ZADOK KNAPP JUDD--SOLDIER, COLONIZER, MISSIONARY TO THE LAMANITES

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INTRODUCTION

[page 1] This thesis is a biography of Zadok Knapp Judd, Sr., member of the famed Mormon Battalion, soldier in the Provo War, colonizer and missionary of Southern Utah, and mechanic in the Cotton Mission. The overall purpose of this writing is to show the relationship of Zadok Knapp Judd to these important movements in the history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

History has been defined as a narration of facts and events arranged chronologically with their causes and effects. The history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints involves many facts and events and many causes and effects. There is one other principle element intrinsically and centrally involved in the history of a church, a land, a nation, or the world. That element is people.

The history of the Church is the history of people and the events in which they are involved and the causes and effects of those events. Nor can the history of which we speak be considered only by viewing the mass or the group of people as a whole. To understand the history and to visualize the true picture of the events, one must divide the group into individuals. The history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is a history of events in which individuals are participating, living, acting and reacting to the causes and effects. The group does not feel, think, act, or die. The individual person does.

We often stand too far back from history and view it as if it involved only feelingless masses of people moving through time and events. [page 2] We read of the Church moving from Nauvoo to the Great Salt Lake Valley, the Mormon Battalion marching from Council Bluff to San Diego, or the colonization of Southern Utah. In each case there is a group involved, but it is always made up of thinking, feeling, struggling individuals

The writer has gained a greater appreciation of the history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints through the study made in preparation for the writing of the history of Zadok Knapp Judd.

CHAPTER I

FAMILY BACKGROUND AND EARLY CHILDHOOD

[page 3] "I was born in Upper Canada, District of Johnstown, County of Leeds, Township of Bastard," [Note 1. Bastard must have been pronounced Bostart because that is the way it appears in Zadok's autobiography. The atlases of 1856 and 1874 show the spelling to be Bastard.] said the voice of a young boy to his teacher each school morning, Thus the place of his birth was etched unforgettably upon the memory of Zadok Knapp Judd as he attended school in Canada. [Note 2. Zadok Knapp Judd, "Autobiography of Zadok Knapp Judd" (A typescript copy is found in the Special Collections Library at the Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.), p. 6, hereafter cited as Judd, Autobiography.]

Zadok was born October 15, 1828, to Arza Judd, Jr. and Lucinda Adams. Zadok had little personal knowledge of his mother for she died February 5, 1834, while he was in his sixth year. He said, "I remember mother's funeral. I was sick at the time; was laying in a cradle and for want of room was pushed under the coffin, I could reach my hand up and touch the bottom of the coffin." [Note 3. Idem.]

His mother, Lucinda Adams, was the daughter of Daniel Adams and Lois Chamberlain. She was born December 13, 1799. After her marriage to Arza Judd, Jr., on February 25, 1818, she mothered nine children, Zadok being the sixth.

[page 4] Zadok's father was born January 19, 1798, the third in a family of ten children. Following the death of Lucinda in 1834, Arza found another mother for his children. In 1836, he married the widow Jane McMann Stoddard who had four boys by her previous marriage.

Zadok's sickness at the time of his mother's death lasted for about three months and was of such a nature that it caused his legs to draw up until his knees nearly touched his chest. In that position they stiffened and remained, despite his efforts to move them. After oiling and rubbing the afflicted legs, his father took him into his arms one day and employed effective psychology. He offered Zadok a new copper if he could let one foot hang down in normal position, Zadok said, "It was very painful, but for so much money and to please father I tried it, and after a long, and painful move I did it." With further insight, his father praised him for his manly effort and offered him the same reward if he would let the other foot hang down. This he also succeeded in doing and from that time quickly regained his health. [Note 4. Idem.]

Zadok's stepmother, Jane McMann Stoddard Judd, must have been a wonderful woman with great capacity for love, for she was not only mother to her own four boys, but opened her heart to the nine children of Arza. Zadok felt that she showed special kindness to him. He told of an experience he had shortly after she joined their household. She had given him a cake which he proudly showed to his father telling him that "Aunt Jane" had given it to him. His father with kindly

sternness corrected him and told him that he must call her mother, That was enough for Zadok; [page 5] he never called her Aunt Jane again. [Note 5. Idem.]

The area in Canada where the Judds resided was sparsely populated. It was frontier country on the order of the area of New York state where the Prophet Joseph Smith's family lived during the twenties and early thirties. Zadok's home in Leeds County in the township of Bastard was a typical country farm home, where, in his early childhood, he learned to work and take responsibility.

His education was also like that of the average early American farm boy. It consisted of a few years of formal education, learning to farm, and training as an apprentice in a trade. Zadok began his formal education when he was four years old. He attended two different schools and must have been a conscientious student. School was not held regularly in Canada. Consequently, it was necessary for Zadok to travel two and a half miles to one school or three miles the opposite direction to the other, depending on which school was currently in session.

Zadok was quick to learn. Arithmetic was his favorite subject. Zadok was younger than most of the students in his school and was of small stature, therefore, his knowledge of the multiplication tables received special notice. The teacher sometimes placed Zadok at the head of the class on a bench during recitation of the tables; and, if anyone made a mistake, the question was referred to Zadok, and he would usually reply immediately with a correct answer.

The days passed pleasantly for Zadok. The Judds were respectable, hard-working people of modest means. They were content in Bastard and did not foresee any great change coming into their lives.

CHAPTER II

DRAWN INTO THE GOSPEL NET

[page 6] The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has, from its beginning, sent missionaries among mankind to proclaim the restoration of the gospel and the priesthood through Joseph Smith. As converts joined the Church, men were ordained to the priesthood and called on missions in the United States, Canada, and other parts of the world. Two of these missionaries, John E. Page and James Blakesley, went into Upper Canada to gather the honest in heart from that country. Their travels took them to the town of Bastard in Leeds County, where Zadok Knapp Judd and his family lived.

The Mormon elders preached a new doctrine, and Zadok remembered that they made quite a stir in the neighborhood where he resided. His father, Arza, attended the meetings held by the missionaries, and after hearing them preach on several occasions, said that he would be very pleased if the Methodists would preach and prove their points of doctrine like the Mormon missionaries. [Note 1. Judd, Autobiography]

Arza and Jane Judd were soon converted to the gospel and in the fall of 1836, were baptized by Elder John E. Page. [Note 2. John E. Page left home on May 31, 1836, on a mission to Canada West, Leeds County, and returned to his family seven months later. After being home only a few days he left again on February 16, 1837, to continue his missionary work in Canada. On this second journey he took with him his wife and two children and all his earthly goods which consisted of one bed and wearing apparel of the plainest kind. In nearly two years of missionary work, John E. Page baptized nearly six hundred people and traveled over five thousand miles, principally on foot. Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Introduction and Notes by B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1948), Vol. III, pp. 240-241, hereafter cited as Smith, D.H.C.] Arza's father and [page 7] mother, Arza Sr., and Lois Knapp, Judd and his brother, Ira Judd, also joined the church at that time.

The older children were baptized on the same day as their parents, but Zadok was not eight years old until October, so he was baptized the following spring (April 27, 1837, by James Blakesley.)

The missionaries frequently stopped at the Judd home, On one occasion they found Zadok in bed with an attack of the “phthistic,” sometimes called croup. Zadok was subject to frequent attacks of this ailment. Shortly after the elders administered to him, he recovered and never had another attack. [Note 3. Idem.]

Meetings were often held in the Judd home. Many bore strong testimonies, and on occasions, some were blessed with the gift of tongues.

During the summer of 1837, Zadok's uncle, Ira, arrived at the Judd home to help with the haying. Ira had a wife and two children and in order to help his father, lived on his father's farm. Since Arza had nine children living at home, he decided to let Ira take one of the boys home to live with him. Ira was given his choice between an older boy, Daniel, (who would take along a yoke of yearling steers which he owned), or Zadok, who had nothing. Zadok was pleased that his Uncle Ira wanted his assistance. Consequently, Zadok lived with Ira and his family for several years. [Note 4. Ibid., p. 7.]

CHAPTER III

JOURNEY TO ZION

[page 8] The two Mormon missionaries, Page and Blakesley, laboring in Upper Canada, had a fruitful harvest; and after bringing many families into the Church, they urged the newly converted families to "gather to Zion." The Judds and other families living in Leeds County who had joined the Church responded to the call, sold their possessions, and prepared to move as a group to Kirtland, Ohio, in the spring of 1838.

Threats of war between the forces of popular leaders who were agitating for more home rule in the Dominion and government troops caused the converts to leave earlier than originally planned. [Note 1. Smith, D. H. C., Vol. III, pp. 117-18. The Kirtland Camp encountered the Page company of Canadian Saints as both were journeying to Missouri. Elias Smith's journal account of the Kirtland Camp mentions that the Page company had wintered in St. Lawrence County, New York, after fleeing from the "commotions and rumors of war in Canada." The following footnote is given to explain the war rumors:

> The war rumors here mentioned have reference to what is known in Canadian History as the "Canadian Rebellion." It was the culmination of agitation begun as early as 1831, on the part of the people of Canada, under popular leaders, such as Papineau, Brown, Nielson, Mckensie and others, for enlarged measure of home rule for the Dominion. The popular leaders marshaled their forces against the government during the winter of 1837-38, and a number of skirmishes took place . . .]

