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A History of Kirtland Camp: Its initial Purpose and Notable Accomplishments

Gordon Orville Hill
Brigham Young University - Provo

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A HISTORY OF KIRTLAND CAMP: ITS INITIAL PURPOSE
AND NOTABLE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Church History and Doctrine
Brigham Young University

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

by
Gordon Orville Hill
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This thesis, by Gordon Orville Hill, is accepted in its present form by the Department of Church History and Doctrine in the College of Religious Instruction of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Leon R. Hartshorn, Committee Chairman

James R. Harris, Committee Member

June 19, 1975
Larry C. Porter, Acting Chairman

Typed by Sharon Bird
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The primary objective of this study is to locate and write as much information as available concerning the members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints who travelled from Kirtland, Ohio, to Adam-ondi-Ahman, Missouri, in an organization known as the "Kirtland Camp" during the summer of 1838. This thesis has combined and organized information from various sources, including records such as that of Elias Smith which has been published in the History of the Church, Volume III, and The Historical Record compiled by Andrew Jenson. In addition, many lesser known journals and writings have been utilized.

It is not the purpose of this thesis to examine the conflicts, the causes, nor the motives that forced the exodus of the Latter-day Saints from Ohio. Neither has there been an attempt to include the accounts of numerous Church members who migrated to Missouri individually or in
small groups. There has been, however, a concentrated effort to provide a day-by-day continuity to the trek which commenced on July 6, 1838 and ended October 4, 1838.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as organized by Joseph Smith, Jr., at Fayette, New York, on April 6, 1830, may be referred to in this thesis as the LDS Church, or merely as the Church. The founder of the above named institution will be identified by his name, Joseph Smith, Jr., the Prophet Joseph, or simply as the Prophet.

Members of the Church may be designated as Latter-day Saints, Saints, or Mormons due to their belief in The Book of Mormon, which they accept as scripture.

Kirtland Camp refers to a group of Latter-day Saints who originally numbered over 500 souls and may be referred to as the Camp or simply as camp members.

CIRCUMSTANCES EFFECTING CAMP RECORDS

Although Elias Smith, one of the Seventies Presidency, was appointed the official Kirtland Camp historian, and it is usually he who receives recognition for the
recording of events occurring during this generally unknown exodus, it should be noted that an equally detailed record was kept on a day-to-day basis by Samuel D. Tyler, a lay member of the camp. In this writer's personal opinion, many of Tyler's journal entries are given in greater detail with more clarity, and at times with greater accuracy than were those of his companion historian.

Perhaps it should be noted that few members of Kirtland Camp seemed inclined to keep diaries or journals. A close scrutiny of several hundred names revealed disappointingly few personal histories. Although early Church leaders in general seemed to sense the later value of their daily experiences, the Saints in general may not have been so zealous. The lack of acknowledged Church leaders in Kirtland Camp may have accounted in part for the scarcity of information left by its members.

JUSTIFICATION FOR STUDY

While scattered journals have preserved reminiscences of isolated events which occurred during the Kirtland Camp exodus from Ohio, and although The Historical Record by Andrew Jenson has furnished brief highlights
primarily from the day-to-day journal of Elias Smith, no writer has attempted to combine all available information into a single study. The value of such an undertaking, particularly to students of the history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, should be apparent when considered in its proper perspective. The movement of over 500 people in one body by ecclesiastical leaders of the Church, particularly the first of many such movements, is significant.

It is unfortunate that later journeys under similar circumstances by Mormon pioneers have overshadowed their own inaugural beginnings. Because the experiences of Kirtland Camp have not been available in a single published work, Church membership in general are totally unaware that such an organization ever existed. This is unfortunate.
Chapter 2

IN KIRTLAND

KIRTLAND CAMP BEGINNINGS

Following the forced exodus from Kirtland, Ohio of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and other key ecclesiastical leaders in January, 1838, countless Latter-day Saints in that city were left in difficult positions. For all immediate intentions, the Church's plans for Kirtland ended when the Prophet fled to Missouri. As a result of this development, faithful members were left in a triple dilemma: persecution from apostates and others made existence there almost unbearable; financial stress occasioned by reversals in land speculation, coupled with banking difficulties, was oppressive; and a religious compulsion impelled them to migrate to Zion.

During the early months of 1838, at least one resident of the city attributed numerous annoyances and damaging incidents to dissenters from the faith. She recounted incidents in which fires were started in base-
ments while Mormon families slept above. These acts, plus others of like character, were apparently fostered to enforce an early evacuation of all saints from Kirtland.¹

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

Since most of the saints who were physically and financially able to move without assistance had already departed or were planning to do so, those who remained in Kirtland were generally either infirm, totally devoid of funds, or otherwise dependent. A non-member living in the vicinity at the time evaluated their condition this way:

When their bank failed, all their imaginary wealth vanished; their money was gone; their teams were gone; their provisions were gone; their credit was gone; their store of goods disappeared. No community could be left in more destitute circumstances, and the only alternative was for them to leave—leave their temple, their homes, all that they had held dear, and go to, they knew not where. And how to go was a serious problem.²

Mirroring similar sentiments was Elias Smith, Kirtland Camp historian, who suggested that because of the extreme


poverty of the saints in Kirtland and vicinity, it seemed an impossibility that they could move themselves to Missouri. Church members who eventually comprised the bulk of Kirtland Camp have since been described as the sick, the lame, the blind, and the "poorest of the poor." Enroute to Missouri, Elder Heber C. Kimball visited Kirtland in late spring or early summer of 1838. He described the Saints remaining there as being "weak in the faith in consequence of trials and temptations." Because of his concern for their welfare, Elder Kimball tried to lift their spirits. Hearing of the travels and successes of the elders in the Church, particularly the great work being undertaken abroad, "They began to take courage, their confidence increased, and their faith was strengthened, and they again realized the blessing of Jehovah."  

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3 Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1967), III, 88, hereafter cited as DHC.  
4 Parkin, p. 330; Joel Hills Johnson's Journal, p. 18, located in Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah, hereafter cited as Special Collections.  
5 President Heber C. Kimball's Journal, p. 52; Seventh Book of the Faith Promoting Series (Juvenile Instructor Office, Salt Lake City, 1882).  
6 Ibid.
It was undoubtedly a combination of all these conditions that made journeying in a populous aggregation the more appealing to many of the distressed. This estimation seems to be warranted in light of a later journal entry by Zerah Pulsipher, one of the seven presidents of the Seventies quorum in Ohio: "When they heard that we were going together and would help one another they wanted to join us and get out of that Hell of persecution."^7

EARLY EVACUATION PROPOSALS

Not all Kirtland residents, however, favored moving west in a large company; some preferred travelling in small groups, thereby avoiding unnecessary notice. Further, it was assumed that with fewer numbers, work could be secured more readily to finance the expedition. There were many who chose to go to Missouri in this way; they left intermittently throughout the spring months of 1838, leaving those who desired to travel in a large gathering free to do so.^8

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^7 Zerah Pulsipher's Journal, p. 8, located in Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

President Hyrum Smith, brother of the Prophet Joseph, devised a plan whereby steamboat travel would transport the majority of Church members the major distance to Far West, Missouri.\textsuperscript{9} Inasmuch as there were some who chose individually to follow his counsel, water travel apparently gained some support.

After observing the uncertain attempts by the High Priests and the High Council to find suitable means for evacuating Ohio Church members, the Seventies quorum accepted the challenge to find a solution to the problem. Their role became even more critical following an announcement from the other quorums that they were abandoning earlier plans, suggesting to the people that they do the best they could to reach Missouri on their own.\textsuperscript{10}

\textbf{EARLY DEVELOPMENTS IN ORGANIZING KIRTLAND CAMP}

The earliest intimation of a solution occurred during a Sunday meeting of the Seventies quorum. Zerah Pulsipher recorded, "We took a notion to put our property

\textsuperscript{9}DHC, III, 94. Anson Call and others travelled to Missouri by steamboat in March, 1838.

\textsuperscript{10}Ibid., p. 88.
together and remove in that way and when we made that calculation we felt a great flow of the Spirit of God." Suggesting further that their only hope for success would be with Divine assistance, they concluded to hold subsequent meetings on the subject in the temple, using the attic story.  

Soon after this initial decision, a meeting was called of the quorum for Tuesday, March 6, in the temple. The minutes of that meeting are indicative of the general attitude of the group and their leaders, reflecting a unity and closeness that must have been refreshing in strife-riddled Kirtland. Those who were present at the meeting discussed:

... the practicability of the quorum of Seventies locating in as compact a body as possible in some stake of Zion in the west, where they could meet together when they were not laboring in the vineyard of the Lord.  

In the fifteen days from March 6 through March 20, a total of seven meetings were held to lay the framework for what historians have since termed "Kirtland Camp." Assembling each Tuesday and Saturday during that time, the Seventies carefully formulated, under the direction of

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11Pulsipher, p. 8.  
12DHC, III, p. 87.
representatives of the First Presidency, the administrative and behavioral framework for the camp. During one of these early meetings, James Foster, the senior president while addressing the quorum declared that he saw in vision the group they were then organizing. Observing the decorum and order that prevailed in their travel, he interpreted the manifestation to be a sign from God that the plan met with Heavenly sanction. Confirming President Foster's feeling, the quorum members present were satisfied that, although there existed many unresolved questions, they would go up in a company together to the land of Zion. Foster's declaration prompted others in the meeting to prophesy that through proper obedience, all would have the necessaries to sustain them during their journey.¹³

Perhaps in consequence of their intense desire to ascertain the will of the Lord, a special sign apparently was given to the assembled presidents during one of their meetings. Present at the meeting, Zerah Pulsipher later recorded:

¹³Ibid., pp. 88-89.
One day while we were on our knees in prayer I saw a messenger apparently like an old man with white hair down to his shoulders. He was a very large man near seven feet high, dressed in a white robe down to his ankles. He looked on me then turned his eyes on the others and then to me again and spoke and said, "Be one and you shall have enough."  

With these signs indicating the Lord's approval, the quorum proceeded with an extensive program to ready the saints for the march to Missouri.

ATTITUDE OF FELLOW SAINTS

While the Seventies were confident in their ability to achieve the monumental task awaiting them, others were not so certain. Referring to the impending exodus, one historian observed: "Practical minded persons objected . . . , for the problems involved in transporting and feeding so large a group appeared insurmountable."  

At one time, three men were invited to a Seventies meeting to express their sentiments reportedly voiced publicly of a derogatory nature concerning the Kirtland Camp venture. Typical of opinions shared by skeptics was that of Oliver Granger, one of the three, who said that it would be the greatest thing ever accomplished since the organization

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14 Pulsipher, p. 8.  
15 Fielding, p. 294.
of the Church or even since the exodus of Israel from Egypt if the saints in Kirtland were to succeed in leaving the area in one company. Among the three men also was Elder Harvey Redfield who implied that perhaps the Seventies were overstepping their authority, and by implication, were also casting dilatory reflections upon the other priesthood quorums in the city. Fortunately, after a conciliatory exchange of views, both groups seem to have been satisfied.\(^\text{16}\)

Although there undoubtedly arose numerous individual misunderstanding pertaining to such an extensive undertaking, the other Melchizedek Priesthood quorums collectively seemed to be in full accord with the Seventies, and soon passed resolutions to aid them in their preparations for the removal.

Considering that Hyrum Smith had earlier proposed his own plan for evacuating the saints from Kirtland, it is a tribute to his integrity to note that he publicly disavowed any hope to revive that operation. Clarifying his position, he admitted that his steamboat idea was totally his own, with no spiritual confirmation. However,

\(^{16}\text{DHC, III, p. 96.}\)
he bore witness to the Lord's acceptance of the program being proposed by the Seventies, and encouraged all who could to accompany the group to Missouri.\textsuperscript{17}

\textbf{THE CAMP CONSTITUTION}

During the March 13th forenoon meeting, and under the immediate supervision of President Hyrum Smith, the Seventies presidents formulated an outline for a Camp Constitution. Later, between the morning and afternoon meetings, they perfected the wording and other technical details, and readied the document for presentation to the quorum. In the afternoon, the presidents presented each section of the constitution carefully and deliberately with a thorough explanation of each part, so there would be no "misunderstanding concerning any part of it or of the motives or designs of the Seventies." After hearing the constitution read, the quorum voted to accept it as explained to them.\textsuperscript{18}

Included in the official Kirtland Camp Constitution were nine articles, as follows: three concerning administrative affairs; three pertaining to financial

\textsuperscript{17}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 94. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{18}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 89-90.
arrangements and obligations relative to the journey; one specifying qualifications for camp membership; one requiring obedience to camp leaders; and one providing an option for constitutional revision should the need arise enroute.19

Under the second article of the constitution, tent-men (those responsible for supervision of members in each tent) were to insure that the Word of Wisdom was heeded within their realm of authority. Specifically they were to see that "no tobacco, tea, coffee, snuff or ardent spirits of any kind" were taken internally.20 In relation to this article, Hyrum Smith's statement advising the camp members "not to be too particular in regard to the Word of Wisdom," can only be interpreted to mean that proper observance could not be over-emphasized, since strict obedience was to be mandatory for membership in the camp.21

At meetings in which prospective camp members were in attendance, the constitution was read repeatedly to insure its full understanding and acceptance. Before departure, at least 170 heads of families affixed their

19 Ibid., pp. 90-91. 20 Ibid. 21 Ibid., p. 95.
signatures to this document signifying their willingness to abide by it. 22 In addition to the official camp constitution, other general guidelines were agreed upon:

They would go in large wagons, covered on the top with a square of canvas or something that would turn water. They would take their clothing, cooking utensils, and "light crick bedsteads," to prevent sleeping on the damp ground. The women and children, it was thought, could sleep in the wagons. Tents, made from fifty yards of common sheeting, or preferably, duck cloth, were to be provided for shelter. The routine of travel included five days of journeying per week. On Saturday they would stop to bake and wash; on the Sabbath they would attend to their religious devotions and hold meetings for the non-Mormons among whom they would be travelling. 23

SUITABLE SOLUTIONS TO PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

To facilitate organizational procedures and assignments, two absent presidents of the quorum were replaced temporarily by Elias Smith and Benjamin Wilber,

22Ibid., pp. 91-93. It should be noted that some Kirtland residents signed the camp constitution, then departed for Missouri and travelled totally independent of the official Kirtland Camp exodus. See Duane Call, "Anson Call and His Contributions toward Latter-day Saint Colonization" (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1956), p. 31; and DHC, III, 85.

23Fielding, p. 299. As the journey to Far West commenced, Saturdays also were used for travelling.
also from the quorum. These appointments were to be valid only until the camp reached Missouri, inasmuch as the absent presidents were already in the west.24

Because of the strict necessity of personal worthiness, the names of all members were publicly read and voted upon prior to admission to the camp. In addition, names of those selected to serve as tent overseers were presented for sustaining vote.

As early decision involved the number of tents and teams needed, and the best means to procure them. In time, the Seventies presidents concluded that two good teams and one tent would be sufficient for each group of eighteen people, and assignments were given to tent-men to begin immediately to obtain these items.25 Illustrating the monumental task they faced in properly outfitting the camp, John Pulsipher later recorded:

The church in Kirtland was now broken up and the poorest of the poor were left, because they could not get away. Only about ten teams were all that was in possession of the whole of them, between five and

24DHC, III, p. 89.
25Ibid., pp. 95-96.
six hundred persons, but they all covenanted that they would go together or stay together.26

Concerning their dilemma, one non-Mormon writer has left this description:

Runners were sent out with pockets full of Mormon money [Kirtland Safety Society Bank Notes] to buy teams where they could find people not posted on the value of Mormon promises to pay.

From the same pen many years later, these sentiments were published:

It was sent off to distant parts, where Mormon credit was not known, and shoved off, mostly for teams, which enabled the whole community of the faithful to move off to Missouri in the spring of 1838.27

PERPETUAL HARASSMENT AND A SPECIAL SIGN

Paramount among the circumstances that hindered preparatory activities during the spring of 1838 was the continual harassment from enemies and apostates. In addition to arsonist's threats to destroy homes, an abortive attempt to burn the temple was carried out. Abusive law suits, accusations of thievery, and charges of general

26 Short Sketch of the Life of John Pulsipher, typed copy in possession of Rhoda Elizabeth Torsak, great granddaughter of John Pulsipher, 1331 North Wycoff, Bremerton, Washington, p. 3.

