 2.

Chapter III


6. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

7. Ibid., p. 11.


9. Ibid., pp. 57, 60.

10. Vilate Ruth is mentioned on several occasions during this period as having been quite ill.
11. See family record of William Clayton in appendix.


13. Ibid., pp. 30, 34.


15. Ibid., Note: There seems to be no historical evidence to confirm the traditional story that William Clayton was requested to write this song by President Brigham Young to "cheer the pioneer company." (See: George D. Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1939), pp. 21-24.)

16. This is the traditional point of view taken by members of the Clayton family, according to Alma Clayton, the last surviving child of William.


21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., p. 306.

24. Clayton, pp. 24-26. (See p. 107 of this work.)

25. Ibid., p. 28.

26. Ibid., pp. 31-32.

27. Ibid., p. 36.

28. Ibid., p. 37.

29. Ibid., p. 39.

30. Ibid., pp. 44-45.

31. Ibid., pp. 46-47.

32. Ibid., pp. 47-48.
33. Ibid., p. 51.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., p. 53.
36. Ibid., pp. 55-56.
37. Ibid., pp. 58-59.
40. Ibid.
42. Ibid., pp. 67-68.
43. "Journal History," November 3, 6, 7, 18, 26, 1846; also December 4, 1846.
46. Ibid., p. 68.
47. Ibid., p. 70.
48. Ibid., pp. 71-73.
49. Ibid., p. 73.
50. Ibid., p. 74.
52. Ibid.

Chapter IV


3. According to the "Journal History" entry for April 17, 1847, William Clayton was a member
of the ninth group of "10's". Howard Egan was the captain with Heber C. Kimball, William A. King, Thomas Cloward, Hosea Cushing, Robert Byard, George Billings, Edson Whipple, Philo Johnson and William Clayton the members.

4. Clayton, pp. 75-76.
5. Ibid., p. 78.
6. Ibid., p. 79.
7. Ibid., pp. 85-87.
8. Ibid., p. 87.
9. Ibid., p. 103.
10. Ibid., p. 104.
13. Ibid., p. 115.
15. Ibid., pp. 118-119.
16. Ibid., pp. 122-123.
17. Ibid., pp. 122-123.
18. Ibid., p. 135.
20. Ibid., pp. 136-137.
22. Ibid., p. 149. Much discussion has been caused as to whom actually invented the Roadometer. From all evidence, it appears that William Clayton thought of the idea. Orson Pratt helped with the mechanics of the instrument, (Maybelle Harmon Anderson (ed.), Appleton Milo Harmon Goes West (Berkeley: The Gillick Press, 1946), p. 12.) and Appleton Harmon, a skillful mechanic, constructed the machinery. See, also, the appendix of this work and "Journal History" May 12, 1847.

23. Ibid., p. 143.
24. Ibid., pp. 147-148.
25. Ibid., p. 149.

26. Ibid., p. 152. In following this description, it appears that the Roadometer in the Bureau of Information, on Temple Square, may have several parts missing.

27. Ibid., pp. 156-147.

28. Ibid., p. 176.

29. Ibid., pp. 168-169.

30. Ibid., pp. 180-182.

31. Ibid., p. 182. Heber C. Kimball states in his journal: "William Clayton remarked . . . that it was going to be difficult for him to keep up my journal on account of having to help make a map of the country for Dr. Richards. I felt anxious to have my journal kept up daily and proposed to him to leave a space sufficient for the past history, and commence from today, keep it up hereafter and fetch us the rest as fast as possible. I let him have a candle to write at night." (Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine, July 1939, p. 146.)

32. Ibid., p. 187.

33. Ibid., pp. 189-198.

34. The term the council of the K. of G. appears to refer to the Council of the Kingdom of God, which was one of the several names of a special council organized by Joseph Smith on March 11, 1844 at Nauvoo, Illinois and often referred to as only "The Council." Some fifty men were named to the organization, including William Clayton, who makes mention of it many times in his journal while crossing the plains. (Examples: April 2, 19, 26, 27, May 3, 10, 12, 1846) This council was considered as the nucleus of God's future government on earth and played a considerable part in leading the Church to the west. After arriving in the Great Basin, the council took over the direction of the civic affairs of the people throughout the area until a regular civil government was established and from historical evidence it appears that it did not cease to exist until at least 1870. For an extensive treatment of this council see the following work: Hyrum L. Andrus, Joseph

35. Ibid., pp. 202-203.
36. Ibid., p. 208.
37. Ibid., p. 209.
38. Ibid., p. 211.
39. Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine, April 1940, p. 81.
40. Clayton, p. 211.
41. Ibid., p. 223. 42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., pp. 234-235.
44. Ibid., pp. 240-242.
45. Ibid., p. 241. 46. Ibid., p. 246.
47. Ibid., p. 249. 48. Ibid., p. 251.
49. Ibid., p. 280. 50. Ibid., p. 273.
51. Ibid., p. 281. 52. Ibid., p. 289.
53. Ibid., p. 290. 54. Ibid., p. 293.
55. Ibid., p. 298. 56. Ibid., p. 300.
57. Ibid., p. 308.
58. Ibid., pp. 308-311.
59. Ibid., pp. 312-313.
60. Ibid., p. 314.
61. Ibid., pp. 318-319; see e.g. "Journal History," July 26, 1847.
62. Ibid., pp. 320-323.
63. Ibid., pp. 329-330.
64. Ibid., pp. 335-336.
65. Ibid., p. 340. 66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., p. 342.
68. Ibid., pp. 343-344.
69. Ibid., p. 346.
70. Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah (Salt
Lake City: Geo. Q. Cannon and Sons, 1893), I, 354, see e.g., Clayton, pp. 347-350.