Zadok was too young to know much about the real problem. He merely said, "But owing to some trouble arising between some party and the government, our folks thought it best to start sooner." [Note 2. Judd, Autobiography, p. 2.]

As soon as the Judds could get ready, about mid-winter, they yoked up their ox teams and set out through the cold, deep snow. To [page 9] the group of Canadian converts, the Judds contributed three families (Arza's, Ira's, and their father's, Arza Senior), six wagons, and some loose stock. Nine year old Zadok was impressed. He thought their little company was quite large for that time of year, and remembered that the sound of the wagon tires crunching in the frozen snow could be heard for a long distance,

Except for describing the severe cold weather which they encountered, these pioneers did not mention any special problems they faced during the four days the group traveled to the St. Lawrence River. During part of this journey, Zadok drove cows, but this activity proved too difficult for him, and he had to ride the rest of the way to their wintering place in St. Lawrence County, New York. Zadok had had an illness years earlier which left his ankles weak and one leg

stiff. Driving the cows had so aggravated his condition that he was unable to stand on his feet for several days after they stopped for the winter.

When they arrived at the St. Lawrence River it was frozen over. Because of thin ice, however, it was necessary for them to secure a guide to take them the two miles across the river.

Zadok wrote an interesting description of their experience with the guide:

> He got a large armful of pine and cedar boughs and told the teamsters not to let their teams get closer together than four or five rods for too much weight in one place might break through the ice. We could not go a straight course on account of air holes and thin places in the ice where the water ran more rapidly. We were soon stretched out in a long string on the ice. When the pilot came to an air hole or a turn in the road or a dangerous place, he would drop a twig to warn the teamsters to be cautious. We all crossed over in safety and after traveling about four miles further we found our new home for the rest [page 10] of the winter. We were now in the United States where we anticipated no more trouble from party strife. [Note 3. Ibid., p. 3.]

During the winter, the three Judd families cramped into one room with a big fireplace. In Zadok's view they "were reasonably comfortable for campers. All were happy," he wrote, and patiently awaiting the spring so they could resume their journey. [Note 4. Idem.]

Meanwhile, the men were busy making preparations for departure. They made trips to a town on the St. Lawrence River to get wagon covers and other supplies; and as soon as the snow disappeared and the sun shone bright, the wagons were taken to a nearby stream, were washed and were repainted.

The Canadian converts were anxious to be on their way so they could join other members of the Church who were residing in Kirtland. Zadok recalled that they were on the move again before the roads were hardly dry enough for good traveling. The Canada company under the leadership of Elder John E. Page had assembled at their wintering place and possessed about thirty wagons. In their travels, the Sabbath was observed as a day of rest for themselves and their animals. Beginning early each day, Monday through Friday, they traveled, and on Saturday, if a convenient place could be found, stopped and did their chores. If a suitable stopping place could not be found, they traveled on Saturday and then stopped for Sunday to hold their religious services.

[page 11] The converts and their leaders had the missionary spirit as they traveled. On Saturday they announced the meetings to be held on Sunday and often the people living in the vicinity attended. According to Zadok, John E. Page was a good preacher and generally interested the people.

Zadok considered their Sabbath observance as beneficial, for Monday morning the group

was fresh, well rested and ready to travel. Since they were traveling through settled country and could buy provisions almost any day, it was not necessary for them to carry heavy loads of supplies, thereby enabling them to sometimes travel twenty to twenty-five miles in a day. Hills were a source of trouble to the group, however. Inasmuch as the wagons were not equipped with brakes, a wheel had to be locked with a chain before they started down a steep hill. With only two or three chains in the company, considerable waiting was entailed as the chains were used and sent back up the hill for the next wagons,

In mid-summer, the company stopped for a few weeks to give the teams a rest. Some of the men found work in the hay fields. Zadok described a new and novel way of hauling hay which he saw.

> Where the hay had been cocked up and allowed to settle a few days, one man would take a horse, harness, a long rope attached to the whipple tree, place the rope around the haycock, attach the other end to the whipple tree and start the horse and drag it over the hay stubble a distance of one quarter of a mile, with a very little waste. One man could haul it and two men stack it.

After the teams had recuperated, the Saints continued their travel. When they started from Canada, Kirtland was to have been the end of their journey. Zadok's father had sent money ahead and purchased a [page 12] small farm with a house on it. However, when they arrived, most of the Saints had departed for Missouri. After only a few days rest, the Canadian immigrants followed the Mormon refugees who were seeking a new home west of the Mississippi.

The Kirtland Camp, which consisted of the last large group of Ohio Saints to emigrate, left Kirtland on July 6th, and on Saturday, July 28th, stopped for nearly one month. At that time they were between Springfield and Dayton, Ohio; and in order to give their teams a rest and to replenish their short supply of provisions, they accepted a contract to build one-half mile of the Dayton-Springfield Turnpike. Sunday, the day after they stopped, they held a public meeting in a grove one-fourth mile from their camp. In the afternoon, they held a Sacrament meeting on their campground; and during this day Elder John E. Page and part of his company of Canadian Saints visited with the Kirtland Saints whom they had just lately overtaken. [Note 6. Smith, D. H. C., Vol. III, pp. 116-126.]

For three weeks the Canadian Saints were scattered along the road from Dayton to Springfield, where some of the men worked to earn means to continue their journey. Elias Smith, clerk of the Kirtland Camp, wrote in his journal, "Many of them (Canadian Saints) came to visit us and were received with feelings of gratitude for the goodness of our heavenly Father for the preservation of our lives." [Note 7. Idem.]

On Sunday, August 12, Elder Page preached a sermon in the [page 13] Kirtland Camp and several of the brethren of his Canadian company spent the Sabbath with the Kirtland Saints. For about three weeks, the two groups had numerous contacts with each other, which made it possible

for the Judds and the new converts from Canada to become acquainted with many other Latter-day Saints. Undoubtedly, the new converts learned much concerning persecutions which the Saints had endured at Kirtland and Missouri.

After resting their teams and replenishing their purses, each of the companies renewed the journey to Missouri. The Canadian group continued the practice of stopping on Sunday, but more and more frequently traveled Saturdays to find suitable campsites.

During the latter part of September 1838, Zadok, his family, and the Page company of Canadian Saints arrived in DeWitt, Carroll County, Missouri.

CHAPTER IV

MISSOURI PERSECUTIONS

[page 14] Before the Judd families arrived in Missouri, conflict between the Mormons and non-Mormons erupted. Almost from the time the first Mormons moved to Missouri there had been trouble between the Saints and the old settlers. Missouri was a slave state and the Mormons were considered northerners who opposed slavery. At that time there was a balance between slave states and free states and anything which threatened that balance caused great excitement. There were differences in religious belief and practice; the Mormons claimed to have visions and revelations and to heal the sick through the laying on of hands. Some of the Mormons informed the old settlers that Missouri was to be their Zion (to be inhabited by the Saints and no one else); and in their economic and social activities, the Mormons kept themselves aloof from non-members. These and other difficulties had grown, cancerous like, to giant proportions in the minds of the Missourians, and they planned to eradicate what they called the Mormon menace.

In the winter of 1833, the Mormons were driven from Jackson County. With the expectation of being reinstated in their homes in Jackson County, they sought temporary asylum in Clay County, located on the northern side of the Missouri River. The citizens of Clay County welcomed the Mormons on a temporary basis. The Governor, Daniel Dunklin, manifest a sympathetic attitude toward the Saints and their problems; he urged the men to organize themselves into a military organization and call for state arms. He also suggested that they seek redress for their wrongs [page 15] through the courts and promised militia protection for a court of inquiry to sit in Jackson County and assess the injustices committed against them. The Mormons were comparatively few in number, however, and would have been outnumbered two to one by the armed mob in Jackson County. Zion's Camp, a force of two hundred Mormon men from the area of Kirtland, Ohio, was organized by Joseph and Hyrum Smith and marched a thousand miles to Missouri to assist the exiled Saints. When Zion's Camp arrived, however, the Governor refused to call out the state militia, and the Mormons were without sufficient forces to reclaim their homes. Zion's Camp, having failed in its initial purpose, was disbanded; and the men in the army were advised that they should return home. Consequently, the exiled Saints continued to reside in Clay County.

With the prospect of the Mormons returning to their Jackson County homes gone and the likelihood of serious conflict with the people of Clay County eminent, the Clay County citizens asked the Mormons to leave the county. In consideration of the kindness of the people of Clay County and to avert serious trouble with them, the Mormon leaders expressed gratitude to the people and led the Saints to a new frontier.

From Clay County they went north and east to the upper part of Ray County. They bought land from the handful of settlers in the sparsely settled area, and petitioned the state legislature for the formation of a new county to be formed from the northern part of Ray County. The legislature complied with the request and formed Caldwell County. Encouraged by the formation of a county

occupied almost solely by Mormons, the Saints began working with renewed vigor to build new homes and establish a Zion in the state of Missouri. With a place in [page 16] the west to gather, members of the Church in Ohio moved in large numbers to Caldwell County. Added to this number were caravans of new converts from the eastern states and Canada. In 1838, the number of Saints in Missouri swelled to about twelve thousand. With such rapid influx, many Mormon families made their homes in neighboring counties; Daviess on the north and Carroll on the east.