27 Crary, pp. 35, 55.
dishonesty were consistently leveled at the Mormons in Kirtland.

However, in the midst of this tempest, there were compensatory blessings attested to by many. The type and number of special manifestations could only be imagined, but at least one journal recorded a signal event in the lives of Kirtland residents. In his personal history, Zerah Pulsipher recalled that while cutting barrel staves in the spring to earn money for travel expenses, he heard a "mighty rattling of wagons," perhaps a dozen or more on pebble stones, advancing from the south. As the clamor became more intense, Pulsipher discovered not only that the sound came from the air above him, but that it more accurately resembled the puffing noise of a steamboat. "It passed immediately over our heads and went on about one mile to Kirtland temple." At the temple, others, also hearing the unusual sounds, later testified that they saw a steamboat loaded with passengers, even recognizing a former Kirtland resident who had recently passed away. 28

Following the passage of the steamboat, it divided into two parts, one black, the other white. Combining this phenomena with the later apostasy of many Church

28Zerah Pulsipher, p. 9.
leaders, it was determined that the white portion of the
boat which proceeded in a westerly direction symbolized
the "pure in heart" who followed the Church to Zion, while
the black section of the boat, traveling in a northerly
course, represented those who fell and led others into
apostasy with them. 29

THE DEPARTURE

After nearly four months of anticipation, final
plans for removal from Kirtland went into effect. On
July 4, a sometime-bitter resident of the city, Jacob
Bump, approached Zerah Pulsipher and offered his clover-
field as a preliminary encampment location:

Two days before we were to start, one of our
worst enemies came to father, who was one of the
councilmen and said, "I understand you are expecting
to move in a few days." "Yes," father said, "We
are." He said, "I want you to come and camp in my
pasture the last night, as there is plenty of feed
for all of your animals, and I will use all my
influence to prevent you from being harmed." Con-
sequently, we accepted his kind offer .... 30

29 Ibid.; this vision was later verified in his own
journal by John Pulsipher, a son of Zerah Pulsipher. An
eleven-year-old boy at the time, John noted that his uncle
Elias Smith, and Jesse Baker were also present. John
Pulsipher, p. 2.

30 History of Charles Pulsipher, p. 69; typed copy
in possession of Rhoda Elizabeth Torsak, 1331 North Wycoff,
Illustrative of sacrifices that took place in Kirtland during these terminal weeks was the experience of William F. Cahoon, a member of the camp, who reflected,

We turned the key and locked the door of our homes, leaving our property and all we possessed in the hands of enemies and strangers, never receiving a cent for anything we owned.\(^{31}\)

Another camp member, Jeremiah Willey, recorded:

I was obliged to leave my house and lot unsold. I sent some of my things by water. Clothing, bedding, and the rest of my furniture were left in the house . . . .\(^{32}\)

July 5th was significant to the Saints because of its beauty and favorable weather condition. "At an early hour the heavens were overspread with a cloud which continued to hide the scorching rays of the sun till towards evening, when it moved away," wrote camp historian Elias Smith. He interpreted this event as indicating that the Lord was mindful of his Saints in their need, and had prepared the day "for the express purpose of organizing the camp." The protective cloud cover was particularly unusual in that the rest of the sky in every

\(^{31}\)Reynolds Cahoon's Journal, p. 28, located in Special Collections.

\(^{32}\)Jeremiah Willey Journal, p. 13, located in Church Archives.
direction, reaching to the horizon on all sides, was completely clear.\textsuperscript{33}

During the day, some twenty tents were pitched in the form of a hollow square as families, teams, and wagons gathered into the clover field for the preliminary encampment. By nightfall others had arrived, but found insufficient time to pitch their tents. Most estimates agree that the camp at this point, or soon thereafter, consisted of the following: 515 saints, of which 249 were males, and 266 were females; twenty-seven tents; fifty-nine wagons, plus ninety-seven horses, twenty-two oxen, sixty-nine cows and one bull.\textsuperscript{34}

Many interested observers from neighboring communities, aware of the Mormons' impending exit, came quietly to observe this final drama being enacted upon their own rustic stage. Although there were between four and five hundred people encamped, plus many spectators, the atmosphere remained quiet, almost reverent, until far into the

\textsuperscript{33}\textsuperscript{DHC, III, p. 99.}

\textsuperscript{34}Andrew Jenson, \textit{The Historical Record} (Salt Lake City: Published by Andrew Jenson, 1886), V-VIII, 594. In other journals, some figures vary, but not significantly. See \textsuperscript{DHC, III, 100}; Samuel Tyler, p. 1; Zerah Pulsipher, p. 10.
evening. Nearly all visitors behaved "with the greatest decorum," and an introspective solemnity became evident among both members and non-members. Finally, as the night grew late, the observers left the camp, and the Saints were left to reminisce over their trials in Kirtland, to see their temple for the last time, to struggle against depressing despondency.35

Although many interested persons were present the evening before, several hundred returned for one last look on July 6th, the day of departure. As before, there was no desire evident to injure or to intimidate those who were leaving. Among the Mormons, preparations for the final evacuation were deliberate, extending throughout the entire morning.

Finally at twelve o'clock noon, Kirtland Camp commenced its historic march to Zion. "We had made a covenant that we would band together, and go up into Missouri together or die in the attempt," wrote Charles Pulsipher.36 An older brother, John, recalled:

36Pulsipher, p. 69.
Our enemies had threatened never to let us go out of Kirtland two wagons together, but when we got ready to start, the largest company of Saints that had ever travelled together in this generation started out in good order without an enemy to oppose us.\textsuperscript{37}

By 12:30 p.m. the field behind Mayhew Hillman's house was deserted—the faithful had fled—not in turmoil nor in haste, but with quiet and solemn dignity.\textsuperscript{38} Through the dedication of the Seventies, the Saints had obeyed the counsel directing them to "Leave here, get out of the place."\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{37}Pulsipher, p. 3. \textsuperscript{38}DHC, III, 100.
\textsuperscript{39}Cahoon, p. 28.
Chapter 3

CROSSING OHIO

FRIDAY, JULY 6, 1838

Until the final wagon of the last division rolled out of sight beneath the noonday sun, the street in front of Mayhew Hillman's former home was filled to overflowing with crowds of people watching the departing Saints. Both Mormons and non-Mormons were among those who remained in Kirtland.¹

Travelling south on the old Chillicothe road, the wagon train covered a distance of seven miles on its initial outing, stopping at the town of Chester.² Perhaps for moral support, William Marks, a member of the Kirtland High Council, and a few other Church members from Kirtland

¹Samuel D. Tyler's Journal, 1838, pp. 1-2, Church Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives.


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travelled as far as Chester with the Camp. Before returning to their homes, Marks blessed the leaders of the camp, and its members in general, adding a promise to pray for their safety. 3 Within two days, Marks himself was directed by revelation to make immediate preparations for his own departure to Missouri. 4

Describing the type of encampment, a newspaper reported:

They encamp at night and pitch their tents in the form of a hollow square in which they perform their cooking and other necessary duties, their wagons and horses being ringed on the outside: they also place sentinels at different posts around the camp, as in military encampments. 5

A camp historian referred to their camping arrangement as "27 tents in [an] oblong hollow square" pitched like Israel of old. 6

3Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1967), III, 100, hereafter cited as DHC.

4The Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1960), 117:1, hereafter cited as D&C.


6Tyler, p. 1.
On that first night out of Kirtland, as campfires flickered in the darkness, feelings of anxiety, subdued excitement, tender sentiment, together with a quiet self-assurance must have been present as friends and families pondered their journey ahead. Capturing the tone of the evening, Elias Smith wrote:

The feelings of the brethren on leaving Kirtland and parting with those who were left behind were somewhat peculiar, notwithstanding the scenes they had passed through in Kirtland; but the consciousness of doing the will of their Heavenly Father, and obeying His commandments in journeying to Zion, over balanced every other consideration that could possibly be presented to their minds, and buoyed up their spirits. . . .

SATURDAY, JULY 7

Not inclined to waste time, the members of Kirtland Camp arose early on the morning of their first full day enroute to Missouri. By 6:30 a.m., the wagons were rumbling out of Chester. Travelling through the towns of Russell and Bainbridge, the Camp stopped at Aurora, Portage County, for the day. It took nine and one-half hours to cover the thirteen miles between Chester and Aurora.

Various difficulties plagued the Saints during that first Saturday. Rough, hilly roads took their toll

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7DHC, III, 100. 8DHC, III, 101.
as at least one wagon broke down twice, and several other minor accidents occurred. Some of the teams were reluctant to pull their loaded wagons, and had to be assisted up the steep inclines by drag ropes. Suggesting that part of the men may have been similarly reluctant to share in the difficult tasks of the day, a camp historian notes that, "Some of the brethren were rather [in] the background about assisting."

General concern was mirrored further as the historian recorded problems in maintaining proper order in the line of march, in keeping the carriages within their divisions, and in retaining proper separation between the divisions themselves. Apparently the young men of the camp were busy both in helping themselves uninvited to fruit along the way, and in defending themselves from molestation by a group of other young men who threw stones at the cows and insults at the boys.

In addition to their other problems, serious sickness attributed to the destroyer struck both children and adults on that first Saturday. Perhaps in consequence of the day's difficulties, the Seventies Presidency

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9Ibid. 10Tyler, p. 2. 11Ibid. 12DHC, III, 101.
called a meeting that evening to instruct the camp members again in matters "pertaining to the celestial law."13

SUNDAY, JULY 8

Starting at 11:00 a.m., a two-hour public worship service was attended by camp members and local citizenry alike. With few exceptions the numerous visitors to the camp behaved cordially during the mid-day hours. Heads of families were assembled at 5:30 p.m. by camp leaders for the purpose of renewing earlier covenants of obedience to the camp constitution and to the laws of God, plus a plea for greater unity among camp members. Failure to comply would result in the release of the destroyer among them and the destruction of many. Through obedience the Lord's protection was promised, plus the assurance that heavenly messengers would commune with them.14

 Threats of violence coupled with actual harrassments combined to disrupt the tranquility of this first Sabbath evening out of Kirtland. Responding to threats of

13 Tyler, p. 2.

14 Tyler, p. 3. Although visions of heavenly messengers had been received by camp members during their preparations to leave Kirtland, no further visions of such messengers were recorded enroute to Missouri.
tar and feathers, numerous sentries were placed around the campsite for protection. Although attempts were made to steal horses, mob members in general remained at a safe distance. Though not seriously injured, Samuel D. Tyler was struck in the chest by a club thrown by an unseen assailant. 15

MONDAY, JULY 9

Beginning their journey at 7:00 a.m., the Saints moved through Aurora to Hudson, a half-day's travel away. Shortly after lunch, two wagons became inoperable and required repairs before continuing on. The weather was extremely hot on this early July day causing much fatigue and discomfort for both man and beast.

After traveling for eleven and one-half hours, covering a distance of twenty miles, the first, second, and third divisions of Kirtland Camp stopped at the village of Talmadge for the night. 16 Because the fourth division consisted primarily of oxen, it did not reach the campsite until 10:00 o'clock in the evening. Due to

15 Andrew Jenson, The Historical Record (edited and published by Andrew Jenson, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1886), V-VIII, 593.

16 DHC, III, 102.
difficulties in securing forage and water for their livestock, the camp had traveled three or four miles beyond their intended stopping place, eventually finding accommodations on land owned by a sympathetic farmer identified only as Mr. Camp.17

TUESDAY JULY 10

Prior to departing from Mr. Camp's farm, a meeting was held to further clarify rules and procedures relating to camp operation and government. It was resolved that the camp engineer should be given closer direction and greater assistance in carrying out his duties, that a horn should be blown at 4:00 a.m. each morning signaling time to arise, and that a second horn should sound at 4:20 a.m. at which time worship services in each tent were to commence under the direction of the tent overseer.

It was further resolved that the camp engineer would be provided with as many men as he required from each division to stand guard, sentry duties to end and commence at 1:00 o'clock each morning, that milk would be

17Ibid. Samuel D. Tyler's statement in his journal, p. 3, that some did not reach the camp at all that night is apparently in error.
shared equally regardless of ownership of cows, and that in no case, unless absolutely required, would the camp move more than fifteen miles in one day. To protect the welfare of the livestock and to act as chief herdsman was the assignment given to Thomas Butterfield. Referring to this charge, a Butterfield descendant later commented, "Thomas Butterfield was appointed to look after the stock. He had his niche to fill and he filled it; he endured the hardships of that trek and he also enjoyed its blessings." Probably due to difficulties with them the day before, Joel H. Johnson sold one of his oxen for ten dollars, presumably to a local resident. Perhaps delayed somewhat by this transaction and the early-morning meeting of the camp's leaders, it was nine o'clock before the first division began to move. High winds, dusty roads, and the first rain shower of the journey may have prompted the Seventies Presidency to halt the camp after only six miles had been covered. To lighten their loads, some goods were sent ahead on canal boats.

18DHC, III, 102-103.
19Descendants of Thomas Butterfield, I, 17-18, located in Special Collections Library at Brigham Young University.
20DHC, III, 103.
During the day, the only accident recorded involved a broken wagon belonging to Brother John Hammond. Benjamin Butterfield, who became the first member of Kirtland Camp to separate himself from the main body of saints, left the group and undertook to pursue his own course to Missouri.²¹

WEDNESDAY, JULY 11

The first death of a member of Kirtland Camp occurred at 10:00 a.m. on this sixth day of their journey.²² Although the death of the infant son of Benjamin Wilbur must have been difficult for family and friends, only the first division to which they belonged delayed its march. Other members of the camp left early in the morning and travelled a distance of eleven miles to the village of Chippeway. Within three hours of the death of the Wilbur infant, a funeral service had been organized and a quiet resting place among the trees of an orchard secured. A formal procession, a graveside prayer, and a burial, all by members of the Seventies Presidency, ended

²¹DHC, III, pp. 103-104. ²²Tyler, p. 4.
the brief delay.\textsuperscript{23} By mid-afternoon, the first division was enroute to Chippeway, passing through Coventry, New Portage, and New Concord. Observing the countryside, Samuel Tyler noted that the company passed by beautiful fields of barley, wheat, corn, and rye, and seemed somewhat impressed by the quality of log houses, including some that were two stories high.\textsuperscript{24}

Still plagued by mechanical failures, the wagon of John Hammond broke down again for the second time in as many days. Perhaps indicating that each man was expected to be self-sufficient, the division went ahead leaving Brother Hammond behind to repair his own wagon. The camp historian noted that Brother Hammond did not arrive at the encampment that night.\textsuperscript{25}

\textbf{THURSDAY JULY 12}

Perhaps because the countryside was hilly, and the roads rough, stony, and muddy, several wagons sustained damages sufficient to cause their owners to remain

\textsuperscript{23}Ibid.; Elias Smith, a member of the Seventies Presidency gives the time of death as 11:00 a.m., and time of burial as 2:00 p.m. He also adds that a number of other children were ill, but recovered satisfactorily. \textbf{DHC}, III, 104.

\textsuperscript{24}Tyler, p. 4. \textsuperscript{25}\textbf{DHC}, III, 104.
behind as the rest of the divisions disappeared in the
distance. Apparently Brother John Hammond gave up on his
wagon. Riding horseback, he overtook the camp on the
morning of the twelfth, but was immediately advised to
return and secure a second wagon, either by borrowing or
trading with the assistance of the resident saints in the
New Portage area.

Rain for the second consecutive day may have
dampened the spirits of some camp members, and caused
others to feel that complaints should not become too
vocal:

It rained some this day and we had to lie down
again on wet ground. There were some little murmuring
this day, but we are praying continually that
they may cease and that we may amend our ways and
our doings, and do the things the Lord has commanded
us, and that we may have covenanted before him
that we will do ... .

Seven days out of Kirtland found the Saints
seventy-five miles closer to Zion. In their first week

26 Tyler, p. 4.

27 DHC, III, 105; Samuel Tyler and Elias Smith
both kept very accurate day-to-day journals, only occa-
sionally disagreeing, and then usually on rather insignif-
icant details. Tyler seems to be more painstaking in
keeping accurate mileage records: he records sixteen
miles traveled for July 12th, while Smith indicates that
seventeen miles were traveled on that date.
away from their homes, they had experienced heat, rain, some dissension, at least one defection, slight reorganization, minor persecution, sickness and death. Refusing to dwell on their difficulties, the camp historian recorded at the end of this first full week, "It rained a little in the course of the day, the air was cool and the horses and oxen performed the journey with greater ease than any other day since the camp started."28

FRIDAY, JULY 13

Perhaps partially explaining why the number of wagons in Kirtland Camp were sufficient to attract the attention of onlookers during their journey, Elias Smith recorded in his journal that from the time the first wagon left the campground in the morning until the last wagon joined the caravan approximately one hour had passed.29

Covering a distance of sixteen miles in eight hours, the camp moved through the villages of Wooster and Jefferson, finally stopping at 5:00 p.m. on the farm of Mr. William Crothers at Reedsborough.

28DHC, III, 105.
29DHC, III, 105.
The first week of travel for Kirtland Camp concluded with a variety of incidents. Although they had received some scrutiny between Kirtland and Wooster, situated in the center of Wayne County, the residents along that initial seventy-mile route had heard that the saints were coming. For some reason, however, from Wooster and beyond, their arrival came as a surprise to the inhabitants of the communities through which they passed:

The people between Kirtland and Wooster were generally apprised of our coming before we arrived, and were not so much surprised to see us as they were west of that place. After we left the main road to Columbus, as we followed along, they seemed astonished and filled with wonder and amazement at seeing so large a body moving together, and some did not fail to express their feelings with warmth to the brethren as they passed along, declaring against the "fallacy," as they called it, of "Joe Smith's" prophecies, and expressing their pity for the deluded believers in modern revelation.  

Not reticent about letting their hopes be known, some of the saints intimated that many others would soon be traveling along the same route.

They stood and gazed upon us but I heard no revilings. Said one, What does all this mean? Why, said one of the camp, God has set His hand the second time to gather his people, and this is only like a drop of a bucket before a more plentiful shower.  