72. Ibid., pp. 357-38.
73. Ibid., pp. 361-362.
74. Ibid., pp. 362-363.
75. Ibid., p. 364.
76. Ibid., pp. 365-366.
77. Ibid., pp. 366-367.
78. Ibid., pp. 370-371.
79. Ibid., p. 376.
80. Letter on file in L. D. S. Church Historian's Office. (see following page).
81. "Journal History," February 8, 1848.
82. Ibid., February 10, 29, 1848.
84. See B. H. Roberts, The History of the Church (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), Vol. III. The entire "Guide" is reproduced in the Appendix of this work.
86. Ibid., June 2, 1848.
87. Ibid., July 16, 1849.
89. "Journal History," June 8, June 16, September 24, 1848, also supplement of 1848, p. 11.
90. Clayton, p. 347.
91. Ibid., p. 337.
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1. Deseret News (Salt Lake City), extra, September 14, 1852.


3. Ibid.


5. Ibid. 6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., see also Chapter I.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., September 1852.


12. Ibid., September 20, 1852. (The words to the new song are not recorded and cannot be found by this writer.)

13. Ibid., September 21, 1852.

14. Ibid., August 15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., September 18, 1852.

17. Ibid., September 20, 1852.

18. "Journal History," MSS, September 23, 1852, see also Deseret News, October 2, 1852.


20. Ibid., October 9, 1852.

21. Ibid., October 23, 1852.

22. Ibid., October 24, 1852.

23. Ibid., October 27, 1852.

24. Ibid., November 2, 3, 1852.

25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., November 4, 1852.
27. Ibid., November 9, 1852.
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29. Ibid., November 15, 1852.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid., November 17, 18, 1852.
32. Ibid., November 19, 1852.
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36. Ibid., December 1, 1852.
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39. Ibid., December 8, 1852.
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53. Millenial Star, February 26, 1853, XV, 144.
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57. From a letter written by William Clayton to the Honorable J. F. Kinney, November 21, 1864. Filed in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, California.

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4. Ibid.
8. Ibid., December 22, 1849.
10. Deseret News (Salt Lake City), February 21, 1852, II, 32.
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16. Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah (Salt
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35. Ibid., June 28, 1862, July 4, 1863, also Deseret News, XII, 5.
36. Ibid., July 24, 1862.
37. Ibid., March 3, 1863, also Whitney, II, 88-96.
38. Ibid., September 30, 1863.
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42. Deseret News, October 10, 1868, also "Journal History," MSS, October 10, 1868.
43. Ibid., October 16, 1868.
44. Whitney, II, 287.
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46. Letter from William Clayton to John Moore, August 22, 1869, filed in the Bancroft Library.
47. Letter from William Clayton to Horace S. Eldredge, August 21, 1870, filed in the Bancroft Library.
49. These were collections made for people in America of money they had in the various European countries. It will be more broadly treated in Chapter 8.
50. Letter on file in Bancroft Library, written between August 28th and September 9, 1871.

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2. Ibid., November 1, 1845.
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20. Letter from William Clayton to W. P. Nebeker, April 12, 1865.
21. Letter from William Clayton to George Hales, April 19, 1865.
23. Letter from William Clayton to the Cherokee Advocate, September 19, 1877.
25. Ibid., October 28, 1850.
27. Letter from William Clayton to George C. Fogg, Minister to the Court of Switzerland, November 1, 1862.
30. Letter from William Clayton to Henry Wm. Rodgers, April 12, 1872.
32. Letter from William Clayton to J. N. Smith, September 14, 1863.
33. Letter from William Clayton to Paul A. Schetter, November 27, 1863.
34. Letter from William Clayton to William P. Nebeker, April 22, 1864.
35. Letter from William Clayton to Paul A. Schetter, November 27, 1863.
39. Letter from William Clayton to Jonas Havorson, November 17, 1871.
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65. Letter from William Clayton to George Hales, March 29, 1865.
67. Ibid., November 19, 1869.
68. Letters from William Clayton to Wm. H. Hooper, July 2, 1870, and Brigham Young, February 12, 1871.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. Letter from William Clayton to his son, June 15, 1864.
72. Letter from William Clayton to Moroni Clayton, July 18, 1862.
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84. Deseret News, December 4, 1879.
85. Ibid.
87. "Clayton Family History"
89. Ibid.

Appendix I

1. The above information was compiled by Joy McCune McDonald from records found in genealogy libraries at Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C. and New York City, as well as
correspondence from England of her mother, Victoria Clayton McCune, a daughter of William Clayton.

Appendix II
1. "Clayton Family Records."
2. Ibid.

Appendix IV
1. See Appendix V.
2. Deseret Evening News (Salt Lake City) December 9, 1879.

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