In the eastern part of Carroll County, members of the Church found appealing country and established the town of DeWitt. It was to this community that John E. Page led his colony of converts from Canada. [Note 1. Journal History, September 28, 1838. Elder John E. Page arrived at DeWitt, Carroll Co., Mo., with his Canada company sometime this week.]

Zadok described DeWitt as, "a new place just being started by the Saints--a very beautiful place with broad acres of rich soil covered with grass and plenty of timber near by, pleasantly located on the banks of the Missouri River." [Note 2. Judd, Autobiography, p. 5.]

With an air of urgency, Zadok's father and Uncle Ira and the other men of the company cut logs for house building and gathered wild hay to winter their stock. It was fall when they arrived, and they had very little time for adequate preparation for winter.

There was a feeling of grave uneasiness at DeWitt when the Page company arrived. The little group of Saints there had been harassed by a mob almost from the beginning of their settlement. They were somewhat heartened, therefore, by the increase in numbers occasioned by the arrival of the Canadian Saints. From the first, the old settlers had opposed the [page 17] building of a Mormon community in Carroll County, and as the number of Mormon families increased, the old settlers intensified their opposition.

The little colony of Mormons at DeWitt was small compared to the forces assembled against them. The mob forces were strengthened with recruits from neighboring counties and committed all manner of depredations against the people of DeWitt. Mob activities made it too dangerous for the Saints to cut hay and logs and build houses. To protect their property and lives, the Saints posted guards throughout the community;

After a few shots had been fired by the Saints and their enemies, Zadok said,

> This state of affairs was very trying on some of our sober, serious Christians that had been taught that it was wicked to fight; it almost rocked their faith in the Gospel; to take up arms and try to kill their fellow mortals was a new doctrine that some could hardly endure and it was reported some feigned sickness and stayed in their wagons, while on the contrary some of the roughest of the company that cared, seemingly, nothing for religion, were always ready and even anxious to make battle with the mob. [Note 3. Idem.]

Dr. William W. Austin, a bitter enemy of the Mormons, had gathered a large mob with a design to attack Diahman in Daviess County, but was prevented from doing so by General Alexander W. Doniphan, who placed his militia between Austin's forces and the city of Diahman. After being frustrated by General Doniphan's action, Austin led his mob approximately 65 to 70 miles and laid siege to the town of DeWitt in Carroll County. The Saints in DeWitt, under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel George M. Hinkle, defended themselves as best they could against Austin and his mob who continually fired on the Mormons.

Austin had first threatened DeWitt on September 21, 1838, just [page 18] a few days before the Page Company arrived. He demanded that the Mormons leave by October 1, 1838. He boasted that if they were not gone by that time they would be exterminated without regard to age or sex.

A petition sent to the governor asking for protection against the mob was ignored. The governor, Lilburn W. Boggs, who had no sympathy toward the Mormons, had, while lieutenant governor, taken an active part in driving the Saints from Jackson County in 1833. He had received (and seemingly accepted as true) many derogatory reports about the Mormons.

Having received no help from the governor, the Saints at DeWitt appealed to their brethren at Far West for assistance. Zadok reported that, "The governor paid no attention to the matter, but, the brethren at Far West did, for quite a company of them came to our assistance and brought advice from the Prophet Joseph for us to leave there and go to Far West." [Note 4. Idem.]

General Parks of the state militia arrived at DeWitt with two mounted companies and found Dr. Austin with two or three hundred men surrounding the town. In a communication to General David R. Atchinson, he said that Hinkle had three or four hundred men in the town on the defensive and that Austin would likely not attack again until he received the reinforcements which would swell his force to four or five hundred. To let Atchinson know the temper of the situation, General Parks said, "Nothing seems so much in demand here (to hear the Carroll County men talk) as Mormon scalps; as yet they are scarce." General Parks expressed his opinion that the Mormons would "have no rest" until they left. [Note 5. Journal History. October 6, 1838.]

[page 19] The mob soon received additional recruits from Ray, Saline, Howard, Livingston, Clinton, Clay and Platte counties and cannon, powder and balls from Jackson County. During the initial siege, the mob forbade the Saints from leaving the town on penalty of death, fired at Mormons who stepped out of doors to secure food, and seized horses, cattle and other property belonging to the members of the Church.

The Mormons were in a pitiable condition; destitute of provisions, their stock stolen, their lives threatened, their enemy increasing daily, and a body of militia standing by under General Parks which refused to intervene. After observing the plight of the Saints at DeWitt, the Prophet Joseph Smith declared,

> We had now no hopes whatever of successfully resisting the mob, who kept

> constantly increasing; our provisions were entirely exhausted, and we were worn out by continually standing on guard, and watching the movements of our enemies, who, during the time I was there (DeWitt), fired at us a great many times. Some of the brethren perished from starvation; and for once in my life, I had the pain of beholding some of my fellow creatures fall victims of the spirit of persecution, which did then, and has since, prevailed to such an extent in Upper Missouri. [Note 6. Ibid., October 9, 1838.]

With such serious conditions prevailing, the Prophet Joseph Smith advised the Saints to leave DeWitt. Zadok said, "We were not long in getting out on the road, leaving hay, house, logs, which now we had no use for, soon forgetting all our plans for building and making comfortable homes." [Note 7. Judd, Autobiography. , p. 5.]

The body of brethren from Far West who had come in response to their call for help gave them a feeling of security as they left DeWitt. [page 20] Some of these Saints rode their horses in front of the company as they left, and others rode in the rear. It was a difficult move for the Saints to make; they were poor and weakened from starvation, and many of their horses and oxen had been driven off by the mob.

Thursday afternoon, October 11, 1838, the caravan of DeWitt Saints (consisting of about seventy wagons) started their journey. When they stopped to camp that night in a beautiful grove of timber they had traveled about twelve miles. [Note 8. Journal History, October 11, 1838.] Zadok recorded that they buried "old Sister Downey" who had traveled with them all the way from Canada. He added, "She was old and feeble and so much rough usage was more than she could endure. She was buried without much ceremony--without coffin--wrapped in a quilt and put in the grave." [Note 9. Judd, Autobiography, p. 6.]

Young Zadok remembered the following morning especially well. He was assigned to drive a few head of cows. When he supposed the company was about ready to start, he headed the cows out on the road. It was a cold morning. Outside the grove where they had camped, the ground was covered with grass and on that morning each blade was coated with white frost. Zadok had no shoes, and as he prodded the cows along, his feet became nearly frozen. He was grateful that some of the brethren from Far West, riding in advance of the company, overtook him. One of them offered to drive the cows and took Zadok up behind him on his horse. He had Zadok put his feet up on the horse's back and sit on them to get them warm

It took them four or five days to travel to Far West, a distance [page 21] of about fifty miles. They found the men there also under arms. When the DeWitt exiles arrived in Far West, the city was already overcrowded with other Saints who had moved in from the outer settlements because of the threats and acts of violence of the mobs.

There they camped; some living in wagons, some in tents, some in shelters made with poles and brush. Meanwhile, it snowed, which added to their discomfort. During the journey, the

pioneers primarily ate cornmeal and Missouri pumpkins, and Zadok complained that the "pumpkin johnny cake" was responsible for his case of diarrhea. [Note 10. Idem.]

The mobs' success at DeWitt gave them encouragement. With greater spirit and increased numbers, they moved against Mormon communities in Daviess County.

Continuing his opposition against the Mormons, Governor Boggs summoned additional militia forces, and gave orders to General John B. Clark that the Mormons were to be driven from the state or were to be exterminated.

This period was an extremely trying time for the members of the Church, for mobs, state militia and governor threatened the people from without, and apostasy, treachery and intrigue harassed the Church from within.

Colonel Hinkle, a Mormon, went to the enemy camp, which was about one and a half miles from the city, and agreed to the surrender of Joseph and Hyrum Smith and other church leaders. Hinkle returned with false reports and fair promises and persuaded them to give themselves up. Zadok [page 22] said:

> Accordingly, in the evening they went to the mob camp and on their arrival the mob commenced a yell that far exceeded any human noise that ever I heard, both for loudness and terror. It was plainly heard all over the town of Far West and was continued loud and long, ferocious, for nearly one half hour. [Note 11. Ibid., pp. 6-7.]

The following day, November 1, 1838, the town of Far West was searched for arms and prisoners. All the brethren were required to assemble on the public square and one by one turn over all weapons of defense. They were also forced to sign a treaty agreeing to leave the state the following spring and to have their property sold to defray the cost of the war. Zadok's father, having no gun, had previously taken the handle off his butcher knife and replaced it with another about three or four feet long. He was required to give his butcher knife sword to the mob militia along with the guns and swords of the other brethren.