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30 DHC, III, 106.  
31 Tyler, p. 5.
Although generally more intrigued than antagonistic, there were some Ohio residents who verbally taunted the camp members with implications that they had been deceived either by Joseph Smith or by his close associates:

Two of the men withstood us and threw out hard speeches against Joseph Smith, etc., telling us we were following him, etc. One of us told him, we did not pin our faith upon any man's sleeve, but that God had revealed unto his people the abundance of peace and truth. After some more hard words they left us, and one of the women old enough to have been a mother in Israel, as she whirled on her heel, said, we leaned to Rigdon if not to Smith.32

That not all onlookers were vexatious is suggested by this notation, "We passed an honest looking Dutchman who said he wished he was ready, he would go on with us. We saw many others who treated us civilly."33

Internal problems surfaced at the end of this first week enroute to Missouri. Some quarrelling and disagreements were evident, apparently brought on by the reluctance of some members to follow counsel and direction. A twinge of annoyance plus concern over the scarcity of the food supply in camp prompted this comment, "Our leader, and the Presidency have been buying flour this day to stop

32Ibid. 33Ibid.
our murmuring mouths, for our provisions, which we took with us are almost expended."

Finally almost as the concluding pique for the day, two wagons broke down, the last just as it entered the field where camp was to be established for the night.

SATURDAY JULY 14

As the camp passed through Jeromesville, a Saturday crowd of several hundred spectators gathered to observe and to jeer at the uninvited guests. Establishing that there were those in Kirtland Camp who were not members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is the following notation:

A young man of the camp, not a member of the Church, but a believer in the work, hearing the doctrine of Christ evil spoken of, asked a few questions. With that they [the residents of Jeromesville] turned upon him and he went to preaching scripture to them for an hour or two, until their priests, doctors, and lawyers finding Scripture testimony too strong for them gave over . . . .

Because of their desire to be properly prepared for the Sabbath, the camp ended their day's traveling at 2:00 p.m.; distance traveled eleven miles. Their camp-

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34Ibid.  
35Tyler, pp. 5-6.
site was located near the town of Petersborough on the farm of Mr. Solomon Braden.\footnote{DHC, III, 107.}

Although traveling only a comparatively short time (seven hours), the day was sufficiently important to receive special notice by those who kept the camp records. Journals for the 14th of July, 1838 note that some of the camp members again "raided" an apple orchard contrary to previous instruction, that one young woman of the camp was "very nearly killed by having a wagon run over her," although she recovered quickly after being administered to, and that a wagon overturned injuring a woman and her children. Further it was recorded that a camp member, N. B. Baldwin, in writing officially charged a fellow camp member, Abram Bond, with "murmuring and other unchristianlike conduct."\footnote{Ibid.; Tyler, p. 6.}

Adding a personal touch to his own record, Samuel D. Tyler wrote:

Here in the night, while guarding our horses, I, for the first time in my life, heard the howling of wolves in the forest, which blended with the barking of dogs in answer to them, did not make very agreeable music in my ear.\footnote{Tyler, p. 6.}
Under this same date, a reference was included illuminating instructions given earlier to the migrating saints by the Seventies Presidency:

... we are counseled and were counseled before we left Kirtland not to touch an individual thing not our own, without first obtaining the owner's leave ... And we were, and are taught to pass right along and mind our own business and treat everybody well, and with good manners, and to treat their beasts well, and not even abuse a dog or cat, and also to be merciful to our own beasts, and to be merciful to each other and to be ONE!!!

SUNDAY, JULY 15

The second Sabbath away from Kirtland saw various developments within the camp. Rumors of a planned mobbing by the people in the Petersborough area must have caused intense distress among the families in the camp. When a group of more than two hundred residents arrived, they were undoubtedly kept under wary surveillance.

For one of the camp recorders, it was perhaps a welcome reflection later in the evening to write, "It was reported in the camp that people here were going to mob us, but they have not, neither have they done us the least injury to my knowledge."

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39 Ibid. 40 Ibid.
In many respects, the 15th of July was typical of other Sabbaths enjoyed by the saints. Meetings were conducted as usual with camp leaders preaching to members and visitors alike. Among those who spoke were Elders Pul-sipher, Dunham, Butterfield, Foster, Young, and Draper. "These spectators heard candidly, some tears flowed, and may the Lord save souls in this place . . . ." Reviewing the sermons of the day, the same writer recorded that they could be summed up in six words, "Fear God and keep His commandments."  

Several new families joined the camp during the day, and in addition some who had fallen behind caught up. Among those who subsequently desired to become part of Kirtland Camp were the families of Martin H. Peck, Stephen Shumway, and Charles Wood. An original member, John Hammond, who had experienced considerable difficulty with his wagon was one who rejoined the camp during the day. Unexplainedly, Benjamin Butterfield, who had left the camp at Talmadge, "found his way into camp again . . . ."  

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41 DHC, III, 107; Tyler, p. 6.
42 DHC, III, 108.
Monday, July 16 saw the first show of actual force against camp members. Before breaking camp, word had been received that in the town of Mansfield, ten miles in the distance, preparations were underway to prevent Kirtland Camp from passing through.

As the camp approached Mansfield, they were met, passed and passed again by men on foot and on horseback who appeared to be assessing the size and strength of the wagon train.

Once the camp had arrived at the town, a six-pound cannon was discharged several times, strategically timed to frighten the teams as well as the occupants of the wagons. Mirroring obvious irritation, a camp member wrote, "We could have taken our rifles and pistols from our wagons instantly if we had orders, but we passed on peaceably regarding them no more than grasshoppers."\(^{43}\)

Prior to the arrival of the main body of Kirtland Camp in the village of Mansfield, three of the key men in the camp were arrested, including Jonathan Hale:

\(^{43}\)Tyler, p. 8.
When the Kirtland Camp was on the way to Missouri we were met by two or three Sheriffs within three miles of Mansfield, Richland County. They took Josiah Butterfield, Jonathan Dunham and myself and put us in prison in Mansfield. They put us in prison on the 16th of July, 1838 at 2:00 p.m. At eight the next morning we were taken to the Courthouse. We were taken as stock holders of the Kirtland Society Bank, but no charge sustained and at twelve o'clock we were discharged by the judge.44

John Pulsipher observed the incident described above and at a later date erroneously recorded that it had taken place in Missouri:

At one certain city in Missouri the people tried to stop us. They really had the artillery placed in the street. As we came up they were determined to fire the cannon right at our company, but father talked to them till finally they gave up the notion and let us pass unmolested, except a few of our head men whom they took and cast in prison, but the Lord delivered them, and they came on and overtook the company the next night.45

As an act of brotherhood, Elders Dominicus Carter and Silas Smith returned to Mansfield in the evening from the encampment at New Castle. Civil authorities allowed Elder Carter to spend the night in the jail with the three men arrested earlier in the day, while Elder Smith returned to camp with the horses.

44Jonathan H. Hale Journal, p. 15, located in LDS Church Archives.

Seemingly no happier than before, Benjamin Butterfield who had returned to camp just twenty-four hours earlier "left the camp again before night in ill humor and went off by himself." 46

TUESDAY JULY 17

Traveling a distance of sixteen miles in eleven hours (total distance from Kirtland, 132 miles), the camp journeyed until 7:00 p.m., and settled for the night. Perhaps partly because of their unpleasant encounter of the day before, they encamped nearly six miles outside Bucyrus, the nearest village. Understandable apprehension may have temporarily subsided; however, as the four brethren who had been incarcerated in Mansfield arrived at the campsite only moments after the last wagon had stopped. Describing the joyous reunion and the dedication of camp members generally, Samuel Tyler records:

Immediately we beheld our brethren, the prisoners coming, and it was one of the loveliest scenes my eyes ever beheld to see the camp all running and shaking hands, how do you do, brother, how do you do, brother . . . . It was a glad hour. They had been released at four minutes past 1:00 p.m. this day and had traveled twenty-two miles. While in prison they prayed, they sang, yea, they rejoiced that they were

46 DHC. III, 108.
counted worthy to suffer for Christ's sake, yea to
suffer innocently. . . . In the night while in prison,
Elder Dunham was lying awake and a light equal to
noon-day burst into the prison. He took out his watch
and saw plainly as in day-time that it was three min-
utes past one. He then and there received a testimony
that they would be released at the same hour the next
day. This I had from his own mouth.47

WEDNESDAY JULY 18

Wednesday, July 18th must have been a welcome
reprieve for most camp members. Generally they traveled
unmolested through Bucyrus, then through Antrim Township,
arriving finally at Grand Prairie, a distance of sixteen
miles. The camp historian noted that on this date, for the
first time since leaving Kirtland, they were allowed to
stop without paying for that privilege.

Perhaps due to the length of the wagon train,
journals of camp members at times offer varying accounts
of similar experiences. Elias Smith records that at
Bucyrus, "The people seemed much agitated and made many
remarks concerning us," while Samuel Tyler's record states,
"Passed through Bucyrus . . . ; here they let us pass

47Tyler, p. 9; although Elias Smith records that
the four prisoners were released at 12:00 noon, it would
appear that Tyler's account is historically more accurate.
It is assumed that Smith's statement is based on conversa-
unmolested; they stood by hundreds and gazed seriously upon us."48

A certain sense of pride, almost a feeling of destiny to be fulfilled, crept occasionally into the record:

Just as we were leaving the village, two men followed alongside of us, and made some very candid enquiries which were answered. One of them hung to us long as there was one to talk with him. In the meantime several of the Elders passed along. Said he, I received a college education, but my learning is now of no use to me, for this is something more than I can comprehend. We left him sitting by the wayside gazing after us.49

THURSDAY, JULY 19

Repairing wagons delayed the departure of the first division until afternoon, which may account for the fact that the entire train covered a distance of only eight miles. Tents were arranged in a straight line north and south on the prairie, requiring fifty men to guard tents and livestock. During the night, a horse accidentally "blundered on two tents," injuring a woman and two children.50

48 DHC, III, 109-110; Tyler, p. 10.
49 Tyler, p. 10.
50 Ibid.
Earlier in the day, an encounter with a Lamanite of the Wyandotte tribe prompted this reply as he observed the mammoth wagon train moving along, "Dis surprise me mazingly." Searching for missionary opportunities along their route resulted in presenting a copy of the Book of Mormon to the Lamanite observer, plus a preaching appointment in Little Sandusky village in which "some ears were opened to hear the gospel."\textsuperscript{51}

FRIDAY, JULY 20

Departure time was delayed until nine o'clock while several matters of business were attended to. Abram Bond, the center of an earlier controversy which resulted in the filing of a formal charge against him, was again brought before the Seventies Presidency. E. B. Gaylord, superintendent of the fourth division, also charged Bond with murmuring and complaining, and with personal abuse. Mincing no words, Elder Zerah Pulsipher, one of the senior presidents, reprimanded Bond severely for abusing others without provocation and informed him that "he would be left by the wayside if he did not reform, and behave more

\textsuperscript{51}\textit{Ibid.}
like a man of God than he had of late."\textsuperscript{52} Indicating that there must have been others at fault as well, before starting the day's travel, a meeting was called for all men, women, and children to give instructions and to issue reprimands for those deserving such.

Five of the seven presidents spoke to the assembled camp members. Items discussed included instructions on duties to be performed, a stern injunction to cease murmuring against the council and other leaders, the abandoning of all evils, including covetousness, and reluctance to obey God's commandments.

Recalling their original dilemma and the haunting spectre of being abandoned and forced to find their own way to Missouri, the council cemented their advice in every person's thoughts with the declaration that God was angry with Kirtland Camp. They were further cautioned that unless sincere repentance occurred he would scourge them and would scatter them to the four winds, causing every man to provide for himself and to get to Zion as best he could.\textsuperscript{53}

The basis for some complaints centered around supposedly inadequate food. Intending to allay this

\textsuperscript{52}\textit{DHC}, III, 110-111. \textsuperscript{53}Tyler, p. 11.
grievance, the Presidency announced to camp members that it had been revealed to them that if there were no other way, the Lord would feed them from heaven as he had previously fed the children of Israel.\textsuperscript{54}

Reflecting seriously the enjoinder that the camp would be scourged for their past rebelliousness, a journal entry for Friday, July 20th states:

We were now dismissed to our tents, and began to move off on our journey, when the Lord broke down one of our axel-trees, and a little child had its arm hurt in consequence, thus fulfilling His Word. Now let us learn.\textsuperscript{55}

Before the meeting adjourned, it was unanimously resolved that the Councilors of the camp, i.e., the Seven Presidents, would not be required to stand night guard, thus allowing more time to counsel together.

Perhaps because spirits were somewhat dampened by earlier admonishments from their leaders, and equally by approaching storm clouds, travel for the day ended between three and four o'clock, having covered a scant eleven miles. A heavy downpour commenced soon after, lasting throughout the night, and causing considerable discomfort for most camp members.

\textsuperscript{54}Ibid. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{55}Ibid.
John Pulsipher later recorded his reactions as a young boy to the inclement weather,

Sometimes our tents would blow over in the rain storms in the night when all within-beds, people and all--would get wet as drowned mice, but we could sleep in wet beds and not get sick by it.\textsuperscript{56}

Generally speaking, Friday, July 20th, appears to have been a most unpleasant day for the majority of Kirtland Camp.

\textbf{SATURDAY, JULY 21}

On this last day of the week, the wagons began moving at 8:00 a.m. Covering their usual distance, they stopped for the evening seven miles outside the village of Sciota. Miles traveled from Kirtland as recorded by Elias Smith, camp historian, totalled 181. Samuel Tyler recorded 183.\textsuperscript{57}

A child, the infant son of A. M. York, had become alarmingly ill and was administered to. It was the first time some camp members had seen such an ordinance performed, and apparently failed to arouse much hope among them for the child's recovery.\textsuperscript{58}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[56]John Pulsipher, p. 3.  
\item[57]Tyler, p. 12.  
\item[58]Ibid.
\end{footnotes}
SUNDAY, JULY 22

Because of insufficient forage for their livestock, the camp reluctantly traveled for the first time on the Sabbath. Stopping at the nearest satisfactory location, they halted after covering a distance of five miles. Tents were pitched on the farm of a Mr. Partial at Rush Creek, Logan County.

The short journey was uneventful except for an encounter with a group of "ruffians" who threw rotten eggs at the saints as they passed a farmhouse. When some of the brethren stopped, bayonets were brandished by the egg-throwers to discourage possible retaliation. Treating it as an insignificant incident, a journalist noted, "No one, however intended doing any harm to them and only wished them to understand that we noticed their intrusion upon our privileges . . . ."59

On this third Sabbath enroute to Zion, a single meeting was held for purposes of worship, and for the partaking of the sacrament. The two Sundays preceding, because of the large number of visitors in camp, the sacrament was not included in the service.

59 DHC, III, 113.
Offering neither speculation as to origin nor explanation as to purpose, nor personal reaction, the camp historian concluded his journal for Sunday, July 22nd, with the following entry:

Sometime in the night a luminous body about the size of a cannon ball came down from over the encampment near the ground then whirled round some forty or fifty times and moved off in a horizontal direction, soon passing out of sight.\footnote{Ibid.; Samuel Tyler makes no mention of the luminous object in his journal.}

\textbf{MONDAY, JULY 23}

Early in the morning, Elder Jonathan Dunham disguised himself and entered the village of Rushsylvania to ascertain the validity of rumors which had reached camp indicating that prosecution awaited them in relation to the Kirtland Bank failure. Suggesting that no problems were encountered, a camp member recorded that, "Not a dog moved his tongue against us this day."\footnote{Tyler, p. 13.}

Beginning at 7:15 a.m., the camp traveled sixteen miles before resting for the evening. Although the day was uneventful regarding anticipated harrassments from area residents, an accident near the end of the day's journeying caused more excitement and perhaps strengthened
more testimonies than any other single occurrence since
the camp's departure from Kirtland.

One of Martin Peck's four children, a young boy,
accidentally fell under a heavily-loaded wagon. The metal
wheel passed directly over the calf of the child's leg,
leaving a deep laceration and a crushed limb. The road
being flat and hard offered no protection from the massive
weight of the wagon.

The following account agrees in detail with those
who were keeping day-to-day journals:

While journeying to Missouri with the "Kirtland
Camp," Brother Peck's son, Edwin, had his leg run
over by a heavily loaded wagon, on a very hard road.
When he was picked up the limb appeared to be flat-
tened as if almost crushed to a pulp, and the flesh
was laid open. Brother Peck had seen the power of
God manifested in so many instances then, and he had
such confidence in the Almighty hearing and answering
his prayers, that he never thought of summoning a
surgeon, but immediately administered to the boy
and then placed him in the wagon. In an hour after-
wards he examined his leg and found that it was
entirely well, the only sign of the injury left
being a slight scar which had the dry and scaly
appearance of an old sore, long since healed up.
The place was not even discolored. There were
numbers of witnesses to this miracle, many of whom
are living to-day.62

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62Early Scenes in Church History, pp. 73-74;
Eight Book of the Faith Promoting Series, Juvenile
Instructor Office (Salt Lake City, 1882), located in
Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo,
Utah.
Faith promoting as the miraculous healing of young Edwin Peck was, perhaps, an even more wide-spread "miracle" occurred in relation to the scarcity of food in Kirtland Camp. Reviewing events in this historic march to Zion, a descendant of Thomas Butterfield later concluded, "They were greatly blessed, their provisions were like the widow's cruse of oil, it was undiminished."63

At least one such event is a matter of camp record:

In Marion and Hardin Counties, provisions were scarce and could not be obtained, consequently we were obliged to do with what we had; and here was another manifestation of the power of Jehovah, for seven and a half bushels of corn sufficed for the whole camp, consisting of six hundred and twenty souls, for the space of three days, and none lacked for food . . . .64

TUESDAY, JULY 24

Having missed the opportunity to rest their livestock and themselves on Sunday the 22nd, the camp elected to spend Tuesday in washing clothes, mending and repairing wagons, and in refreshing their teams and oxen. Finding

63 Butterfield, p. 17.

64 DHC, III, 114; six hundred and twenty souls indicates an increase of one hundred and five camp members during the first seventeen days of their march to Zion.
the opportunity to earn nearly twenty dollars, some of
the men corded wood, others reaped and bound a field of
wheat, and five or six shoemakers were employed by one man
in fashioning shoes for his family.65

WEDNESDAY, JULY 25

A missing horse, an encounter with six men from
Logan County including one who was "not much better than
drunken," and who rolled on the ground while singing a
song that would have "put a hog or bear to the blush,
and camping near the home of Ohio Governor, Joseph Vance,
made this an interesting day. The farmland in the Mad
River valley was described as the most fertile and the
most productive land yet encountered.

In this pleasant location, the Councillors took
the opportunity to call all camp members together for
purposes of instructing them again to their duties and
responsibilities, and to encourage them further to be
more valiant in observing the commandments of God.
Shortly after the meeting concluded, two camp members
appeared before the reassembled Presidents to settle a

65 DHC, III, 114; Tyler, p. 13.
dispute involving unchristian-like conduct. Final journal entries for the day recorded that the distance from Kirtland to the current camping site was 216 miles.66

THURSDAY, JULY 26

The final division remained in camp until 11:00 a.m. and then traveled only twelve miles before halting for the day. Encamped near the National Road at Springfield, several of the men went out to seek temporary employment to supplement the camp treasury.

During the evening hours, another meeting was scheduled by the Seventies Presidency. Speaking with strong determination, Elder Zerah Pulsipher pled with camp members to become more obedient, less selfish, more filled with love for one another, and less inclined to forget the blessings of God upon the camp. Concerning several exceptional promises made, one hearer stated:

... if we will observe to come up to these requirements, even the celestial law which we have been taught, we shall need nothing, but shall have everything that is needful for us, and the eye of Jehovah is upon us, and his angels are above and

66Tyler, p. 14; Elias Smith's journal showed 215 miles; however, his day by day entries totalled only 214 miles.
round about us and waiting to guard us and to rejoice over us when we do well . . . .

FRIDAY, JULY 27

After a short distance on the National Road, the camp left it and headed for Dayton. Experiencing several annoying, though not dangerous, encounters with local residents, the saints were passed by a stagecoach whose passengers were rude and unpleasant. Earlier in the day, the Camp Engineer, Jonathan Dunham, was threatened by a man who refused to sell him feed for their animals. Persisting in trying to make the purchase, Elder Dunham was advised, "I will get me a rifle and shoot the first Mormon that enters my field after this." It is a matter of record that Elder Dunham called upon the Lord to curse the man, his hay, and all his feed, and then "left him to settle the affair with his maker."

Perhaps some of the antagonism the camp experienced from Ohio residents stemmed from the often exaggerated reports of the number of Mormons approaching their

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67 Tyler, p. 15; although earlier reference has been made in this work to the appearance of heavenly beings to Kirtland Camp members, no further appearances were reported after this date.
68 Tyler, p. 16.
communities. Pre-arrival estimates that some three-
hundred teams and wagons were approaching may have caused
an understandable excitement in the Dayton area.\textsuperscript{69}
Charles Pulsipher, son of Zerah Pulsipher, in his own
history, later described Kirtland Camp as a "train of
white covered wagons nearly nine miles long."\textsuperscript{70}

\textbf{SATURDAY, JULY 28}

Covering a distance of nine miles, the camp
stopped at noon, pitching their tents along the banks of
Mad River in Green County, five and one half miles from
the city of Dayton.

\textbf{SUNDAY, JULY 29}

This last Sunday in July of 1838, meetings both
public and private were held, attracting member and non-
member alike. Although many visitors were again present,
the sacrament was administered, and a positive acceptance
by some of the local residents seemed evident. Other
meetings were conducted concurrently within a radius of
several miles, by fellow saints who had traveled to the

\textsuperscript{69}DHC, III, 116. \textsuperscript{70}Charles Pulsipher, p. 69.
Dayton area independently from Kirtland Camp. During the day a number of Church members arrived and joined themselves to the camp.\textsuperscript{71}

While new members were arriving, at least one family was asked to leave. Abram Bond was called before the Counsellors for the third time and disfellowshipped from the camp. Those present unanimously voted approval based upon his continued rebellion and refusal to follow camp policies. Bond and his family left camp the following day.\textsuperscript{72}

Presumably following the departure of most non-member visitors, a special Sunday evening meeting was announced for all boys between the ages of eight and sixteen. At a trumpet signal, the boys gathered and were instructed by the Seventies Presidency. Minutes apparently taken during the meeting included the following injunctions:

That they must learn to pray and not swear; for some few of them had been heard to swear. That they must be ready to do all things pertaining to the brethren as well as their own private interests; that they must be kind and neighborly to each other and that they must not go into gardens, nor orchards, nor meddle with anything not their own while on the way; neither should they tell all they know to strangers, but refer them to the older brethren, or the Elders,

\textsuperscript{71}DHC, III, 117. \textsuperscript{72}DHC, III, 117.
etc.; that they must treat everybody and everything well, and go right along and mind their own concerns and use wisdom and prudence in all things. And that all the good boys will be remembered when they get up to Zion. And that the good boys will be known from the bad ones... and many other things taught they them, after which the Presidency gave them much praise for wisdom that many of the little boys had at certain times displayed when interrogated by officious and designing persons.73

Due to extremely dry weather conditions, supplications for rain were included in the prayers offered at both morning and afternoon meetings.

MONDAY, JULY 30

"We have made a stand here to rest our teams," wrote a traveler with the camp. "The council have been trying to obtain a job of work for us while we tarry here, but I believe have not found any yet."74 In answer to their need, almost while the above was being written, several local gentleman were in camp meeting with the Presidency in an attempt to persuade them to accept work completing a section of the Springfield and Dayton turnpike. Zerah Pulsipher, one of the senior Presidents of the Seventies, recorded the following in his own personal journal concerning their dilemma:

73Tyler, pp. 17-18. 74Ibid., p. 18.
Nothing transpired for some weeks until we got to Dutton [sic] and got out of money. The people would take nothing of us but money for our expenses and at a high price, too. We went into council and prayed to God for money and provisions. Accordingly the Lord sent a Turn-Pike Jobber after us to get us to do a job for him. We therefore agreed with him for a job of twelve hundred dollars . . . 75

Some of the brethren from the camp spent Monday doing odd jobs to earn a little additional money for supplies.

As if nothing less had been expected, the occurrence of rain on Monday following their prayers of the day before seemed to be treated rather matter-of-factly:

In the afternoon and evening it rained on each side of us, that is, to the north and to the south, and at no great distance from us quite hard, to all appearances, and we also had a small shower in the afternoon, . . . it cooled the air and greatly revived both the animal and vegetable kingdoms . . . 76

TUESDAY, JULY 31

Attempting to assess the desires of the heads of families, an early-morning meeting was called to present several alternatives for their consideration. Seeking tentative endorsement of the plan to stay in the Dayton

75Zera Pulsipher's Journal, pp. 10-11, located in Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

76DHC, III, 118.
area for an undetermined period of time, the Presidency received a vote of confidence as the men of the camp agreed to abide by whatever decision the council reached.

Following an inquiry from the Presidency in which they hoped to find whether some members might prefer to leave the camp and "look out for themselves," Asa Wright confided that his wife had always been opposed to traveling with the camp, and therefore would choose to leave. Perhaps encouraged by Wright's comments, Elder Stephen Headlock referred to the negativism prevalent in the camp, and expressed the sentiment that he would rather leave the camp than to hear so much complaining. Unimpressed, Elder Zerah Pulsipher reprimanded Headlock by advising that he attend more strictly to his own duties, and then when his own affairs were in order, he could try to reclaim others who might be straying.\textsuperscript{77}

Following the meeting, it was determined to accept a contract to build a half-mile of turnpike to replenish the camp's monetary resources.\textsuperscript{78} The encampment was moved a short distance to a more permanent site within a

\textsuperscript{77}\textit{DHC}, III, 119.

\textsuperscript{78}John Pulsipher, p. 3.
beautiful grove of trees. Located a quarter of a mile each from Mad River and the prairie's edge, the secluded, peaceful grove must have appeared to camp members to be both a spiritual and a physical oasis, a pause to regroup, relax, and prepare for the tedious miles awaiting them.
Chapter 4

AUGUST ENCAMPMENT

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 1

The first day of August, 1838 marked the commencement of the construction of a half-mile of turnpike by the men of Kirtland Camp. During the morning hours, some of the men were occupied in building a fence to enclose the encampment. Others who were not too ill to work completed a temporary job taken on the day before. By noon, all men who were able to work began laboring on the turnpike.1

Schools were started in each division, four in all, for the younger children and were taught by mistresses in the camp.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 2

Possibly to acquire more immediate funds than the turnpike revenue would provide, a number of the men

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1DHC, III, 120.

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continued to do odd jobs in the Dayton area. Building
dykes and grubbing out trees kept some of the brethren
busy, while the majority settled into the month-long task
of completing their section of the twenty-five mile high-
way between Springfield and Dayton. Mothers found a
welcome respite from the daily traveling, and were able
to establish at least rudimentary quarters for their
families. Wrote one husband and father, "Here, while we
are at work, our women are attending to their domestic
affairs, and we often hear them singing, for we are tented
in a semi-circle near the road we are making."\(^2\)

Camp population at this time was estimated at
somewhere between 530 and 550, apparently reflecting the
continual flex as new families arrived and as others
departed to find their own way to Zion.\(^3\)

General reactions among camp members seemed to
take an upswing as even temporary roots were established.
Complaints seemed to decline for the time being, and a
degree of gratitude was expressed for such food as was
available, including corn, corn meal, flour, beans, pork,
and occasionally dried apples and sugar. Milk seemed to
be especially appreciated.

\(^2\)Tyler, p. 19. \(^3\)Ibid.
Conditions of fatigue and sickness were noted as heavy work began, but was attributed in part to the long weeks of travel and in part to the change in climate and the extreme heat and drought conditions prevalent.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3

Although managing the affairs of so large a group while traveling posed a multitude of problems, no less challenging was the difficulty in maintaining some semblance of organization and harmony among the group during its stay near Dayton. The Presidency soon recognized the necessity of appointing an Assistant Council to hear affairs that had become too burdensome for the existing Council to handle. Duncan McArthur, Gardner Snow, and George Stringham were given the new assignment.⁴

In addition to the new Assistant Council, the need for a Commissary or Purchasing Agent to acquire large quantities of food supplies became evident. The commissary appointment went to Jonathan H. Hale who recorded, "The camp stopped at Bath Green County, Ohio, for one

⁴DHG, III, 121-122; Tyler, p. 20. Andrew Jenson's Historical Record erroneously lists the date of the appointment of the Assistant Council as Saturday, August 4th. Andrew Jenson, p. 596.
month which time I was employed in buying provisions for the camp."

A sixteen-year-old daughter of Zerah and Mary Brown Pulsipher later recorded in her memoirs:

We traveled to Dayton, Ohio. There we had to stop and each work to get means to go on. The camp was divided into nine divisions. We lived all alike, and a commissary to give out provisions. . . . We enjoyed a stay of nine weeks and obtained the necessities and moved on.

Only an active imagination might suggest the numerous problems a large group such as Kirtland Camp would have encountered in the everyday routine of living in an area totally lacking in sanitation facilities for a full month. The August heat, the earlier mentioned drouth, and the close proximity occasioned by so many people in such close confinement perhaps all contributed to poor health, possible indiscretions, and numerous

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5Jonathan H. Hale Journal, p. 11. Located in Church Archives.

6Personal Diary of Mariah Pulsipher Burgess, p. 43; typed copy in possession of Rhoda Elizabeth Torsak, 1331 North Wycoff, Bremerton, Washington. The lack of agreement between this account and others concerning the number of divisions and the number of weeks encamped at Dayton apparently is attributable to the passage of time between the event and the recording of the event.
interpersonal conflicts. With this in mind, it is understandable that the Presidency summoned the men and boys together and offered certain instructions regarding cleanliness and decency.\(^7\) Elders James Foster and Zerah Pulsipher, the two senior presidents, each spoke and reviewed the original problems that had led to revelation from the Lord instructing the Seventies Presidents to organize Kirtland Camp for the purpose of assisting those who had been stranded in Kirtland, and the covenant each had entered into to assist one another to Zion. In concluding the meeting, appeals were made for greater faith, unity, and gratitude to God, plus a united prayer for the recovery of those who were suffering illnesses.\(^8\)

**SATURDAY, AUGUST 4**

Continuing sickness, primarily among the children, work on the turnpike, a light shower, and an observation that corn in the area had reached a height of seven to twelve feet, though the ears were not as large as they had been in some years, were the minor essence of the journal entries for Saturday, August 4.\(^9\)

\(^7\)DHC, III, 121. \(^8\)Ibid. \(^9\)Tyler, p. 20.
Causing greater concern were those who daily talked about leaving the camp because of dissatisfaction, and others who, though able to work, refused to do so. Concerning the first group of dissenters, it was recorded:

Some of the Camp are every day talking about leaving the camp; now concerning such I say, let them remember the covenants which they made in Kirtland, before, and in presence of God, angels, and their brethren, that they would put their strength together to help themselves, their families, and their brethren up to Zion. And if there are such as have not covenanted, let them not leave, unless it be the will of the Lord that they should. 10

And regarding those who were reluctant to share in the work the camp had contracted to accomplish, Elias Smith wrote,

In the evening the camp was called together again and the names of those who had absented themselves from labor were read over and those who had no excuse for their absence were severely reprimanded. . . . 11

As evidence that extreme measures were to be employed against those who refused to share in the tasks at hand, the Council instructed tent overseers to withhold the usual food rations from those who could, but would not, labor. 12 Justification for such seemingly harsh punishment came from the scriptural injunction that

12 Ibid.
"... He that is idle shall not eat the bread nor wear the garments of the laborer."\(^{13}\)

Although no record has been located to assess the reaction of the camp to the council's determined position, it logically may be assumed that few men would continue to be idle at the expense of their families' food allotments.

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 5**

Regular worship services in the forenoon and again in the afternoon were conducted on this second Sunday at the Dayton encampment. Three Books of Mormon were sold to visitors as local residents, out of curiosity, mingled with their new neighbors and listened attentively to their sermons.\(^{14}\)

During late afternoon, an Assistant Counselor, George Stringham, was ordained an Elder, and the wife of Samuel Tyler was administered to for a serious illness and was immediately healed.\(^{15}\)

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\(^{13}\)The Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1960), 42:42, hereafter cited as D&C.

\(^{14}\)Tyler, p. 21.

\(^{15}\)Ibid.
MONDAY, AUGUST 6

"Sister Baker is very sick, and also several children. I can hear them cry and groan this night as I pass on guard from one part of the encampment to the other," was the sorrowful notation for a new Monday.\textsuperscript{16}

Attributing sickness to disobedience is the reflection in these words, "O God, when shall we become obedient to thee? And the destroyer no longer have power over us? . . . Save thy people. Set our hearts right before thee . . . ."\textsuperscript{17} General discouragement with the lack of harmony and unity in the camp is portrayed in this terse simile, " . . . this camp is at present too much like a man going on a journey, and lugging another man on his back, who is as well able to walk as he."\textsuperscript{18}

A more positive outlook seemed to pervade the Camp Historian's notes for this Monday as he commented, "We progressed finely in our labors on the road, and a greater interest seemed to be manifested for the welfare of the whole body than had been since the camp stopped."\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{17}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{19}\textit{DHC}, III, 124.
Although the sickness in camp seemed primarily to strike young children and the aged, even animals were susceptible as a horse died in the night, the first since leaving Kirtland.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 7

Sickness continued to afflict camp members, as administrations were performed and work on the turnpike continued. A meeting was again called by the Seventies Presidency to emphasize that all men were obligated to assist on the turnpike contract. Adding a strong warning to those who refused to bear up their fair share of the work, Elder Henry Harriman of the Seventies Presidency offered a prophetic declaration, "... those that [will] not do their part and live up to their covenants will be scourged and many of them will not be permitted to stand in Zion." 20

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8

Leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions, it was recorded on August 8th that a horse which had

20 Tyler, p. 22.
broken a leg and had to be destroyed belonged to John Matthews. Brother Matthews had left the camp a few days earlier without receiving permission from the council. A second horse died during the night apparently from the same sickness that had taken one a few nights earlier.