Many of the leaders of the Church who had not already been arrested were taken prisoner. After much preaching, scolding and threatening by the officers of the mob-militia, the rest of the Saints were allowed to leave. Those who had houses returned to them; others went to whatever abode they could find or secure. The Canada company separated to different places. Zadok and his Uncle Ira went with a friend, Allen Taylor, who lived about eight miles from Far West. Although Taylor's house was small, he shared it with Zadok and Ira the remainder of the winter. Considering his previous circumstances, Zadok was quite comfortable. Taylor had had a good crop of corn that year and was willing to share it.

Although there was a small, one-horse power mill about eight or ten miles from Taylor's

house where corn could be ground, mob activity [page 23] made it unsafe for Mormons to go there and other means had to be devised to transform the corn into meal. They took large ears of corn, boiled it until soft, then rubbed it on a grater. They made a grater by punching holes in a piece of tin and nailing it to a board. To grind corn with this instrument was a crude and slow process, but Zadok was able to furnish all the meal the family needed. Many times he took the skin off his knuckles by carelessly placing his hand too close to the grater.

Zadok's father and the rest of the family found a home with another family about three miles away. As Zadok visited his family and went back and forth across the trackless prairie, he observed herds of deer and other wild animals. [Note 12. From this family Zadok learned another method of making corn meal; The stump of a large tree . . . was cut flat and level and then a hole dug in the center about eighteen inches deep, large enough to hold several quarts of corn, the bottom rounding like mortar and a large hard-wood pessel (pestle) made to fit the mortar. The pessel was attached to a spring pole just stiff enough to raise the pessel. The pole was fastened to the corner of the house. With this they could mash the dry, hard corn . . . (Ibid., p. 7.)]

Soon after the arrest of Joseph Smith and the other leaders, General Samuel D. Lucas ordered that they be taken to the public square in Far West and shot. Their lives were saved because General Donaphin refused to carry out the order of his superior officer. General Clark searched to find a law by which Joseph and his companions could be tried by court martial for treason. When he failed to find such a law, the civil authorities took custody of the prisoners.

In November 1838, the prisoners were tried before Judge Austin A. King. Judge King was bitter against the Mormons and sent out armed men [page 24] to secure witnesses to testify against them. A number of the witnesses were apostates from the Church. Zadok's father, Arza Judd, and other faithful members of the Church volunteered to testify in defense of the Prophet, but were prevented from giving testimony favorable to the accused at the point of the bayonet.

During the winter of 1838-39, Zadok's oldest sister, Mary, married John E. Page. The previous summer, July, John E. Page had been ordained to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles along with John Taylor.

The Saints began their exodus from the state during the winter under the direction of Brigham Young of the Council of the Twelve and the committee on removal which had been appointed. Because of their extreme poverty, many members of the Church were unable to leave before the spring of 1839. The winter was a long and tedious one for young Zadok who had little to eat except corn bread. He said that they were on the road as soon as the snow disappeared. Their teams were poor and overloaded because two or three families were crowded into one wagon. [Note 13. "Then I took Jones team and joined with Brother Judd who had a yoke of oxen and a wagon, and took part of Judd's family and my father and went to Quincy, Ill." Allen Joseph Stout's Diary, p. 13, located at Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah.] Corn and corn meal were cheap and sometimes teams were fed too much and became sick. The roads were muddy and progress seemed slow to the exiles as they traveled through enemy country.

When they arrived at the Mississippi River, near St. Louis [Qunicy?], they found it so full of floating ice that they had to wait several days before the ferry could take them across. There they found people living on the ground while the wagons went back to Far West to get other families. [page 25] Because of their anxiety to be away from their enemies, the wait at the river seemed long. "But we were finally ferried over and landed in the state of Illinois," said Zadok, "and I guess as much rejoiced to get out of Missouri as we were to get into it." [Note 14. Judd, Autobiography, p. 8.]

After their arrival in the state of Illinois about the middle of February, they felt they were safe from their enemies. To the credit of the people of Quincy and other Illinois towns, the Mormons were kindly received.

[page 25a] Map. Source: Hammonds Standard World Atlas, 1953, p. 70.
C. S. Hammond and Company, New York, New York.

CHAPTER V

ILLINOIS INCIDENTS

[page 26] Upon their arrival in Illinois, the Saints sought a new home in various communities. Some went to Quincy, some to Warsaw, and some to Commerce which was renamed Nauvoo. After arriving in Illinois with his Uncle Ira and family, Zadok resided temporarily in a number of towns. Then later in the spring of 1839, he and his uncle stopped in the little town of Bloomfield, Illinois.

Ira and Zadok secured employment with a neighbor. When Zadok was asked how much he would charge for cutting corn stalks, he replied that he would work for a picayune (6 1\4 cents) a day. With a large sharp hoe, Zadok cut the previous year's corn stalks from the field at the rate of two acres each day, and worked on this job for four days. The neighbor was generous, for he paid Zadok one dollar, or four picayunes a day.

Meanwhile, Ira rented a piece of land and raised a crop of corn. During the threshing time that fall, Zadok was hired by the same neighbor to ride a horse on the threshing floor. He worked several days for four picayunes a day.

After one season at Bloomfield, Ira rented a farm about five miles from Springfield, in Sangamon County, Illinois. Zadok helped his uncle with the farm for a few months; and then at the summons of his brother Hyrum, went home to live with his parents in Warsaw. Since Zadok's grandparents lived near Springfield, he had an opportunity to see them occasionally. Shortly after Zadok went to live with his parents, his grandparents died within a few months of each other. His grandfather was [page 27] sixty-five years old. They had both experienced the persecutions in Missouri and endured them fairly well, but they were old and the hardships and privations had weakened them considerably.

Zadok’s father and family had first lived on a farm a few miles below Warsaw on the Mississippi River bottoms, but because of the heavy morning fogs it was an unhealthy region. After residing there one season, his father moved the family into Warsaw. His father had sold his land and claim in Missouri “for a mere trifle," said Zadok. He received a small pony and some household effects. [Note 1. Judd, Autobiography, p. 9.]

With his family established in Warsaw, Arza sent Hyrum to get Zadok from Ira's, and with his boys went up the river about twenty miles to Nauvoo to build a home for his family. Arza and the two boys cut house logs on an island in the Mississippi River. Since the weather was so cold, the Mississippi River froze over; and they hauled the logs to Nauvoo on the ice.

The hard work of cutting the logs and hauling them to Nauvoo and the exposure to the bitter cold weather was too much for Zadok's father; he became ill, and was taken back to his home at

Warsaw. After an illness of three weeks duration, he died and was buried in the Warsaw graveyard, March 1840. Having buried her second husband, Jane took the two families of children and moved to Nauvoo. During the summer of 1840, with the help of Zadok and the other boys, she completed the house, fenced the lot, and raised a garden.

Following the death of his father, eleven year old Zadok had another memorable experience with his stepmother. He had accepted employment [page 28] driving a two-yoke ox team ploughing new land for a man a few miles out of Nauvoo, and having completed the job for which he was hired, started to return home. The man did not want him to leave, however, and told Zadok he should stay because his mother had said he was a "nuisance" at home. Zadok told the man he would go home and get a clean shirt and then decide what to do. As he traveled home he thought about what the man told him, and it weighed heavily on his mind. "I thought," said Zadok, "if mother did not want me around, who did, and what could I do." [Note 2. Idem.] Discouraged and unhappy he arrived home. Realizing that no one had observed his coming, he slipped around the house and sat down. After a long time he was discovered by one of his brothers who reported his presence to his mother. With great tenderness and love, his stepmother drew from him the words spoken by Zadok's employer. By assuring Zadok that she had never uttered those words, his mother gave him the comfort and security he needed.

Zadok spent the summer of 1840, and the following winter with his family in their new home in Nauvoo. Although they had raised a fair crop during the summer, the winter was most difficult for them. Many times their meal consisted of nothing more than salt and potatoes.

Difficult as it was for Zadok's mother to provide food for her family, she never forgot about their spiritual welfare. To help promote their religious growth, she took Zadok and the other boys to the Patriarch, Joseph Smith, Sr., and each received a blessing. Because of their poor financial condition, they did not pay for the blessing to be recorded and the boys never received copies of them. It was an important experience [page 29] for them, however, and twelve year old Zadok remembered the occasion and some of the promises throughout his life. He said:

> He told me my name was recorded in the Lamb's Book of Life and angels had charge to watch over me continually and that I was one of the 144,000 that should stand as saviors upon Mount Zion in the latter days. [Note 3. Ibid., p. 10.]

At the time he received the blessing, he did not fully understand its meaning and could not see how it would be fulfilled. Later in his life when he was saved from death on two occasions, he attributed the sparing of his life to the fulfillment of part of the promised blessing. As he performed ordinances in the St. George Temple for many people who had died, he felt that he had become a savior on Mount Zion.

In the spring of 1841, Zadok's Uncle Ira visited Nauvoo, and when he returned to his home in Springfield took Zadok with him. Ira had great affection for Zadok and showed concern for his future by persuading him to learn a trade. Because Zadok was "small and puny" [Note 4. "As a

full-grown man Zadok stood five feet two inches tall and weighed one hundred and twenty pounds." This information was found on the worksheet of Jenson's Biographical Encyclopedia now in the name file in the Church Historian's Library under Judd, Zadok Knapp.] His uncle suggested he learn the tailor trade. [Note 5. Judd, Autobiography, p. 9.]

Ira found a place for Zadok with a tailor in Springfield by the name of P. G. Bowman. "A good mechanic and a Mormon," said Zadok, "but not very religious." [Note 6. Idem.] After working with Mr., Bowman for about a year, [page 30] Zadok became sufficiently skilled to be of considerable help in the tailor shop. Fearing that Zadok might run away from his apprenticeship, Mr. Bowman took him to Mr. Adams, the Probate Judge in Springfield, and had him bound to him for four years. Zadok was to receive his clothing, board, and a certain amount of schooling and was to have his doctor bills paid in the event of sickness. It was Zadok's opinion that Mr. Bowman's fears were brought about by his own unfaithfulness to his apprenticeship in his youth.

Subsequent events gave Zadok further insight into the character of his employer. Approximately two years later, Mr. Bowman hired a girl to do the housework, while his wife, a good seamstress, helped him with his tailor business. Bowman fell in love with the hired girl, and left the country with her. He tried to persuade Zadok to sell a few articles of clothing to secure money for passage to follow him, but Zadok refused.

Zadok had started school on Mr. Bowman's credit; but before the quarter was finished, Bowman had fled. A friend, L. B. Adams, son of the Probate Judge, told Zadok to continue his schooling and he would provide the money, but since Zadok did not feel good about accepting the offer he quit school and went to work with another tailor for three dollars a week.

By doing work at home, Zadok earned extra money. With this money he purchased a Bible and attended the theater but soon accumulated enough to buy a five dollar gold piece from a pawn-broker's shop. He carried this money as a pocket piece and felt quite rich, but when the glamour and novelty of it wore off, he traded it for a five dollar bill which he sent home to his stepmother at Nauvoo. He asked her to contribute the [page 31] money to the building of the Nauvoo Temple, but when it arrived, she was so destitute of money she used it and had one of her boys, who worked in the temple stone quarry, contribute work in Zadok's name. She wrote him a letter explaining her action, and Zadok was happy that he had sent her the money.

While Zadok was working in the tailor shops in Springfield, he missed much of the building of the city of Nauvoo, and the educational, cultural, and social activities held there. He was also away during most of the difficulties which arose between the Saints and their Illinois neighbors, which, together with the treachery of some apostate Mormons, culminated in the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

The loss of their Prophet and Patriarch was a stunning blow to the Saints in Nauvoo and throughout the world. When the news reached Zadok in Springfield, he was shocked. He felt he should be with his family and the body of the Saints. Consequently, he gathered his few belongings

and hastened to Nauvoo.

In Nauvoo, Zadok found work in a tailor shop where he was employed until the exodus of the Saints in 1846.

When the contest arose regarding who should lead the Church, Zadok was at Nauvoo and attended the meetings held to decide the issue, He was present in the afternoon meeting called by the Twelve, and saw the mantle of the prophet Joseph fall upon Brigham Young. [Note 7. Ibid., p. 11.] Referring to this experience, Zadok said:

> Although I knew Joseph was dead, I could scarcely make myself believe he was not there. His look, his motion, his walk were precisely like that of Joseph and yet it was Brigham Young, and when he came to and commenced to speak to the people his [page 32] voice was like Joseph's . . . . The change of voice and appearance I could not account for only that the mantle of Joseph had fallen on Brigham Young. [Note 8. Idem.]

Although Zadok was young and had spent much of the previous three years in Springfield, he had often heard the prophet Joseph Smith speak in public meetings and had edged close, with youthful curiosity, to listen to him in conversation with others; consequently, he had become familiar with both his voice and appearance. Thus, when Brigham Young walked into the Bowery and began speaking to the Saints, Zadok was qualified to perceive the changes that witnessed to him that the mantle of Joseph Smith had fallen upon Brigham Young

In the fall of 1845, Zadok attended a meeting at which Seventies were being ordained. Though he had not gone to the meeting with any thought of being a candidate for the office, he was pleasantly surprised when someone called his name and presented him for acceptance; someone else gave assurance of his worthiness, and he was ordained to the office of seventy. He was not acquainted with either of the men who had spoken in his behalf.

Zadok met with the quorum several times in Nauvoo, and after settling in Utah, was made one of the Seven Presidents of the Twentieth Quorum of Seventy. [Note 9. “Record of Early Quorums of Seventy, Presidency and Members of Quorums 1-90.” (Microfilmed in the Genealogical Library, Salt Lake City, Utah).]

Friday, January 23, 1846, Zadok received his endowments in the Nauvoo Temple. [Note 10. “Nauvoo Temple Record of Washings and Anointings.” (Microfilmed copy in the Genealogical Library, Salt Lake City, Utah).] He was then in his eighteenth year. His "comrade tailors” [page 33] were invited to receive their endowments and Zadok felt that it was through their influence he received his so young. [Note 11. Judd, Autobiography, p. 11.]

Zadok's life had not been dull since he joined the Church. He had spent ten eventful years as a Mormon. He had moved many times, often been hungry, felt the bitterness of persecution,

witnessed divine approval of the second president of the Church and received one of the most sacred ordinances of the Church in the temple at Nauvoo.

Persecution subsided for a season after the death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith; but when anti-Mormon elements in Illinois realized that the Church had not collapsed but, to the contrary, was continuing to grow, and that the temple was being completed, they renewed their attacks on the Saints. The Quorum of the Twelve, upon whom the responsibility of leadership rested, directed that the temple be speedily completed and that the people begin to prepare for departure.

CHAPTER VI

NAUVOO EXODUS AND THE CALL OF THE MORMON BATTALION

[page 34] On September 22, 1845, enemies of the Church demanded that the Mormons leave Nauvoo. Two days later, the Quorum of the Twelve replied that the Church intended to leave the following spring, provided certain conditions were met which would allow the Saints an opportunity to make preparation for their journey. Some of the conditions they asked for were: (1) that the citizens help the Mormons sell or rent their property, (2) that they not be troubled with vexatious law suits, (3) that they be helped in exchanging property for provisions, and (4) that they be no more molested with house-burnings or other depredations. The anti-Mormon convention which met in Carthage, October 2, 1845, agreed to these conditions. [Note 1. William E. Berrett, The Restored Church (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1961), pp. 215-16.]

The agreement was not kept, however, and lawsuits and plunderings continued.

During the winter of 1845-46, the Saints were busy making every preparation possible to leave for the west as soon as weather would permit in the spring. Workshops of all descriptions were improvised throughout the city; and wagons, harnesses and other necessary equipment were made with all possible haste. Timber was purchased and dried for wagons. The surrounding fences for miles were searched for oak rails that could be used as wagon timber. Iron was scarce in Nauvoo, and the country nearby was searched for any scraps that could be used. Many wagons were made [page 35] with wooden tires because of the lack of iron. Hides were purchased, cut, and made into harnesses.

Persecution became so severe during the winter, that many Saints decided to begin the journey west before spring arrived. It was bitter cold when the first wagons rolled out of Nauvoo on February 4, 1846. Other wagons followed on the 6th, and on the 15th, Brigham Young and other members of the Council of the Twelve, with their families crossed the river. The weather became so cold that within a few days after Brigham Young crossed the river, the mighty Mississippi froze over, and the long caravans of Saints leaving Nauvoo crossed the mile wide river on the ice.

Because of their early departure, many families were ill prepared and poorly provisioned and were soon in dire circumstances. Some families became separated, never to be reunited.

Daniel, a brother of Zadok, left with a family to find work so he could buy an outfit to move west with the Church; the family never heard of him again.

Zadok found a place in the same company with his brother Hyrum and his wife. The company was headed by Hyrum's wife's uncle, Daniel C. Davis. Zadok received his board, his "effects" hauled, and his washing done for driving one of the teams. He had a good home while traveling and was happy to be able to travel in the same company with Hyrum.

They left Nauvoo in the early spring while the ground was wet and soft; the progress of the emigrants was slow. When the weather became hot and the ground dried out, wagons, which had been hastily put together with poorly seasoned lumber, began falling apart and repair stops were necessary. On such occasions, the company would "lay by" while the mechanics [page 36] made the necessary repairs. [Note 2. Judd, Autobiography, p. 12.]

The company Zadok traveled with passed through Garden Grove (he called it Pleasant Grove or Hickory Thunder) and Mount Pisgah, two places established by the early companies to help the Saints who came later. Before reaching Sarpee's Point, which was near the place where Winter Quarters was later established, they were met by messengers from Brigham Young and the Twelve with a request for able-bodied men to enlist in the United States Army.

Many Latter-day Saints were surprised that the government of the United States would ask for army volunteers from the Mormons; a people which the government had allowed to be persecuted and driven from their homes. Most Saints did not realize at the time that the request from the government came as a result of appeals by Elder Jessie [Jesse] C. Little to the President of the United States for opportunity to be of service to the country. Elder Little had made the offer to the President with the object in mind of receiving assistance for the Mormons in the western migration. The eruption of war between the United States and Mexico just prior to his appeal provided such an opportunity.