Plagued with increasing illness, the need for greater faith increased, and was frequently rewarded. Trained medical assistance appears to have been non-existent in Kirtland Camp. Life hung in the balance as the faith of those who were well rose to meet the needs of others who could not assist themselves:

This evening I beheld the Elders, Dunham, Carter, Knight, Pettingill, Bowen and Perry walking through among the tents rebuking diseases and foul spirits; yea, standing between the sick and the destroyer. One child, I think it was Brother Pulsipher's cried out and screamed the moment they laid hands upon it, and just as soon as they rebuked the evil spirit, it became quiet as the ocean when not a breath of wind disturbs its rest. These things I have seen . . .

Miraculous healings occurred almost daily; however, Wednesday, August 8th was a day saddened by the death of another child. One of two children in the family of Brother and Sister Hiram H. Byington passed away at

\[21\text{DHC, III, 124.}\] \[22\text{Tyler, p. 22.}\]
eight o' clock in the evening.\textsuperscript{23} This was the second
death, both involving children, which had occurred among
camp members following their departure from Kirtland one
month earlier.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 9

Perhaps so as not to cause a delay in the road
work, the Byington child's funeral was scheduled for
twelve o' clock noon. Illness still made work difficult
for some, and at least one man was healed while on the
job via the administration of fellow laborers, and was
able to continue working, feeling as well as if he had
"rested and taken refreshment."\textsuperscript{24}

The heat and dry weather continued to threaten
crops, and to cause extreme discomfort and concern throughout the area.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 10

A third death occurred as the seventeen-month-old
daughter of Thomas Carico died at 7:00 p.m.\textsuperscript{25} Sickness

\textsuperscript{23}DHC, III, 124; Jenson, p. 596; Tyler, p. 23.
Tyler's account of the child's death lists its father as
"Brother Boynton." However, all evidence indicates that
"Byington" is the correct name.

\textsuperscript{24}Tyler, p. 23. \textsuperscript{25}DHC, III, 125.
continued to stalk camp members, and seemed to be uncontrollable except through priesthood administrations. Those who were afflicted were unable to sit or lie in comfort, and seemed to perspire profusely. Back, chest, and legs were often the areas most severely effected.

At least five tent-masters and the occupants of their tents were encouraged in accepting additional employment approximately two miles away from the main campsite. This group were employed in building a levee for a Mr. Hushman.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 11

Even while the grave for the tiny daughter of Thomas Carrico was being prepared next to that of the Byington infant, word of the death of yet another young child circulated throughout the already sombre camp.

Little Sarah Emily Carter, aged two years, died at 10:00 a.m., following a ten-day illness. At 1:00 p.m. a funeral was conducted for the Carico child.26 A slight rain fell during the afternoon which cooled the air.

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26Ibid.; Tyler, pp. 23-24; Elias Smith records that the Carter child died sometime in the night. However, the child's family shared the Tyler tent; therefore his account would be most accurate.
somewhat, and at least partially revived the lagging spirits of those in camp.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 12

Regular meetings in the forenoon and afternoon were attended once again by members and visitors alike. Included among the visitors were some saints who had left Kirtland to journey in smaller groups to Missouri. They had also tarried in the Dayton area to work for necessary funds needed to complete their trek. Elder John E. Page, who led a group of saints from Canada to the Dayton area, was also on hand for the Sunday meetings and was invited to speak.

While Elder Page apparently delivered a sermon worthy of commendation regarding America and the Lamanites, some in his audience may have been only slightly amused at what they interpreted as his lack of humility. Referring to Elder Page, it was recorded:

At the close [of his talk] he said he had been preaching in Fairfield and had the confidence and good feelings of the people, and he advised that none of less talents than his should venture to preach to them, lest they should injure the cause. He said he did not say this to boast, but I think he had better not said it [at all].\(^{27}\)

\(^{27}\)Tyler, p. 24.
A 2:00 p.m. funeral for the Carter child, and the appearance before the Council of Elder Charles Thompson, plus a related camp meeting that evening concluded the Sabbath. Elder Thompson was questioned and in turn reprimanded for unauthorized plans for moving the camp to Zion. Thompson accepted the rebuke and retracted his statements before the Council and, later in the evening, before the assembled camp.²⁸

MONDAY, AUGUST 13

At this point, work on the road seemed to have progressed about as far as expected. However, enough of a problem still must have existed to warrant another meeting which was called to chide the men for their lack of unity. Nevertheless, the Camp Historian recorded that a spirit of union was manifested which cheered the hearts of those present.²⁹ During the day the Richard D. Blanchard family petitioned the Council for admittance to the camp and were accepted.

²⁸DHC, III, 126.
²⁹Ibid.
Mid-week occurrences in Kirtland Camp included the arrival of at least one family, and the departure of several others. The Jonas Putnam family left to operate a farm belonging to a Latter-day Saint residing near the camp. The Putnams left with full approval of the Council "for he was esteemed by all as a just man." At least a score of men left also to complete a minor job in the city of Dayton with the approval of the Council.

Under less harmonious conditions, the Assistant Council expelled Nathan K. Knight and his family from the camp and the Seventies Presidency found it necessary to suggest that the G. W. Brooks family leave also. This action was taken in consequence of the following circumstance:

In the evening G. W. Brooks and wife were called before the Council and inquiry made into some things which had been in circulation for some days respecting them, and in the course of the investigation it was acknowledged that Brother Brooks' wife had used tea most of the time on the road, and had used profane language, and she declared she would still pursue the same course, and it was not in the power of the Council to stop it. She further said that she was not a member of the Church and did not expect to come under the rules of the camp.

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30 DHC, III, 127. 31 DHC, III, 126; Tyler, p. 25.
In consequence of his wife's rebellious attitude, Brother Brooks was severely reprimanded for failing to supervise his family more closely as originally agreed upon in the Camp Constitution, and particularly as would be expected of a man of God, and of an Elder in Israel.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 17 AND SATURDAY, AUGUST 18

With a determination to "put iniquity from the camp wherever it could be found," the Council hoped to avert further tragic consequences of Divine anger such as had been experienced earlier. In keeping with their more rigid stand, an appeal from Nathan Knight to overthrow the decision of the Assistant Council was reviewed and the initial decision remained in force. Brother Josiah Miller was advised, and consented on the friendliest of terms, to leave the camp with his family due to the refusal of his non-member son-in-law to obey the Camp Constitution. Brother Miller and family departed under the most congenial of conditions.

A long-standing conflict between the wife of Nathan Staker and their tent overseer was deemed sufficient cause

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32 DHC, III, 129.
to require the Stakers to leave camp as well. Although
no new complaint had been lodged against the Stakers, the
renewed emphasis on removing those whose influence tended
to effect unfavorably the spiritual growth in the camp
seemed cause enough to take such action. It seemed appar-
ent to all that it was impossible for Brother Staker to
keep his family in order, and expulsion was the only
acceptable solution.\footnote{DHC, III, 128-129.}

Although generally speaking, health conditions
had improved, Saturday found funeral preparations again
underway, this time for the three-year-old daughter of
Sister Martha Higby. This death must have been especially
heart-rending in that Sister Higby's husband had left his
family prior to the camp's departure from Kirtland.\footnote{Ibid.}

SUNDAY, AUGUST 19

A miniature grave was again prepared: a fourth
tiny voyageur placed beside three youthful companions who
had preceded her, and another life given for the Restora-
tion cause. Hearts must have been heavy as parents,
family, and friends stood with eyes tear-filled at the
foot of four tiny fresh dirt mounds, side by side, like four lonely sentinels among the trees; a grim reminder of those who had passed this place, paused for a brief moment, and continued on to their destinies.

Death had claimed five youngsters during the camp's march--one just six days out of Kirtland--now four others during the first three weeks at Dayton.

MONDAY, AUGUST 20

"Elder Nathan K. Knight and George Brooks, having previously been cut off, left the camp with their families." At his own request, but with the Council's approval, Daniel Bliss left camp in company with George W. Brooks. 35

Sickness again invaded the camp, this time striking Elder Samuel Tyler who shared this testimony of the healing powers manifest in camp on his behalf:

I was taken with a severe pain in my legs and feet. Elder G. Snow laid his hands upon my legs and was mouth, while J. H. Hale had his hands upon my head. And they asked the Lord to take the pain from me as I had desired them; and Elder Snow had done speaking, he said, before I had uttered a word, "There Brother Tyler the pain is gone." This was a sure prophecy, for it was so; and I was filled with joy and gratitude to God. . . . 36

More dramatic were dual incidents recorded in only one of the camp's two daily journals, being completely omitted in the other. The first involved a youngster who reportedly was seized by an evil spirit, causing the child to suffer grotesque facial contortions. Relief came only after the Elders arrived and rebuked the evil spirit.  

The second occurred during the same evening. Samuel Tyler, an eye-witness to the incident, made the following journal entry later that same night:

And now I will write concerning what I this evening saw myself; it was about 10:00 o'clock. Word came that Elder Willy was sick. The Elders gather'd around; he was lying in his wagon and everything he said was in rhyme. He had laid hands upon a child of his, and the evil spirit left it and attacked him. Elder Hale stepped into the wagon to lift him up and he jumped foreward right at Elders Snow and Carter, Yaw, Yaw, Yaw, said he, and twice he gnashed his teeth and champed most horribly. They laid hand on him and rebuked the foul spirit in the name of the Lord Jesus and he then called for some drink; he then laid down but soon recommenced his poetry. Elder [Duncan] McArthur laid hands upon him and began to rebuke, and in the same instant he yelled, groaned, and screamed out as it were all in one whistling sound and he began again to talk like a man and he laid down and went to sleep. This I have seen and heard.  

Although the official camp historian did not mention the above experience, an eleven-year-old boy in

37Ibid. 38Ibid.; Jenson, p. 597.
the camp made reference to the same occurrence at some later time. Though details were altered somewhat as years passed, the veracity of the event seems somewhat substantiated:

While at Dayton the devil entered our camp and got possession of one of the sisters. She was in awful pain and talked all the time and some of the time in rhyme. The Elders administered to her. The evil spirits left her and entered another person and on being rebuked again would enter another and so continued a good part of the night. But when the devil was commanded in the name of Jesus Christ to leave the camp, he went through the whole camp, made a roaring noise, knocked over chairs, broke table legs and made awful work.\textsuperscript{39}

Jeremiah Willey, whom Tyler indicates was the man whom the evil spirits had possessed, referred only obliquely to such an incident. Willey recorded at some later time that he was ill with a severe fever which incapacitated him for an extended period of time. He was unable to care for himself, but recalled that he continued on the journey, confined to his wagon, with the brethren administering to him from day to day.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{39} John Pulsipher, p. 3; Andrew Jenson also chose to include the event in The Historical Record, thus indicating his acceptance thereof. Jenson, p. 597.

\textsuperscript{40} Jeremiah Willey Journal, p. 35, located in Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.
TUESDAY, AUGUST 21 AND WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22

Suggesting that leisure was not a way of life for members of the camp, the births of two babies on the 21st prompted this journalistic observation regarding the new mothers, "[they are] Hebrew women we hope, for we want to move on towards Zion now in a few days." 41

While the 21st was a day of beginnings for two new infants in the camp, the morning of the 22nd was the ending of the turnpike project, and brought most of the men a well-deserved rest for the remainder of the day. The J. A. Clark family reached both an ending and a beginning, the end of their journey with the camp and the beginning of their travels alone, inasmuch as they were expelled for refusal to keep the Word of Wisdom. Though not a member of the Church, Clark had desired to travel with the saints to Missouri. John Staker and his family left also at this time.

With the turnpike contract completed, the Seventies Presidents met and elected to begin preparations for

41Tyler, p. 27.
the continuation of the journey to Missouri, unless some other alternative were clearly revealed to them by the Lord.\textsuperscript{42}

\textbf{THURSDAY, AUGUST 23}

Even though anxiety had begun to mount as August 27th, the day set for the journey's resumption approached, the perpetual need for funds encouraged some of the available brethren to accept an additional two-day project on the turnpike at the Council's recommendation. Within the familiar grove, however, hammers and anvils rang as fires blazed and white-hot metal was shaped into shoes for horses, and rims for wagon wheels. Other repairs to tents, harnesses, saddles, and wagons were eagerly undertaken as the urge to move on seized camp members.

Heat, drouth, and sickness still plagued Kirtland Camp in their final days at Dayton, Ohio. At least one prayer of administration, spoken in tongues, was recorded.\textsuperscript{43} Immediately following an administration to the wife of Jeremiah Willey, Elder Jonathan Dunham was "seized with terrible pain in his side, shoulders and neck

\begin{footnotes}
\item[42] Ibid.; \textit{DH\textsc{c}}, III, 130.
\item[43] Tyler, p. 28.
\end{footnotes}
and could hardly speak." Seeking seclusion within a tent, he fell to the ground, and "groaned like an ox." His companions found it necessary repeatedly to rebuke the evil spirits attributed to causing his intense suffering. Following their departure, Elder Dunham was left very sore and lame.44

Recalling the need for cooperative obedience to the Camp Constitution one traveler with the group explained, "If people would not keep good order they were labored with and if they would not repent and reform they were turned out of the company."45 There was no favoritism, and conformity applied to all, particularly those in positions of authority and leadership. Tentmaster John Hammond and his family were cut off from the camp because Sister Hammond refused to accept direction from her husband, and had caused considerable contention among others sharing the tent.46

In defense of those who found themselves occasionally embroiled in disputes with other tent-mates, it ought to be suggested that the remarkable thing is that there were not more disputes. Considering that each tent

44Ibid. 45John Pulsipher, p. 3. 46DHC, III, 130.
housed an average of twenty individuals, or no less than three or four families, and that these families shared the same tent for three consecutive months both night and day, and that most facets of normal family life had to continue on to some degree, it is extraordinary that so few disputes were noted. Admittedly some may have sought relief from the stifling closeness and the intense midsummer heat by escaping to the wagons or the open groves, but relief would have been fleeting and tenuous, at best.

Tentmasters in Kirtland Camp had to be strong men of determined character, willing to assume responsibility for all members under their jurisdiction. The tentmasters' duties were clearly outlined:

Now concerning tentmasters, their duty is to see that prayer is attended to in its season. And he calls all the inmates into the tent, and calls the brother by name who is at that time to lead in prayer, for we pray by turns or lot. And they are to watch over their respective tents for good and to see that no iniquity exists and if they see any iniquity they must put it down in righteousness. But if they cannot, then they must call on more help, and if that will not do, they must then prefer a charge in writing against the offender, or offenders, and report them to the Council, and they draw daily rations for their several tents.47

47 Tyler, p. 27.
FRIDAY, AUGUST 24 AND
SATURDAY, AUGUST 25

Preparatory to commencing their journey, certain reorganization problems involving tents whose members had departed, and other recommended adjustments, were accomplished by the Council. John Rulison and family were exiled from camp for transgression. Breaking the Word of Wisdom and non-acceptance of some revelations were among problems needing correction.

"Brother Joseph Coon's only son died at about 6:00 p.m. Aged about twenty-two months," was the sympathetic entry in the Tyler journal for Saturday, August 25th. 48

SUNDAY, AUGUST 26

For the third consecutive Sunday, a few of the brethren quietly made their way to a rustic site, perhaps a quarter mile from the encampment. 49 Muffled

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48 Tyler, p. 28.
49 Ibid., p. 29.
echoes drifted through the early-morning Sabbath air as the diminutive sepulchre took shape. At 10:00 a.m., camp members gathered quietly; a fifth tiny mound bore mute evidence of the immense sacrifice required of those who had turned their faces toward Zion.

MONDAY, AUGUST 27 AND TUESDAY, AUGUST 28

Notwithstanding the earlier plans to depart from the Dayton area on the 27th, a two-day delay occurred in part due to dry and dusty roads, heat, repairs to wagons, and additional horses to be shod. Also partly responsible was the necessity of making arrangements for those who were left without teams when others, who had been expelled, took their teams with them.

Charles Wood, who was exiled from camp on the 27th, joined some others who had likewise been excluded in a satellite camp about two miles distant. 50

Although camp members were eager to leave the Dayton area to continue their journey to Missouri, the Seven Presidents shouldered the responsibility and concern for the welfare of those under their direction. Due to

50 DHC, III, 131.
extensive drought conditions, manifest danger was present in traveling without the assurance of an adequate water supply for so large a company. Many wells had gone dry by late August, and water could prove scarce in unscouted locales.

In addition to the health risks involved in continuing on to Missouri, opportunity for further work also presented itself. A glimpse at the faith and trust the Council had developed in divine leadership is apparent in the following excerpt from Zerah Pulsipher's journal. Referring to the turnpike superintendent, Pulsipher recorded:

He then wanted us to do another job, it was then very dry and the wells so low that it was difficult to get water for our animals in the dry part of the country if we should go on. But we inquired of the Lord for what was best and we were impressed to go on, not knowing what we should do for drink but the day following there fell such a flood of water that the low places in the country were full and we got along very well.51

51 Zerah Pulsipher Journal, p. 11.
Chapter 5

INDIANA AND ILLINOIS

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 29

At 3:00 a.m., the trumpet sounded signaling the beginning of the final phase of the Kirtland Camp march to Zion. Far from being resentful at such an early awakening, "Every heart leaped for joy and the boys were as pleased as though they were going to a brigade muster. They jumped and ran about and made one think of a lot of playful lambs."