Jessie [Jesse] C Little was appointed President of the Eastern States Mission in January of 1846, and in his letter of appointment he received the following instructions from President Brigham Young:

> If our government shall offer any facilities for emigrating to the western coast, embrace these facilities, if possible. As a wise and faithful man, take every honorable advantage of the times you can. [Note 3. Journal History, January 20, 1846.]

[page 37] Elder Little reached Washington on May 21, just a few days after war was declared.

Various proposals were considered in the negotiations carried on by Elder Little with President James K. Polk. One was to send one thousand men overland in the army to California and another thousand to the coast via Cape Hope. It was finally decided by President Polk and the Secretary of War to send five hundred men to California as part of Kearny's Army of the West. There were fears in the minds of some government officials as to the loyalty of the ill-treated Mormons. Thus the thousand men sent by ship around the Cape to California were chosen from non-Mormon men, and the number to become part of Kearny's Army of the West was reduced one half.

Colonel Thomas L. Kane was dispatched with sealed orders to Kearny, who was at Fort Leavenworth assembling his army for the western campaign. Upon receipt of the orders, Kearny sent Captain James Allen to intercept the Mormons with instructions to recruit four or five companies of men. Captain Allen reached Brigham Young with his request for men before Jesssie [Jesse] C. Little arrived with his report of his negotiations with the government.

Thus the request for soldiers came as a surprise to the Church leaders. They were quick to recognize the advantages this would be to the Church, however, and told Captain Allen that he would have his men. The enlistment of Mormon men in the army would show the government officials that the Church was still loyal, and would put the Church in favorable position to receive permission to camp on government controlled Indian lands in the western movement. It would also bring to the Church, some [page 38] seriously needed money.

The Church leaders also knew how much the men would be needed in making the trek to the Great Basin, and how difficult it would be to get along without them. The leaders decided, however, that the advantages of the enlistment outweighed the disadvantages and made an urgent call for men to join the Mormon Battalion.

Priddy Meeks, one of the pioneers on the plains, wrote in his journal that, "They made some of the most impressive calls for volunteers that I ever heard . . . . President Young said to the brethren if the five hundred men could not be had without, he and the Twelve Apostles would go themselves, for it was the salvation of the Church." [Note 4. "Journal of Priddy Meeks," J. Cecil Alter, (ed.), Utah Historical Quarterly, X (October, 1942), pp. 158-159.]

The members of the various pioneer companies did not quickly recognize the call as a kindly gesture from the government, however, for when word reached Zadok, he said, "This was quite a hard pill to swallow--to leave wives and children on the wild prairies, destitute and almost helpless, having nothing to rely on only the kindness of neighbors, and go to fight the battles of a government that had allowed some of its citizens to drive us from our homes." [Note 5. Judd, Autobiography, p. 12.]

The men's eventual acceptance of the call stemmed from their love and respect for the Church authorities. Zadok's response was that, "The word came from the right source and seemed to bring the spirit of conviction of its truth with it." [Note 6. Idem.]

[page 39] In obedience to the call, many hastened to the place of enlistment at Council Bluffs where the first companies to form were enrolled on July 16, 1846. Daniel C. Davis, Hyrum, and Zadok were among the men whose enlistment completed the number needed for Company E, the fifth and final company of the Battalion. Daniel C. Davis, who had been captain of the company of Saints with whom Zadok was traveling, was made captain of Company E of the Mormon Battalion.

Zadok enrolled in the Battalion on July 20, 1846, approximately three months before his eighteenth birthday. Since eighteen was supposed to be the minimum age for enlistment in the

army, Zadok was one of the youngest and at the same time was one of the smallest men of the Battalion.

His mission accomplished, Captain James Allen marched from the pioneer camp with five hundred thirty-six of the Mormons' most able-bodied men. [Note 7. In addition to the men, there were thirty-six women and about fifty children who started with the Battalion. Norma Baldwin Ricketts, Mormons and the Discovery of Gold (The Pioneer Press, Placerville, California: 1966), pp 27-29.] They marched to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to be outfitted for the march to California.

At Fort Leavenworth the men were each issued a flint-lock musket weighing twelve or fifteen pounds which, reportedly, would send an ounce ball one mile. Each man was happy to receive his musket, but before the end of the march, he was anxious to get rid of it.

In addition to a musket, each soldier received his accouterments. He carried a large cartridge box on a heavy leather belt two and one-fourth inches wide worn over the left shoulder. The bayonet and scabbard belt was worn over the right shoulder, with another belt around the waist. All [page 40] the belts were of white leather which the soldiers were required to keep clean. A knap-sack, for clothes and other necessities, was worn on his back. Finally, each had a three pint canteen plus a hover-sack for carrying his dinner and sometimes a few days rations.

Concerning all this equipment, Zadok said, "With all these straps in front and the filled knap-sack behind, we were nearly covered from neck to waist." [Note 8. Ibid., p. 13.]

With so much to carry for such a long hard march, the officers allowed the men of each company to buy a four-mule team and wagon to haul the knap-sacks and bedding; each man shared the cost. This was a welcome relief for awhile, but when the teams became weak or the wagons broke down, the men had to shoulder their burdens.

Before leaving Fort Leavenworth, the new recruits were taught basic lessons in drill and discipline. They were drilled and formed into ranks until they began to look and act like soldiers. And, that each man might be familiar with his weapon, they were given practice shooting and caring for their muskets.

From Council Bluffs to Fort Leavenworth they had been without cooking utensils, so at Fort Leavenworth the men were divided into groups of six and issued a camp kettle, frying pan, and coffee pot. Each six-man group was called a mess; they ate and tented together.

With equipment issued, baggage wagons procured and packed, and other necessary details taken care of, the Mormon Battalion took up its line of march for Santa Fe and thence to California. Companies D and E [page 41] left on Friday, August 14. According to William Hyde, “the temperature this day at the camp of the Battalion was 101 in the shade and 130 in the sun. They only traveled about two hours.” [Note 9. Diary of William Hyde, quoted in Journal History, Friday, August 14, 1846.]

CHAPTER VII

FROM FORT LEAVENWORTH TO SAN DIEGO

[page 42] The United States forces during the war with Mexico consisted of three main armies; The Army of the Center, which was to take and hold Chihuahua and northern Mexico; The Army of the West, whose objective was to take the northern Mexican provinces of New Mexico and California; and The Army of Occupation, which would drive south to Mexico City to dictate the peace.

The Army of the West was placed under command of General [Note 1. Kearny held the rank of Colonel when he was ordered to command the Army of the West. He received his promotion to General during the march to Santa Fe. Philip St. George Cooke, The Conquest of New Mexico and California (Chicago, Illinois: The Rio Grande Press Inc., 1964), pp. 29-30.] Stephen W. Kearny, a man who had distinguished himself in western campaigns and had become renowned among the rough and ready frontiersmen. Since many men of the West, especially from Missouri, were willing to follow Kearny, many enlisted from this region; and the Mormon Battalion, recruited by Captain James Allen, was part of this army.

General Kearny left Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, for Santa Fe on June 30, 1946, with a force of the First Dragoons. He was followed, July 6, by the Dragoons commanded by Captains E. V. Sumner and Philip St. George Cooke, a regiment of Missouri mounted volunteers commanded by Colonel Sterling Price in the early fall, and the Mormon Battalion who left for [page 43] Santa Fe on August 19. [Note 2. Ibid., p. 91.]

As Kearny's forces neared Santa Fe (on August 18,) the Mexican general Armijo held an important mountain pass with a large force of Mexican defenders. At the approach of the United States forces, the Mexican soldiers panicked, probably being overcome by the impressive sight of the horsemen and frightened by exaggerated reports of the size of Kearny's forces, Armijo and his men fled, thus allowing Kearny and his men to conquer Santa Fe without meeting resistance. Subsequently, Kearny established a provincial government in Santa Fe. [Note 3. Ibid., p. 70.]

While Kearny was occupying Santa Fe, members of the Mormon Battalion were marching to this Spanish town under the command of Lieutenant Smith. Originally, Captain Allen, had been the commanding officer of the Mormon Battalion; and the men of the Battalion learned to love and respect him. Captain Allen, however, became ill while at Fort Leavenworth and was unable to leave when the Battalion was ready. In order not to detain them unnecessarily, he sent them ahead with the intent of joining them in a few days; but his illness proved fatal, and he died, leaving the Battalion without a commanding officer,

Agreement had been reached between Captain Allen and the leaders of the Church at the time of the Battalion's enlistment, that if anything should happen to prevent Captain Allen from

continuing in command of the Battalion, the captain of Company A should take command; who at this time was Jefferson Hunt. After Captain Allen's death, however, the agreement [page 44] was not adopted. The commissions of the Mormon men had not been returned from Washington with the sanction of the War Department. Moreover, Captain Allen had laid in a year's supply of provisions; but through some mistake, they were sent on the wrong road from Fort Leavenworth. The provisions were not within reach and without a commissioned officer of the army, no rations could be requisitioned.

A council of officers of the Battalion was held and the decision reached that it would be to their advantage to accept the offer of Lieutenant A. J, Smith of the regular army from Fort Leavenworth to be their commander. They later regretted their decision, Lieutenant Smith did not have the same interest in the Mormon men that Captain Allen had manifest, and the men of the Battalion did not fully accept him.

Doctor Sanderson, a physician assigned to the Battalion also was openly antagonistic towards the Mormons. Some of these soldiers swore that this doctor attempted to kill some of the men who went on sick call. Commenting on the treatment by the doctor, Zadok said:

> Every morning at a stated hour the fifes and drums would play a certain tune that was the sick call. If anything was ailing any of the men, if they had taken cold or had blistered feet through walking in poor shoes, or anything else, they would go at the sick call and the orderly sergeant would go with them to the doctor's quarters, and after a light examination the doctor would give each one a nice little paper containing a dose of calomel. All were treated alike. They were told to take it with water before eating breakfast. The men, fearing to be salivated would often bury it before getting back to camp. After a while the doctor found out the men did not take calomel. After that they had to take it in his presence. During the time men were on the sick list they were excused from guard duty, but had to carry their gun and knapsack. [Note 4. Judd, Autobiography, p 14.]

[page 45] The march from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe was grueling and difficult. These soldiers were already weakened by persecution and poor diet, and were not hardened to the rigors of marching every day. Although the continual marching was physically exhausting to the men, they kept their morale high. On occasions, after a hard day of marching they would bring out a fiddle and engage in a lively dance. There were not sufficient girls for the men to dance with, but some of the men took the girls' part and danced all evening. According to Zadok, dancing was considered more restful than sitting around the campfire. [Note 5. Idem.]

The Missouri cavalry unity [unit] that was led by Colonel Sterling Price was on its way to Santa Fe at the time the Mormon Battalion made its march. Colonel Price had persecuted the Mormons in Missouri. He had been placed in charge of Joseph Smith and other Church leaders incarcerated in jail at Richmond and had been abusive to the Mormon leaders. The situation was tense and feelings ran high as the Latter-day Saints marched in close proximity to some of the men

who had persecuted Mormon families in Missouri. It was a matter of pride to Zadok that, although Price's cavalry unit left Fort Leavenworth earlier, the Battalion arrived in Santa Fe before the mounted detachment.

The struggle through the deep sand and scorching heat was particularly hard on the thirty-six women and about fifty children who had been allowed to accompany the Battalion, Although they did not complain overly, it was recognized that it was no march for women and children. Consequently, on September 16, some of the families were dispatched up the Arkansas [page 46] River to Pueblo. [Note 6. Berrett, p. 239.]

On October 3, while the Battalion was camped by a large spring on the Red River, a dispatch was received from General Kearny directing them to be in Santa Fe by October 10, or they would be discharged and not allowed to cross the mountains to California. Zadok reported that the men of the Battalion were "considerably jaded" and at the rate they were traveling would not be able to meet the deadline. [Note 7. Judd, Autobiography, p. 14.]

A council of officers met and decided that fifty of the most able bodied men of each company with the strongest teams would push on with a double forced march to Santa Fe. Zadok was selected for the forced march. He reported that they made it to Santa Fe "in time to save disobeying orders of General Kearny." [Note 8. Idem., and Daniel Tyler, A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, p. 163.]

The first division of the Battalion reached Santa Fe the evening of October 9; the second division arrived on October 12. When the first division arrived, General Alexander W, Doniphan ordered a salute of one hundred guns fired from the house tops in honor of the Mormon men. The Mormons were delighted to see Doniphan, the man who had befriended them in Missouri. Later Price's Cavalry unit arrived in Santa Fe and was received without fanfare; and Colonel Price expressed his displeasure when he learned of the salute to the Mormons. [Note 9. Idem.]

[page 47] Two weeks before the Battalion arrived in Santa Fe, General Kearny began his march to California (on September 26), with three hundred dragoons and left General Doniphan in charge of the province of New Mexico. After the arrival of Colonel Price, Doniphan was ordered to take his forces south into Mexico to conquer Chihuahua, leaving Colonel Price and his men to occupy Santa Fe. General Kearny was several days travel from Santa Fe when news reached him (on October 2), of the death of Captain Allen. He immediately dispatched Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke from his staff to return to Santa Fe and relieve Lieutenant A. J. Smith as commanding officer of the Battalion.

On October 6, Kearny met Kit Carson carrying word that California had already been subjugated by the forces of several naval commanders and Captain John C, Fremont. Kearny then decided to take only one hundred dragoons to California and to send the other troops back to Santa Fe with Major Sumner. Tired of being hampered by cumbersome wagons, Kearny sent for pack saddles. He also sent orders to the Mormon Battalion, assigning them the task of opening a wagon

road to the Pacific Ocean.

As the new commander, Colonel Cooke, faced the task of leading the Battalion across desert and mountains and building a wagon road to California, he was apprehensive about the condition of the men and teams. "Everything conspired to discourage the extraordinary undertaking of marching this Battalion eleven hundred miles," Cooke declared, "for the much greater part through an unknown wilderness, without road or trail, and with a wagon train." Cooke further stated that,

> It was enlisted too much by families; some were too old, some feeble, and some too young; it was embarrassed by many women; it was undisciplined; it was much worn by traveling [page 48] on foot, and marching from Nauvoo, Illinois; their clothing was very scant; there was no money to pay them or clothing to issue; their mules were utterly broken down. [Note 10. Cooke, p. 91.]

One of Colonel Cooke's first official acts was to order eighty-six of the men who were sick and disabled, and nearly all the women to join the families wintering at Pueblo. Five women were allowed to continue with the Battalion. [Note 11. Susan Davis, wife of Captain Daniel C. Davis of Company E, was one of the women who finished the journey to California. Kate B. Carter, The Mormon Battalion (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1956), p. 14.]

After procuring some new clothing and resting a few days, the able-bodied men of the Battalion were ready to continue toward California. It was estimated that the journey from Santa Fe to San Diego would require sixty days. Since food was scarce in Santa Fe, the sixty day supply of provisions was scant. The daily allowance of flour was figured at two ounces less per day than usual for each man. Daniel Tyler of the Battalion reported that only thirty days ration of salt pork was available and twenty days ration of soap. Securing food along the march to California was difficult because many of the inhabitants of the area were unwilling to sell food to the army. Since the people of the territory had been declared citizens of the United States by General Kearny, "the invaders" were "debarred the rights of war to seize needful supplies." [Note 12. Cooke, p. 40.]

[page 49] After meager preparations for the long journey, the men of the Battalion left Santa Fe on October 19, 1846. Three weeks after leaving Santa Fe, Colonel Cooke wrote:

> It has now become evident that we cannot go on so, with any prospect of a successful or safe termination to the expedition. The guides say that most of the mules could not be driven loose to California. I have carefully examined them and found that whole teams seem ready to break down. The three remaining ox teams were to go back about this time at the latest. [Note 13. Ibid., p. 105.]

It was determined that fifty-five more men were too sick or debilitated to continue the trip and they were sent back to Pueblo. Zadok was glad that he was among the able-bodied who could go on to California. Although he was small, he was tough and wirey and reportedly made the trip better than many larger men.

The difficulty of their travel is illustrated by the following entry from the journal of First Sergeant Nathaniel V. Jones. Under the date of November 13, he wrote:

> We left the Rio Grande, the face of the country was very rough and broken. The plains or valleys of this country are of deep heavy sands, through which we found it almost impossible to pass. We frequently thought we would be under the necessity of leaving our wagons, but we worked our way through. The men gathered around the wagons, and let them down and drew them up steep hills by means of ropes, besides pushing them day after day through the long sand plains. [Note 14. Carter, pp. 17-18.]

When the Battalion left Santa Fe, they took road tools with them. Colonel Cooke recorded that he was "determined" to take his wagons to California. The road building project was one of the important reasons the Battalion was sent to California. The task proved difficult an caused [page 50] the trip to be slow and arduous. The men pulled their wagons through deep sand, cut their way through dense thickets, dragged wagons over steep mountains and cut their way through narrow, rocky passes. Near the end of their journey, on January 19, they encountered a narrow pass. After the soldiers cut the rock walls with axes to enlarge the opening, the pass was still too narrow. While the men continued to hew and hammer at the mountain side, one wagon was taken apart and carried through and other wagons were lifted through. Finally, with the job accomplished, the last two loaded wagons were driven through the pass. [Note 15. Ibid., p. 188.]

The battle for sufficient food, water and fuel were constant threats to the Battalion. One evening the only fuel to be found was a few bushes and Spanish Bayonet (a specie of Yucca). Another night they had trouble finding even a large weed near camp. On a happier evening Cooke reported; "We rejoiced for once in plenty of fuel and good fires." [Note 16. Ibid., pp. 109, 101, 98.]

The distance traveled and the site of camp was influenced by the location of water. The guides traveling ahead of the company would report the discovery of water by sending smoke signals. Some days water could not be found or reached and many streams or wells they were depending on were found dry. The men spent many anxious days going with little or no water. Early one morning, after having camped without water, some water was found in a mountain ridge, but it was not enough for all the men. The first men drank what water there was and the rest had to wait for it to leak from the rocks so they could dip it with spoons to their thirsty mouths. [Note 17. Ibid., p. 131.]