Except for the Martin Peck family who remained at Dayton because of illness, and Z. H. Brewster and his father-in-law, J. Higby, who were regretitably left behind for lack of a team to transport them with their families, the encampment stood vacant by 9:00 a.m. The saints had spent a quiet month, suffering no outside disturbances, and had conducted themselves commendably:

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1Tyler, p. 30.
I understood that it was said that our section of turnpike was made better than any other part of it. And I heard Mr. Baggs [a non-Mormon resident of the vicinity] say that our whole camp had not caused so much trouble in his neighborhood as two Irishmen had, who worked about six weeks in the place.\(^2\)

On their first day of resumed traveling, the camp covered a distance of eighteen miles.

**THURSDAY, AUGUST 30**

Joy in being underway again may have lessened fatigue as the camp exceeded their usual goal by traveling twenty-two miles on the second day of travel.\(^3\) They camped for the night on the state line dividing Ohio and Indiana. An observer recorded, "Here I saw Elder Dunham stand in Ohio, and reach across the state line, and shake hands with Elder Carter, who stood in Indiana."\(^4\)

The ten-year-old daughter of Otis Shumway died at

\(^2\)Ibid.

\(^3\)Tyler, p. 31; DHC, III, 133. Elias Smith states that the camp traveled twenty-four miles. An error in his earlier computation is thus reduced; he records a total of 294 miles traveled from Kirtland at this point as compared with 292 found in Samuel Tyler's record.

\(^4\)Tyler, p. 31.
noon on this date. Her death marked the seventh martyr of the Ohio Exodus.\(^5\)

FRIDAY, AUGUST 31

The last day of August, 1838 witnessed another funeral in Kirtland Camp. The Shumway child died at noon on Thursday, and was transported by wagon to the campsite. Her funeral was conducted at 1:00 a.m., before the camp members retired for the night. Her gravesite was located on a slight incline in Ohio approximately twenty rods from the state line.\(^6\)

While sickness made travelling difficult for some, the camp continued on, at times leaving those who were ill by the roadside with a prayer of faith and the knowledge that they would rejoin the camp as soon as health permitted. Records of distance covered varied for the 31st:

\(^5\)Ibid.; DHC, III, 133. Some researchers had earlier concluded that six children died in Ohio during the Kirtland Camp exodus. See Max Parkin, p. 339. The correct number is seven. Deaths occurred as follows: The Wilbur child, July 11th; the Byington child, August 8th; the Carico child, August 10th; the Carter child, August 11; the Higby child, August 18th; the Coon child, August 25th; the Shumway child, August 30th.

\(^6\)Tyler, pp. 31-32.
one journal recorded fourteen miles, another eighteen miles. The camp pitched their tents on the 31st in a stubblefield near the outskirts of Germantown, Indiana.⁷

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1

Departure time from Germantown was 8:00 a.m. The camp covered a distance of twenty-two miles, stopping at dusk one mile west of Knight's Town.⁸

Although the Tyler journal painted a rather negative picture of the reception the camp received at Knight's Town, the Camp Historian sounded somewhat more encouraging:

The air was cool in the evening and after the fires were built, which was necessary for our comfort and convenience, our encampment looked beautiful and we attracted the attention of all who passed by, and of the citizens of the neighborhood who declared that our company exceeded any they had before seen in all their lives.⁹

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⁷Ibid.

⁸Tyler, p. 33; DHC, III, 134. Elias Smith records that the camp travelled twenty-three miles on September 1st, and that the total distance from Kirtland was 335 miles. Because Smith's addition was in error occasionally, the total distance from Kirtland probably should have been given as 332 miles, the figure which appears in Samuel Tyler's journal, and in the Historical Record. See Andrew Jenson, The Historical Record, p. 598.

⁹DHC, III, 134.
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 2

Apparently because of a lack of feed for livestock, the camp journals record that Sunday, the 2nd, was another day of traveling. Leaving Knight's Town at 8:00 a.m., the camp moved a distance of twenty-one miles, stopping for the night on Brick Creek on the west line of Hancock county. Two incidents during the day caused some distress among camp members. While the group were stopped for lunch, the young son of E. P. Merriam died, the eighth death enroute to Zion.\(^{10}\) Later in the afternoon, the second incident occurred which was described in this manner:

This afternoon a miserable whisky-drunken stage-driver maliciously ran aside out of his course and struck the forewheel of one of our wagons and stove it and dropped it and then drove off exulting in his mischief. The stage he drove was marked J. P. Voorhees.\(^ {11}\)

\(^{10}\)Ibid.

\(^{11}\)Tyler, pp. 33-34; Elias Smith gives the date of the stage-coach incident as Monday, September 3rd, and indicated that the damaged wagon was owned by Lucius N. Scovil.
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 3

As usual while on the road, the trumpet signal to awaken camp members sounded at 4:00 a.m. At 5:30 a.m., the first adult death of the march took place in the passing of Sister Bathsheba Willey who had been ill since leaving Kirtland. A quiet burial site in the corner of an orchard was selected and a dual funeral was held for Sister Willey and the Merriam child.12

Jeremiah Willey, husband of the deceased, described the above event briefly in his journal:

... A large company of Saints now started for Far West in the midst of want. We had to endure many hardships and persecutions which caused sickness and death until we came to Sugar Creek, eleven miles east of Indianapolis where my wife died and was buried on the National Road. The hardships of the journey was more than her constitution was able to bear.13

Traveling a total of seventeen miles, the camp passed through the city of Indianapolis, population 4,000. Threats of violence at Indianapolis, spread rapidly through the camp, but proved to be false with a single

12Tyler, p. 34; DHC, III, 135.

13Jeremiah Willey Journal, located in the Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, pp. 13-14.
exception, "... one man threw a brick at one of the brethren as he and his wife were walking along, but did not hit him." 14

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4 AND WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5

The group was assembled for a special meeting on the morning of the 4th before leaving the campsite. Perhaps partly for those who had recently arrived, the Seventies Presidency urged the acquisition of true humility and the use of fervent prayer to counteract the ravages of the destroyer who had been so active in their midst. 15 The evils of selfishness, covetousness, complainings and murmurings were condemned, and unless such evils were repented of, camp members were warned that they would suffer the "indignation of heaven." 16

Traveling twenty-two miles on Tuesday and twenty on Wednesday brought the distance from Kirtland to 412 miles. 17 Stopping for the night in Clay County, Indiana, the camp had lost two families on Tuesday who elected to journey to Zion independently from the others. Camp

14 Tyler, p. 34. 15 DHC, III, 135. 16 Tyler, p. 35. 17 Ibid.; Elias Smith's record computes the total distance at 416 miles. DHC, III, 136.
records for Wednesday, the 5th, chronicled the passing of another camp member, "Brother Nickerson's child died at six o'clock this morning and was buried at 1:00 p.m. on the south side of the way on a plot of ground that is designed for a burying ground, a little west of Putnamville."

Conditions in Indiana were difficult for resident and traveller alike. Extensive sickness in the region increased the perils to camp members and may have been indirectly responsible for the deaths which continued to thin their ranks. Fine, powdery dust covering the roads to a thickness of a full inch swirled about the hooves of the animals and wheels of the wagons and filled the air making breathing difficult and pure air almost nonexistent.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6 AND FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7

Travelling along the National Road, part of which was in the process of being McAdamized, the camp passed through Terre Haute, and encamped within two miles of the

\[18\] Tyler, p. 35.
western border of Indiana in Fayette Township. The 7th was a particularly distressing day for the camp, and doubly difficult for the Otis Shumway family inasmuch as death had taken another of their daughters just nine days earlier:

At two o'clock [in the] morning, a daughter of Elder Shumway died, aged about thirteen years. At eight o'clock a child of Mr. Clark [died] aged about seven months. They were both interred in one grave. . . .

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

Leaving Indiana and entering Illinois apparently triggered a poetic impulse in at least one camp member:

Here you may look westwardly on the broad Grand Prairie which lies undulating like the Atlantic Ocean with here an easy swell, and there a gentle

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19Tyler, p. 37; concerning mileage travelled on the 6th and 7th, Smith and Tyler disagree with one another, and each journal shows a lack of accuracy as daily miles are added together. See particularly Smith's entries for the 5th and 6th in which he adds 416 and 13 for a total of 433, and Tyler's entries for the 5th, 6th and 7th in which he adds 17 and 11 to 412 and records a total of 423. Tyler, pp. 35-37; DHC, III, 136. Jenson's Historical Record erroneously records 423 miles from Kirtland also. Jenson, p. 599. By correcting observable errors, it appears that the correct distance from Kirtland should be 440 miles.

20Tyler, p. 36.
hollow like the waves and troughs of the sea. And here to look on these great fields of the wood where anciently dwelt the Jaredite, the Nephite and the bow-bearing Lamanite, now no more, and where the numerous buffaloes and other beasts once roamed. . . . , and mark the great difference between this and the rugged, broken mountainous regions in the Far East. I know not what to think or what to write. There is something grand and sublime in it. Let the pen of inspiration, yea, revelation declare who dwelt here . . . . Thousands of acres have neither tree, shrub, nor bush, and where the bunches of timber do grow, which is often white oak and hickory, they look like islands in the ocean. 21

Encountering pronounced inhospitality as they requested water and an encampment site for the weekend, the saints from Kirtland exceeded their past achievement by traveling a total of twenty-five miles before stopping.

Due to the lack of water and the extreme heat, some camp members became faint, and the fourth division fell behind. It was a temporary delay, but was incidental to their being separated for a day from the first three divisions.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9

Starting before breakfast, the camp moved a scant two miles and stopped for the remainder of the day at the village of Ambro. During the day, washing clothes and

21 Tyler, pp. 37-38.
other domestic duties occupied the women. At the same
time, the men were faced with a new decision proposed to
them in a meeting especially called by the Seventies
Presidency. After much consultation among themselves
earlier in the day, the Council gathered the brethren on
a knoll of white oak near the Ambro stream and suggested
that some of those in camp, particularly those who were
not members of the Seventies Quorum, should consider
remaining in the area for the winter. This was recom-
mended in consequence of the camp's difficult financial
situation. It was explained that most of the funds from
their turnpike employment had been expended, and that the
Seventies had a special obligation to reach Missouri where
they could establish their families, and resume their
primary duty, i.e., missions and proselyting work. Those
who were to remain, it was outlined, would work during
the winter months, saving sufficient funds to transport
themselves and their families to Missouri in the spring.
The recommendation "seemed to meet with the approval of a
large majority of the heads of families in the camp." 22

22 DHC, III, 137; Tyler, p. 39.
Although the main body of Kirtland Camp moved on a distance of twenty-two miles, there were those who chose to stay behind, plus some who were asked to withdraw from the camp. Among those who withdrew, some bitter feelings were apparent:

Considerable anxiety seemed to be manifested by some concerning the advice of the council, and some complained, like ancient Israel, and said that they did not thank the Council for bringing them so far, and had rather been left in Kirtland, and some said one thing and some another.\(^{23}\)

Perhaps to avoid prolonged dissension, those who had complained were sent for, directed to settle with the clerks, and told to find other accommodations immediately.\(^{24}\) In addition to the nine or ten families who left the camp under the above conditions, several others chose to remain near Ambro due to illnesses.

The third birth of the journey occurred as a son was born to the wife of Reuben Daniels. The Daniels family, in consequence of the birth of their son, also elected to decamp.

\(^{23}\)DHC, III, 137-138. \(^{24}\)Ibid.
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11

An inconsequential day, Tuesday brought the exiting saints sixteen miles nearer the Missouri border. Journal notes dealt with hogs, poisonous rattlesnakes, sickness and the condition of a stream by which they camped: "Its waters are now stagnant, with a dirty scum on the surface; a hard bargain for a beast to drink it."26

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12 AND THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 13

Although the camp leaders had earlier recommended that no more than sixteen miles be covered in a day, Wednesday saw that figure nearly doubled as the Kirtland Camp lengthened its stride to cross twenty-nine miles of prairie. This became the greatest distance travelled in a

25Tyler, p. 40; in his journal for September 11th, Tyler corrected an earlier error in addition regarding the total distance from Kirtland. His corrected figure, which appears to be accurate, read 505 miles at the end of the day's journey.

26Ibid.
single day during the entire exodus from Kirtland to Far West.27

Thursday's travel, through twelve miles of prairie inhabited by wolves, deer, and rattlesnakes, ended at the prairie village of Bolivia. The camp's ranks were diminished again when the thirteenth death occurred; and a half-dozen families elected to withdraw, some for health reasons, and Joel H. Johnson to accept an ecclesiastical assignment once the group reached Springfield, Illinois.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 14

Passing through Springfield, a city of two thousand inhabitants, prompted this observation concerning both the people and the conditions around Springfield:

I saw much opposition to us, manifested in this place. I saw it in the countenance of many and I also heard many hard and unrighteous remarks against "Smith" and against the Church and also much laughing; but although they laugh now, yet the day draweth nigh when they will weep, unless they repent. It is sickly in this place as well as in most places of any size in this state, as far as we have come in it. Fever

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27Ibid.; Elias Smith's journal notes that the camp travelled twenty-two miles on the 12th; however, he adds twenty-nine miles to the distance recorded on the 11th; i.e., 510 plus twenty-two equalled 539 in his record. DHC, III, 138-139. This compares with a total distance in Samuel Tyler's record of 534 miles. Tyler, p. 40.
and ague and chill-fever prevails. Perhaps much of the sickness is occasioned by the drought; wells are very low and many springs if not entirely dry are if possible worse because the water thereby becomes muddy and unwholesome. And the creeks across the prairies and in the woods are either dry, or else you will find sink holes here and there in their channels that hold stagnant water with a green scum over it, while the intermediate parts of the channels are as dry as the road we travel.\textsuperscript{28}

Perhaps providentially, a railroad was in the process of construction between Springfield and Terre Haute which may have induced an additional fifteen or sixteen families to depart from the camp. Wages were noted at "$22.00 per month and board."\textsuperscript{29}

Indicating that the Seven Presidents were not given to exaggeration when they advised camp members that funds for food and other expenses were nearly depleted is this descriptive memoir:

In these days we are sometimes rather short of food for ourselves and for our beasts, and we know what it is to feel hungry. Our living for the last 100 miles has been boiled corn and \textit{shaving-pudding}, which is made with new corn ears shaved under a jointer or fore-plane, bottom upwards as a cooper lays it to joint his staves. And it is excellent with milk as also with butter, fat, or any kind of sweetening. Nevertheless we have had some pork, flour, potatoes, pumpkins, melons, etc. When a plane cannot be obtained we shave the corn off with knives, and the cobs with what corn remains on them

\textsuperscript{28}Tyler, p. 41.

\textsuperscript{29}Tyler, pp. 41-42; \textit{DHC}, III, 139-140.
are cut into the horses' feed, and so there is nothing lost. In justice to this camp let me here remark we as a body do not waste things. Thus the proverb goes forth among the world that the Mormons would starve a host of enemies to death, for they would live where every body else would die. Our number is now about 260, not half of our number which has been 530. . . . We are literally scattered to the 4 winds . . . and it is because we have not come up with open hearts free of selfishness, covetousness, murmuring, and complainings, and therefore we have not fulfilled the celestial law and our covenants . . . .

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15

Without explaining the cause, journals record that the camp began travelling without waiting for breakfast, then stopped at noon, and halted until Monday morning; distance covered was twelve miles. Total distance from Kirtland at this point appears to have been 581 miles. 31 Pitching their tents just beyond the little town of Berlin, Indiana, it was within an hour that the child of T. P. Pierce died.

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30Tyler, p. 42; it should be noted that Andrew Jenson's Historical Record mistakenly attributes this journal record to Joseph Smith, rather than to Samuel Tyler. Jenson, pp. 599-600.

31Tyler, p. 43; as noted earlier, Elias Smith's records appear slightly less accurate than Samuel Tyler's. Smith's actual recorded daily distances equal 575 miles; his journal entry for the 15th of September is 589 miles. DHC, III, 140.
Although dissension appears to have diminished somewhat within the camp, recurrences caused lingering concern to some:

"Many spirits have gone forth into the world." There is a talking spirit in this body camp that likes to have the last word, and it is the spirit of contention, and it causes much confusion, and sometimes hard feelings among the brethren and sisters. O may God grant that we may no longer be guilty in these things.32

It was at Springfield that a number of the Saints from Kirtland Camp decided to halt their journey while they worked through the winter, intending to wait for spring before pursuing their march to Zion. As the camp passed through Springfield, they had encountered some opposition from local citizens. Word of the Mormon trek to Missouri had preceded them and had caused considerable criticism and uneasiness in many cities within the states through which they passed. The Quincy Whig, an Illinois newspaper, drew attention to the saints with this item:

Between four and five hundred of these people recently passed through Springfield, on their way to Caldwell County, Missouri. Jo Smith will soon be

32Tyler, p. 43.
able to verify his boast, "that the whole state of Missouri could not take him," if his deluded followers swarm around him in this manner.\(^{33}\)

It was undoubtedly true that the more closely Kirtland Camp approached the Missouri border, the more pronounced the opposition became. Because of the negative attitude among some Springfield residents, the arrival of the Mormons in their community was not generally heralded with great acclaim. Those who found it necessary to winter there were not actively harrassed nor abused, but were not wellaccepted either. Inasmuch as Church membership increased rapidly in Springfield, both from camp members and from others migrating to Missouri, the Seventies Presidency felt it advisable to establish a Church organization in that city.

Joel H. Johnson, who had been with the camp from its inception, was called to direct the Church program throughout the winter months. It was understood that he would remain in the Springfield area only until the following spring at which time he would continue his journey to Zion. The implication seemed to be that he would encourage others to continue on at that time as well.

In a personal letter originally written to the editor of the *Times and Seasons* on February 6, 1840 from Carthage, Illinois, and later inserted in his personal diary, Johnson described his unique commission during the winter of 1838-39:

We had a fine journey to Dayton, Ohio, where we stopped and labored four weeks on the turnpike, then resumed our journey and arrived at Springfield the Seat of Government for Illinois, September the 15th, and finding that several persons in the camp were sick with fevers, the managers thought best for me to stop and take care of them. Which I accordingly did, by renting a house for their benefit, and making other necessary provisions for their comfort. I then commenced preaching in Springfield in my own hired house, but the prejudice of the people (on account of the difficulties at Far West), were so great they generally would not hear but few were inquiring. Many of the Brethren were coming from the East, when they heard that I was at Springfield, stopped there also, and I soon organized them into a Branch of the Church, called the Springfield Branch, over which I was chosen to preside, after which we held our meetings in the Campbellite Meeting House. I continued preaching in Springfield and its vicinity until January 8th, 1839. The Church at this time numbered about forty members in good standing. I then removed my family to Carthage, the County Seat of Hancock County, Illinois.\(^{34}\)

Recognizing the difficulties experienced in Missouri by the saints during that same winter, it is understandable that Johnson eventually left Springfield

\(^{34}\)Joel Hills Johnson's Journal, located in Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah, hereafter cited as Special Collections, pp. 19-20.
a few months earlier than originally anticipated, and that he went directly to Hancock County, Illinois rather than to Missouri.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16

The second funeral in as many days was conducted in the afternoon, just prior to the three o'clock meeting. Journals note that few spectators were in the camp on that particular Sunday. Describing the meeting, Elias Smith observed that, "a spirit of union rarely manifested was felt at the meeting, and our souls rejoiced in the Holy one of Israel." It seems logical to assume that such a spirit might be felt in part due to the absence of non-believers, plus the elimination of many camp members who had been of a contentious nature.

It is to the credit of the camp leaders that in the meeting positive feelings, plus the promise of prayers for assistance, were expressed toward those who were remaining behind as well as to those who would be continuing their pilgrimage.

Reinforcing the tribute paid earlier to fellow camp members regarding their ingenuity in surviving in

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35 DHG, III, 140.
good fashion amidst others who might suffer to a greater degree, Samuel Tyler seems grateful for pioneer inventiveness:

We have fine bread here made of corn meal which we obtain by grating the ears on the bottoms of large tin-pans or other tins pierced full of holes; these pans are placed bottom up on a table and fastened with a few nails to keep them steady, and then the ears rubbed across them, and it makes the nicest of meal, and thus we furnish our own corn mills . . . .

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17 AND TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18

Monday evening saw the completion of a quiet, though profitable day, with Geneva, Illinois, as the encampment site for the majority of the four divisions. Delays hampered some who finished the twenty-five mile effort only by continuing late into the night. Others stopped short of the general campsite, and did not arrive until Tuesday morning.

Tuesday, an eventful day, saw Kirtland Camp arrive near the boundaries of the state of Missouri. Although some 260 miles from Far West, being so close to the state's confines was the achievement of a major goal for the weary travellers.

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36 Tyler, p. 44.
Nine families, determined to separate themselves from the main body, could not be dissuaded by council members. Threats from mobocrats intimidated some.\footnote{Mariah Pulsipher Burgess, p. 43.}

Those who mustered the courage to stay with the train did so in the face of dire predictions regarding "war" in Missouri between themselves and the citizenry, and midst threats of death on every hand.\footnote{Zerah Pulsipher, p. 11.}

Charles Pulsipher recalled the tense moments and the anxiety faced by Kirtland Camp as they crossed into Missouri:

We moved quietly and peacefully until we came to the border of the Missouri, hearing many reports from our enemies telling us we had better not go any farther. We Mormons were all being driven out and if we went on we would share the same fate. Some of our brethren became faint hearted and wished to turn by the wayside and stop. A council was called that night, in which the majority were in favor of going on together, but when a portion still wanted to stop, the council bore a powerful testimony urging them all to hang together, and fulfill the covenants that had been made in the temple. He said, "I can promise you, in the name of the Lord, if you will hang together, and fulfill the covenants, you shall go through and not one hair of your head shall be harmed, but if you fall by the wayside there is no such promise given unto me to make to you." When we rolled out next morning there were a little over twenty wagons pulled off with their families and went to Haun's Mill. Most of the men were massacred, but
Brother Joseph Young, through the mercy of the Lord, escaped without a wound. Brother Knight, while running from the mob, was struck with seven bullets but still he lived to come to the mountains and died at a good old age in Spring Glen.\footnote{History of Charles Pulsipher, son of Zerah and Mary Pulsipher, typed copy in possession of Rhoda Elizabeth Torsak, 1331 North Wycoff, Bremerton, Washington, pp. 69-70; while it is difficult to determine accurately, the official camp historian's record in which he notes that nine families left is perhaps more reliable than the twenty wagons that Charles Pulsipher remembered in later years when writing his memoirs. DHC, III, 140-141.}

The travesty at Haun's Mill involving former members of Kirtland Camp, coupled with the subsequent safe arrival of those who remained with the camp served to exemplify the prophetic powers possessed by the Seventies Presidency. The massacre of seventeen Church members, and the wounding of an additional thirteen, has been descriptively documented by those who survived the mob attack.\footnote{DHC, III, 323-326. See Appendix B for Amanda Smith's account of the attack. Amanda Smith was the wife of Warren Smith who left Kirtland Camp with his family on September 18th, 1838.}
IN MISSOURI

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19

At the conclusion of the last day of Illinois travel, the exiting saints covered thirteen miles and stopped for the evening near Pittsfield in Pike County.

During the day, two men arrived from Far West with the first direct news from the Church leaders following the departure of the camp from Kirtland. Although nothing was recorded concerning the information these men brought, they must have been welcome messengers. Their presence perhaps gave some the courage to struggle on a little longer. The end of the journey seemed more easily attainable, the battle more worth the prize.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 20

Travelling twenty-two miles, Kirtland Camp pitched their tents a mile outside the town of Louisiana, Missouri. During the day, the long awaited sight of the renowned
Mississippi River may have caused many to react as did
this camp recorder:

... After crossing two streams and a sluggish
creek and over a beautiful level prairie we at length
beheld the bold and majestic Mississippi rolling
before us, one mile and eight rods wide, which we
crossed in the steam ferry-boat "Rescue" . . . .1

While a few camp members had been imprisoned
briefly, and several others had been threatened or had
suffered minor physical abuses, most of the harrassments
directed against the group were verbal offenses.

Many remarks directed toward camp members were in
the form of epithets, ridicule, taunts, and insults.
Occasionally, however, threats of extreme violence were
levled at them:

This afternoon, as I was driving the herd, I
had occasion to go back after a cow that had
strayed on the prairie where we baited. I found
her and went on and met two men who had crossed in
the steamboat and had quarrelled with some of the
camp before me. The spokesman asked me, do you
belong to this gang of Mormons? Yes, I do, said I.
Are you a Mormon? Yes, I am. Well, stop. I am in
too much hurry to be stopped and you have not power
to stop me. Are you such a fool as to let those
people lead you right into danger? What danger?
Why don't you know the Missourians are raising
armies to cut you all to pieces. We don't fear
armies. G_d d_m ye don't, you fear me! said he, at
the same time making an attempt to take his arms from
his side, for he was armed with a brace of pistols and
a dirk. No I don't fear you any more than I do any
other man. Well, G_d d_m ye, what do you fear? We

1Tyler, p. 45.
fear nothing but God Almighty! Well stop! stop!!
dm ye stop!!! or I'll shoot you down. Well shoot
if you like, said I, and passed along while he kept
swearing he would shoot me, and said he, 'you will
all get killed before you get up the bluff.'

The potential violence accompanying such threats
can only be thoroughly appreciated in view of the mobbings,
beatings, and killings which took place soon thereafter
in the state of Missouri.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 21

Enjoying the first rain that had fallen in nearly
a full month, camp members trudged along through most of
the afternoon in a heavy downpour. After plodding seven-
teen miles through muddy roads, the camp halted late in
the evening, tied horses to wagon wheels, and went to bed
in their wet clothes. The evening meal was even omitted
due to the strain and fatigue of the day.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22

"Travelled this day eighteen miles, eight miles of
which was the worst road we had on the journey," wrote

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2 Tyler, p. 46. Jenson's Historical Record
erroneously credits the record of this encounter to
John D. Tyler. Jenson, p. 600. The correct name is
Samuel D. Tyler.
Elias Smith.\textsuperscript{3} Because of extreme road conditions, one wagon was damaged badly enough to prevent its owner from reaching camp until the following day. Weather conditions had altered to a point that the nights had become much cooler than before, "The air was cool and chilly and towards night uncomfortably cold," recorded the camp's historian.\textsuperscript{4} Camping twenty miles east of Paris, Missouri, water was still a problem: "Here we had to go half a mile after water, which is often the case with us."\textsuperscript{5}

Camp movements were being closely observed within a wide range as indicated by an article in the \textit{Quincy Whig} under date of September 22:

\begin{quote}
THE MORMONS--a few days since I witnessed the emmigration of 95 families, consisting of near 600 souls, gathered from different parts, going to the extremes west of Missouri. They travel in wagons, and make about 15 miles a day. . . .\textsuperscript{6}
\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{3}\textit{DHCR}, III, 142. \textsuperscript{4}Ibid.\textsuperscript{5}\textit{Tyler}, pp. 46-47.\textsuperscript{6}\textit{Mormons in Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri}, I, Newspaper clipping from \textit{Quincy Whig}, Volume I, Number 21, p. 2. Quincy, Illinois, September 22 (1838) by Bartlett and Sullivan.
\end{flushright}
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 23

In consequence of their limited funds, the council advised continuation of travel on this next-to-the-last Sabbath enroute to Zion. Covering twenty-two miles over extremely difficult road conditions, they halted for the night a little beyond the village of Paris, Munroe County, in Missouri.

Minor difficulties plagued camp members throughout the day. Horses that strayed were found nearly nine miles away, the cattle herd seemed more difficult to control, wagons were damaged, and at least one man was badly injured by being "dashed against a stump."7

As the camp passed through Paris, a small crowd of men displayed some hostility as shown by the following journal notation from the diary of the camp's chief herdsman:

I was hailed in Paris and asked where we were driving our cattle to? [sic] Toward the Rocky Mountains, I replied. Well you are going into trouble. I told him we had been in that before, and therefore we knew how to take it, and we did not fear small things. They growled and grumbled like wolves, and I passed on out of their hearing.8

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7Tyler, p. 47; DHC, III, 142.
8Tyler, p. 47.
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 24

In consequence of the large number who had withdrawn from the camp since its origin, it was deemed advisable to effect a reorganization of divisions. In a special meeting called prior to leaving the campsite, several divisions were combined, and a frank appraisal made of the camp's financial status. Expressing concern over their inability to repay loans contracted earlier, the Seventies Presidency stated that there had been a pronounced delinquency in consecrating monies and goods, and that they (the Seventies Presidency) were subject to imprisonment unless funds were made available in due time. The brethren responded immediately by turning over goods which were loaded on the commissary wagon, taken to town, and sold.9

Later in the day, passing through Madisonville, camp members were assailed with a barrage of stories, threats, and rumors, all designed to frighten, intimidate, and discourage the saints from continuing on to Far West. "The people tell us we can not proceed much further for a military force just before us with Governor Lilburn W.

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9Tyler, p. 48.
Boggs at their head will hedge up our way and stop us," recorded a camp member.\textsuperscript{10} The Camp Historian wrote:

We found the inhabitants in commotion and volunteering, under the order of Governor Boggs, as we were repeatedly told, to go up and fight the "Mormons" in Far West and that region of country. We were very correctly informed that one hundred and ten men had left Huntsville in the morning on that expedition; and that the governor had called on five thousand from the upper counties, and if we went any farther we should meet with difficulty and even death as they would as leave kill us as not.\textsuperscript{11}

Having become somewhat accustomed to such threats during their journey, most camp members seemed generally unshaken, and assumed that the same God who had called them to Zion would protect them enroute to that place. Distance from Kirtland as of September 24th was 733 miles.\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25}

Even though rumors had reached camp that they would be stopped in the town of Huntsville, the atmosphere seemed friendly as camp members passed quietly through its streets.

\textsuperscript{10}Tyler, pp. 48-49.  \textsuperscript{11}DHC, III, 143.
\textsuperscript{12}Tyler, p. 48. Elias Smith's journal for the same date posted the distance as 738 miles; as mentioned earlier, his daily entries contain some errors in addition and actually total only 724 miles as of September 24.
During the seventeen-mile trek on the 25th, added interest was aroused as the camp passed the site of the ancient city of Manti.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26}

With several members of the Council absent, James Foster as the senior president of the seventies, called an early-morning meeting of the men in Kirtland Camp. Because of rumors he had heard and believed, Foster suggested that the camp disband. He felt that with each family pursuing its own travels, less attention and consequently less danger would be present. A concurrent plan from Foster suggested that the camp journey no farther until word were received from Far West appraising them of possible dangers in that city.\textsuperscript{14}

The senior president's suggestions were met with "a sadness of countenance seldom seen in the course of our journey," wrote Elias Smith.\textsuperscript{15} Inasmuch as the other four presidents who were present also objected to either

\textsuperscript{13}Tyler, p. 49; Jenson, p. 601; Elias Smith identifies the location as the site "where the city of Manti is to be built." \textsuperscript{DHC}, III, 144.

\textsuperscript{14}\textsuperscript{DHC}, III, 144; Tyler, p. 50. \textsuperscript{15}\textsuperscript{DHC}, III, 144.
plan, it appears that Foster was waging a solitary campaign. In the midst of some quiet disapproval of the proposals, a passerby stopped his carriage, walked some distance to where the camp was assembled, and became involved in their discussion. Upon learning of their fears and their decision to remain encamped, he announced that he had been in Far West, that no danger existed there, and that the camp ought to "go right along."16 Regarding the governor's volunteers who had posed a serious threat to the safety of the camp, the visitor reported the forthcoming dismissal of all troops within a few hours.

Coinciding with the timely arrival of President Zerah Pulsipher, a motion was made to continue the journey, a motion which was unanimously supported. Later in the day a visiting group of Church members from Far West confirmed all that had been rehearsed to them earlier in the morning.

As the camp travelled the sixteen miles to Charlton County, they passed a number of the governor's volunteer troops. Although most unpleasant remarks were

16Ibid.
ignored, they portrayed the intolerance which festered within: "Well, friends, we will let you go this time, but next time we'll give you the devil . . . 17

Although the Missouri volunteers fired rifles into the air as a display of power, the camp members paid little attention.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 27

As the journey's end grew close, some lack of order surfaced. Perhaps eager to be underway, some wagon masters moved away from the encampment site, causing confusion throughout the whole day.

Elder Foster withdrew from camp taking another family with him. It was explained that his purpose in leaving was to visit a son-in-law in DeWitt. With the earlier departure of Joseph Young to the Haun's Mill settlement, and the separation of James Foster on the 27th, only five Presidents remained with the camp, Zerah Pulsipher being the senior president remaining. 18

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17Tyler, p. 51.

18Tyler, pp. 1, 52.
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 28

The last Friday of their long journey was a quiet, almost peaceful day for camp members. The distance they travelled, seventeen miles, was not excessively tiring, and they were not molested by Missourians.

With the exception of a dispute that lasted half a day between two men in camp, a feeling of tranquility seemed evident:

We proceeded to Parson's Creek, Lynn County, the most of our way today on beautiful prairie. Here we sometimes see small flocks of beautiful green parrots, winging their way through the groves and over the prairies with pigeon-like velocity. Eagles, owls, hawks, turkey-buzzards, wild turkeys, prairie-hens, quails, partridges, wild-geese, ducks, cranes, snipes, with many smaller birds, abound. Also deer, raccoons, and squirrels, and we sometimes take them.19

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29 AND SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 30

Travelling thirty miles in two days through the villages of Utica, Chillicothe and crossing Grand River, the camp halted Sunday evening on the banks of Shoal Creek in Caldwell County. Earlier while descending a steep

19Tyler, p. 53.
incline, two of the wagons were upset. Falling trunks and chests injured several occupants of the wagons.\textsuperscript{20}

Nearing the completion of their journey, a feeling of gratitude, a sense of destiny, and the joy of accomplishment seemed to envelope the camp:

Here we have just entered Caldwell County, even the land of Zion, the land of the pure in heart, the land of promise, which the Saints of the Lord shall inherit; and from whence the servants of the Lord will go forth to all nations of the earth, to proclaim the everlasting Gospel, and gather together all His people, that his Kingdom may be built up in the earth.\textsuperscript{21}

\textbf{MONDAY, OCTOBER 1}

"Crossed a most beautiful high rolling prairie of twenty miles," wrote one of the camp's historians; \ldots "crossed over the creek Brush Creek, and tented on the west side."\textsuperscript{22}

In the evening a special meeting was called in consequence of an earlier incident during the morning hours. Elder Joshua Holman, who had apparently become overly-eager to reach Far West, had left the camp alone early in the morning against the advice of the Council. A vote was taken which indicated a unanimous disapproval

\textsuperscript{20}Tyler, pp. 53-54. \textsuperscript{21}Ibid. \textsuperscript{22}Ibid.
of his action, thus becoming a deterrent to others who may have entertained the same idea.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 2

It was with difficulty that the chief herdsman found volunteers to assist in driving the herd the final eleven miles into Far West. Having relied primarily on younger boys to help with the livestock earlier in their journey, he noted that "some were sick, some lame, some tired, and," he added, "what is still worse, not only boys but some men who might assist a part of the time, had much rather ride, and see somebody else go on foot and drive the herd."²³

Two young boys, James Tyler and Aroet Hale, won the admiration of the camp herdsman as they stepped forward and volunteered. In his journal, Samuel Tyler recorded, "... Those two little brethren are here remembered by me, and their free act recorded as a memorial ... to be forever kept in the Archives of the Saints."²⁴

This afternoon passed with a few minor accidents as several wagons sustained damages, fortunately injuries to occupants were slight. Toward early afternoon, those

²³Ibid.
²⁴Tyler, p. 55.
members of the camp who had persevered throughout the
long trek from Kirtland were elated as the Prophet Joseph
Smith, accompanied by his brother, Hyrum, and Sidney
Rigdon met them five miles from Far West, and escorted
them to the public square.25

Tents were pitched once again; this time, however,
they encamped near the cellar of their envisioned temple.

Because food had been scarce, and harrassment
plentiful, special gratitude was felt by the new
arrivals for the efforts of those who welcomed them:

Here, friends greeted friends, in the name of
the Lord. Isaac Morley, Patriarch of the Church in
this city, provided us with a beef. Sidney Rigdon
provided supper for my sick wife and for many others.
He flew round with others of his brethren and they
provided for us like men of God... 26

Upon reaching Far West, distance recorded from Kirtland
was 866 miles.27

25John Pulsipher, p. 3; Zerah Pulsipher, p. 11;
and it should be noted at this point that contrary to con-
clusions reached earlier by some researchers, Hyrum
Smith did not travel with Kirtland Camp. See Max Parkins,
p. 335. Hyrum Smith accompanied his father and mother,
and his brother William to Missouri in June 1838, as
recorded by William Draper: "... There came along
another company [in June] from Kirtland bound for Far
West, and in that company was the Prophet's father and
mother and two brothers, namely Hyrum and William Smith
5-6. See also DHC, III, 85.

26Tyler, p. 55.

27Ibid.; Elias Smith recorded a distance of 870
miles, although his daily mileage equalled 856 miles.
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3 AND
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4

In response to an earlier request by the Prophet Joseph Smith, Kirtland Camp left Far West on Wednesday morning to proceed an additional twenty-five miles to Adam-ondi-Ahman. The Prophet and others rode with the camp a few miles on the prairie, bid them a safe arrival, and returned to the city.

As the senior president with the camp, Zerah Pulsipher had been cautioned by Joseph to keep guards alerted enroute to their final destination. Wrote President Pulsipher, "I informed him that his advice was good but we had not been without a guard since we left Kirtland." 28

Although erroneously attributed to the Prophet Joseph by others, the following is from the pen of Samuel Tyler who poignantly captured the arrival of Kirtland Camp at Adam-ondi-Ahman:

Thursday [October] 4. This is a day long to be remembered by this part of the Church of Christ, of Latter Day Saints, even us, the Kirtland Camp. No. 1, for this is the day we reached Adam-ondi-Ahman,

28 Zerah Pulsipher, p. 11.
and at about sunset we began to form for tenting, and I heard it proclaimed in a strong tone by one of the brethren of the place, "Brethren, behold your long and tedious journey is now ended; you are now on the public square of Adam-ondi-Ahman."  

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29Tyler, p. 56.
Chapter 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

With the hasty mid-winter departure from Kirtland of nearly all major Church leaders, the spring of 1838 had dawned with large numbers of perplexed Latter-day Saints left in that city. Clearly understood by all, their duty was to reach Far West, Missouri as expeditiously as possible. During the summer of 1838, those who were able generally went to Missouri independently or in the company of one or two additional families. Because they were compelled to leave Kirtland, many saints were unable to make adequate preparation for the long journey. Particularly distressed were the destitute, the infirm, and the aged.

Although several fragmented and unproductive proposals were made by various quorums, it was the Seventies who accepted and successfully executed the challenge to move more than 500 orphaned saints to Missouri.
The main purpose and the primary accomplishment of Kirtland Camp was to assist Church members who were unable to move themselves in their migration from northern Ohio to western Missouri. Perhaps many secondary purposes were significantly important as well. The experience of moving such a large group nearly one-thousand miles provided unequalled discipline and leadership experience for those who would one day cross the plains further to the west.

Perhaps an undertaking such as the trek of Kirtland Camp from Ohio to Missouri with its attendant perils, tragedies, conflicts, and inspirational happenings may never be fully appreciated by those who can only attempt to relive their experiences nearly a century and a half later. Visions that would never be dimmed, tiny graves and silent memories, momentary miracles, and dangers relived years later in quiet hours, all made this historic march memorable.

Although it is to their acclaim that they persevered as faithfully as they did, certain antagonists felt that anyone who left Kirtland with the saints was less than admirable. Some records have implied that all Mormons with a degree of integrity remained in Kirtland
and once again became honorable members of the community.¹

Part of the difficulties that plagued the camp seemed to stem from those who wanted the protection and benefits of camp life, but did not want to be limited by its counsel and restrictions. These dissenters were often clamorous in their denunciation of the council, the camp constitution, and the Church. Until their voluntary withdrawal or enforced dismissal from the group, their influence was often detrimental to the general welfare of the travellers.²

Although it may have seemed to camp members that they were being abandoned, the September 9th suggestion by the Seventies Presidents that some saints remain in Illinois until spring was providential.³ For those who followed the direction of the Council, a quiet winter ensued without the maniacal persecutions that terrorized those who went on to Missouri. It is common knowledge that members of the Church in Missouri were driven back to Illinois during the winter of 1838-1839. Those who

²DHC, III, 127-128. ³Tyler, p. 39.
were obedient to counsel remained in Illinois, and then joined their fellow saints in the Nauvoo-Quincy area in early 1839.

Undoubtedly many lessons were learned individually, and by the youthful Church's leaders, from the early plight and subsequent exodus of Kirtland Camp from Ohio. It is logical to assume that President Brigham Young's great concern for those who were too poor, or otherwise unable to escape the murderous mobs in Missouri, was intensified by the plight of those who earlier had been left behind in Kirtland.

As violence in Missouri increased, President Young used his influence to assure the safe removal of all worthy saints. From the minutes of a meeting held at Far West on January 29, 1839 the following notation appears:

On motion of President Brigham Young it was resolved that we this day enter into a covenant to stand by and assist each other to the utmost of our abilities in removing from this state, and that we will never desert the poor who are worthy, till they shall be out of the reach of the exterminating order of General Clark, acting for and in the name of the state.4

The covenant referred to was subsequently drafted, reading in part, "We, whose name are hereunder

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4DHC, III, 250.
written, do . . . hereby covenant to stand by and assist
one another . . . in removing from this state . . .," and
was later signed by at least 380 heads of families in Far
West.5

Capturing an optimistic view of their experience
with Kirtland Camp, Zerah Pulsipher summed up their
travels in this brief statement, "We suffered the perils
of a hard journey for near one thousand miles among a
hostile people, but the Lord had brought [us] to try to
see what our faith was made of."6

Although not in Kirtland Camp, John Tanner who
travelled from Kirtland to Far West during the spring and
eyearly summer of 1838, captured the positive, no-self-pity
attitude that seemed to characterize most camp members as
well. Reviewing his experience in travelling to Zion is
this revealing narrative:

In April, 1838, he fitted up with a turnpike-cart,
a borrowed wagon, one horse of his own and three bor-
rowed ones, twenty dollars in cash and a keg of powder
to pay expenses, and started for Missouri with his
family--eleven persons in all. When the money and
powder were spent, they were under the necessity
of appealing to the benevolence of the inhabitants
on the road for buttermilk and sometimes for other
food to sustain life.

5Ibid., pp. 251-263. 6Zerah Pulsipher, p. 11.
He had two children, a son and a daughter, born in Kirtland. One of these, a lovely girl, died on this tedious journey, which was to Elder Tanner the greatest trial of that time.

On his arrival in Missouri, in conversation with a friend of his, after narrating the hardships, privations and many of the most trying circumstances of the journey, he said, "Well, if others have come up easier, they have not learned so much."  

There were other Church members who made the same trek from Ohio to Missouri under less trying circumstances than those of Kirtland Camp. However, the saints of Kirtland Camp could have offered the same reflections, "Well, if others have come up easier, they have not learned so much."

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7John Tanner, Scraps of Biography, Tenth Book of the Faith Promoting Series (Juvenile Instructor Office, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1883), p. 15.
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APPENDIX A

THE CONSTITUTION

The council of the Seventies met this day in the attic story of the Lord's house and took into consideration the propriety and necessity of the body of the Seventies going up to the land of Zion in a company together the present season, and adopted the following rules and laws, for the organization and government of the camp:

First--That the Presidents of the Seventies, seven in number, shall be the Councilors [i.e., leaders] of the camp; and that there shall be one man appointed a treasurer, who shall by the advice of the Councilors manage the financial concerns during the journey, and keep a just and accurate account of all monies received and expended for the use of the camp.

Second--That there shall be one man appointed to preside over each tent, to take charge of it; and that from the time of their appointment the tent-men shall make all necessary arrangements for the providing of teams and tents for the journey; and they shall receive counsel and advice from the Councilors; and furthermore, shall see that cleanliness and decency are observed in all cases, the commandments kept, and the Word of Wisdom heeded, that is, no tobacco, tea, coffee, snuff or ardent spirits of any kind are to be taken internally.

Third--That every man shall be the head of his own family, and shall see that they are brought into subjection according to the order of the camp.

Fourth--That all those who shall subscribe to the resolutions, rules and regulations, shall make every exertion, and use all lawful means to provide for themselves and their families, and for the use and benefit of the camp to which they belong; and also to hand over to the Seven Councilors all monies appropriated for that purpose on or before the day the camp shall start.

Fifth--That the money shall be retained in the hands of the Councilors, being divided proportionately
among them for safety and to be paid over to the Treasurer as circumstances may require.

Sixth--That any faithful brethren wishing to journey with us can do so by subscribing to, and observing these rules and regulations.

Seventh--That every individual shall at the end of the journey--when a settlement is to be made, or as soon thereafter as their circumstances will admit--pay their proportional part of the expenses of the journey. By expenses it is understood all that is necessarily paid out for the use of a team, wagon or cow, if they safely arrive at the place where the camp shall finally break up.

Eight--That these rules and laws shall be strictly observed, and every person who shall behave disorderly and not conform to them shall be disfellowshiped by the camp and left by the wayside.

Ninth--That this shall be the law of the camp in journeying from this place up to the land of Zion, and that it may be added unto or amended as circumstances may require by the voice of those who shall subscribe unto it.

Source: DHC, III, 90-91.
APPENDIX B

NARRATIVE OF AMANDA SMITH RESPECTING THE
MASSACRE AT HAUN'S MILL

To whom this may come:

I do hereby certify that my husband, Warren Smith, in company with several other families, was moving in 1838 [from Ohio to Missouri.] We came to Caldwell county. Whilst we were traveling, minding our own business, we were stopped by a mob; they told us that if we went another step, they would kill us all. They took our guns from us (as we were going into a new country, we took guns along with us); they took us back five miles, placed a guard around us, kept us three days, and then let us go.

I thought--Is this our boasted land of liberty? for some said we must deny our faith, or they would kill us; others said, we should die at any rate.

The names of this mob, or the heads, were Thomas O'Brien, county clerk; Jefferson Brien, William Ewell, Esq., and James Austin, all of Livingston county. After they let us go we traveled ten miles, came to a small town composed of one grist mill, one saw mill, and eight or ten houses belonging to our brethren; there we stopped for the night.

A little before sunset a mob of three hundred came upon us. The men hallooed for the women and children to run for the woods; and they ran into an old blacksmith's shop, for they feared, if we all ran together, they would rush upon us and kill the women and children. The mob fired before we had time to start from our camp. Our men took off their hats and swung them, and cried "quarters" until they were shot. The mob paid no attention to their cries nor entreaties, but fired alternately.
I took my little girls, my boy I could not find, and started for the woods. The mob encircled us on all sides but the brook. I ran down the bank, across the mill-pond on a plank, up the hill into the bushes. The bullets whistled around me all the way like hail, and cut down the bushes on all sides of us. One girl was wounded by my side, and fell over a log, and her clothes hung across the log; and they shot at them, expecting they were hitting her; and our people afterwards cut out of that log twenty bullets.

I sat down and witnessed the dreadful scene. When they had done firing, they began to howl, and one would have thought that all the infernals had come from the lower regions. They plundered the principal part of our goods, took our horses and wagons, and ran off howling like demons.

I came down to view the awful sight. Oh horrible! My husband, and son ten years old, lay lifeless upon the ground, and one son seven years old, wounded very badly. The ground was covered with the dead. These little boys crept under the bellows in the shop; one little boy of ten years had three wounds in him; he lived five weeks and died; he was not mine.

Realize for a moment the scene! It was sunset; nothing but horror and distress; the dogs filled with rage, howling over their dead master; the cattle caught the scent of the innocent blood, and bellowed; a dozen helpless widows, thirty or forty fatherless children, crying and moaning for the loss of their fathers and husbands; the groans of the wounded and dying were enough to have melted the heart of anything but a Missouri mob.

There were fifteen dead, and ten wounded: two died the next day. There were no men, or not enough to bury the dead; so they were thrown into a dry well and covered with dirt. The next day the mob came back. They told us we must leave the state forthwith or be killed. It was cold weather, and they had our teams and clothes, our husbands were dead or wounded. I told them they might kill me and my children, and welcome. They sent word to us from time to time that if we did not leave the state, they would come and kill us. We had little prayer meetings. They said if we did not stop them they
would kill every man, woman and child. We had spelling schools for our little children: they said if we did not stop them they would kill every man, woman and child. We did our own milking, got our own wood; no man to help us.

I started the first of February for Illinois, without money (mob all the way), drove my own team, slept out of doors. I had five small children; we suffered hunger, fatigue and cold; for what? For our religion, where, in a boasted land of liberty, "Deny your faith or die," was the cry.

I will mention some of the names of the heads of the mob: two brothers by the name of Comstock, William Mann, Benjamin Ashley, Robert White, one by the name of Rogers, who took an old scythe and cut an old white-headed man all to pieces. [Thomas McBride]

I wish further also to state, that when the mob came upon us (as I was told by one of them afterwards), their intention was to kill everything belonging to us, that had life; and that after our men were shot down by them, they went around and shot all the dead men over again, to make sure of their death.

I now leave it with this Honorable Government [the United States] to say what my damages may be, or what they would be willing to see their wives and children slaughtered for, as I have seen my husband, son and others.

I lost in property by the mob--to goods stolen, fifty dollars; one pocketbook, and fifty dollars cash notes; damage of horses and time, one hundred dollars; one gun, ten dollars; in short, my all. Whole damages are more than the State of Missouri is worth.

Written by my own hand, this 18th day of April, 1839.

AMANDA SMITH

Source: DHC, III, 323-325.
A HISTORY OF KIRTLAND CAMP: ITS INITIAL PURPOSE
AND NOTABLE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Gordon Orville Hill
Department of Church History and Doctrine
M.A. Degree, August 1975

ABSTRACT

This study is a history of a group of Latter-day Saints who travelled from Kirtland, Ohio to Adam-ondi-Ahman, Caldwell County, Missouri during the late summer and early autumn, 1838. The group numbered between five and six hundred when they left Kirtland and had diminished to approximately half that many at the end of their journey.

The official name, "Kirtland Camp," was adopted by the group which was originally founded and governed by seven men, i.e., the Seventies Presidency in Kirtland.

The camp was organized to assist Church members who otherwise would have been unable to escape persecutions in Ohio. Camp membership consisted of those who were elderly, infirm or lacking necessary finances to flee by themselves. Although sickness, death and dissension plagued the camp members during their exodus, faith, determination and able leadership contributed to the successful completion of the trek.

The formulation of Kirtland Camp and the unique nature of its Camp Constitution became the pattern for the organization of later Mormon pioneer exiles under Brigham Young.

COMMITTEE APPROVAL

Leon R. Hartshorn, Committee Chairman
James R. Harris, Committee Member
Larry C. Porter, Acting Chairman