[page 51] The mules and sheep suffered from the lack of water, and the scarcity of feed kept the animals thin and weak and many of them died. The weary animals traveled slowly and the animals used for food produced little meat. Men were sent to buy mules, beef or sheep whenever there was an opportunity but their success seldom satisfied the need.

As they realized the projected sixty day trip would in reality be much longer than that, the

rations were cut. Less than a month away from Santa Fe the already light rations were cut one fourth. Though it was hard on the men, they pushed on for another twenty days, at which time they were told the rations must be reduced again by one fourth. The amount and kind of rations continued to be adjusted many times, depending on what food was available and the quantity on hand.

While on short rations, they came upon some half-breed Indians from whom Zadok and some of the men purchased a little dried meat. At the time Zadok thought it was "very, very good." [Note 18. Judd, Autobiography, p. 15.]

They learned that provisions could be obtained in the Spanish town of Yanos, which was located a few miles distant. Although the town lay off their course, the road to this center was good, having been used for hauling copper ore for many years; and consequently, Colonel Cooke decided they would start the following morning for that destination. After traveling down the road for three or four miles, the Colonel ordered his bugler to call a halt. Turning to his staff, he said, "Gentlemen, I started for California and damned if I ain't going there. Pilot, you hunt a road for the wagons on the course we have been traveling and go [page 52] ahead and find a camp ground." [Note 19. Idem.]

The course was changed at right angle to the road to the mines, and the Battalion pushed toward California. It was learned later that the Spaniards had been watching their movements; and, with the expectation that the Battalion would go to the town for provisions they had massed a large force of soldiers to trap them. Had they not changed course they would have been engaged in fighting with the enemy and, possibly, many of them would have lost their lives. Zadok acknowledged the hand of the Lord in the decision to go to California and recalled that President Brigham Young had promised the men of the Battalion that, if they were faithful and remembered their prayers, they would never be called to face the enemy in battle. Note 20. Idem.]

The Battalion spent December 3 in San Bernardino. On Christmas day, the men marched eighteen miles uphill on a sandy road. They were fortunate that it was a cloudy day because they had no water. They camped at eight o'clock. [Note 21. Cooke, pp. 165-6.]

The men suffered from the heat during the day and the extreme cold during the night. Clothes, which were inadequate at the beginning of the march were ragged and worn toward the end of the journey. By the middle of January, Colonel Cooke wrote, "A great many of my men are wholly without shoes, and use every expedient, such as rawhide moccasins and sandals, and [page 53] even wrapping their feet in pieces of woolen and cotton cloth." [Note 22. Ibid., p. 185.]

After sixteen mules died within two days, Colonel Cooke declared, "That this fifteen miles of very bad road was accomplished under the circumstances, by mules or men, is extraordinary. The men arrived here completely worn down; they staggered as they marched, as they did yesterday." [Note 23. Ibid., pp. 185-6.] But the next night he reported that the men had recovered their spirits and were singing and playing the fiddle. [Note 24. Ibid., p. 187.]

The men of the Battalion caught their first view of the Pacific Ocean on January 27, from the top of a hill near San Luis Rey. Zadok said:

> I well remember the awe, the grandeur and amazement I felt when first I beheld the Pacific Ocean. Seeing such a vast body of water spread out farther than the eye could reach and hear the roar of the waves, created a reverence within me for the great creator of all things, whose power and might are far beyond our comprehension. If I could but shape my thoughts and put them on paper, I would like to describe the country. [Note 25. Judd, Autobiography, p. 15.]

Fortunately for the ragged, scantily clad soldiers, the California weather was warm and pleasant and the beauty of the rich growth of vegetation and herds of fat horses and cattle were a cheering sight to the hungry soldiers.

Meanwhile, on November 23, Kearny had captured a Mexican warrior with mail telling of a counter-revolution in California, On December 2, [page 54] he learned that the Mexicans were again in possession of all of California except the coast towns of San Diego, San Francisco, and Monterey. A few days later his forces encountered and routed one hundred and eighty of the enemy at San Pasqual but suffered severe losses. General Kearny and sixteen men were wounded; nineteen men were killed. Later, assisted by a detachment from San Diego, General Kearny arrived in San Diego on December 12, for a brief period of rest and recuperation.

Determined to accomplish his objective to conquer California, however, General Kearny and Commadore Stockton left San Diego, on December 29, with a force of six hundred men to retake Los Angeles.

The Battalion received the message that they should march to San Diego, but, as they neared there, they heard that Kearny was endeavoring to take Los Angeles, and that they might soon meet a large force of the enemy retreating toward the south. Colonel Cooke decided to march to Los Angeles and help Kearny take the Spanish capital of California. Kearny's campaign was successful, however, and on January 25, a dispatch was received from Kearny directing the Battalion to meet him in San Diego. The Battalion again turned south and arrived at San Diego on January 29, 1847. Colonel Cooke made his report and turned the Mormon Battalion over to General Kearny.

CHAPTER VIII

CALIFORNIA EXPERIENCES

[page 55] The strict discipline, stern manner, and morose appearance of Lieutenant Colonel P. St. George Cooke during the difficult journey from Santa Fe to California led the men of the Battalion to think that he had no good feelings toward them. After arriving in San Diego, however, the Colonel surprised and cheered the men by issuing the following orders:

Head Quarters Mormon Battalion,
Mission of San Diego,
January 30, 1347.

(Orders No, 1.)

The Lieutenant-Colonel commanding congratulates the Battalion on their safe arrival on the shore of the Pacific Ocean and the conclusion of their march of over two thousand miles.

History may be searched in vain for an equal march of Infantry. Half of it has been through a wilderness where nothing but savages and wild beasts are found, or deserts where, for want of water, there is no living creatures . . . .

Arrived at the first settlement of California, after a single day's rest, you cheerfully turned off from the route to this point of promised repose, to enter upon a campaign, and meet, as we supposed, the approach of an enemy; and this too, without even salt to season your sole subsistence of fresh meat . . . .

Thus volunteers, you have exhibited some high and essential qualities of veterans. But much remains undone. Soon, you will turn your attention to the drill, to system and order, to forms also, which are all necessary to the soldier.

Lieut., Colonel P. St. George Cooke
P.C. Merrill, Adjutant. [Note 1. Tyler, Mormon Battalion History, pp. 249-250.]

The Battalion men, with Cooke still as their commander, were quartered out of the city in an old Missionary building. It was small and crowded, but the Battalion was there only a short time before they were [page 56] sent to garrison San Luis Rey, another missionary station. San Luis Rey was larger and less crowded, but every room was infested with body lice. The men cleaned the rooms and boiled their clothes, but they were afflicted with lice throughout their stay. Zadok said, “every day it was common to go out, find a warm sunshiny place, strip ourselves and hunt and kill lice." [Note 2. Judd, Autobiography, p. 16.]

Fresh beef continued to be their sole ration. After they moved to San Luis Ray, their ration was increased to five pounds of fresh meat daily; it was a generous ration, but it failed to satisfy men

who were craving bread and other food and the men hungered for a change of diet.

A tense situation arose between Kearny and Captain John C. Fremont which nearly plunged the Battalion into actual fighting. Kearny had been directed by the government to take California and act as governor until a replacement was sent from Washington. [Note 3. The California Star, February 20, 1847, Yerba Buena.] Fremont, who had led a small force of men in helping to secure California, had designs on the governorship and presumed to set himself up as supreme commander of California.

At the successful conclusion of Kearny's battle to take possession of Los Angeles, the Spanish forces fled to the north where they met Fremont coming with his troops. The enemy leaders entered into a treaty with Fremont.

With Fremont's arrival at Los Angeles, the situation became strained. Kearny ordered Fremont to disband his men; Fremont refused. [page 57] To strengthen his position in case open conflict flared, Kearny ordered the Mormon Battalion to make a forced march from San Luis Rey to Los Angeles. The increased forces and positive stand taken by Kearny forced Fremont to comply with the general's demands. [Note 4. Judd, Autobiography, p. 16.]

Zadok said that Fremont and his men were "mobocrats right from Missouri," [Note 5. Idem.] and after they were disbanded they often tried to cause trouble for the Mormons by goading them into fighting.

In the middle of March 1847, Colonel Cooke was placed in command of the southern half of California. The five companies of the Mormon Battalion were divided and placed to garrison three key locations: San Diego, San Luis Rey, and Los Angeles. At Los Angeles, they built Fort Moore on a bench overlooking the city, from which they could effectively defend themselves and guard the city. As part of the defense, they made a wall of earth and a ditch wide and deep enough to prevent a horseman from riding over it.

Due to a cold, Zadok lost his voice and was unable to stand guard. It was necessary for him to go to the doctor on sick call to be excused from guard duty. Zadok's good physical fitness and stamina are shown by the fact that this was the only time during his enlistment that he was under a doctor's care.

Together with other rations, coffee was given to the men of the Battalion, which many used freely. Because it was against the Word of Wisdom and also because it was distasteful to him, Zadok did not use the [page 58] coffee. As the six men of his mess ate and tented together throughout the long journey from Fort Leavenworth, Zadok occasionally chided his companions for their use of coffee. They maintained that it was necessary to use it because of the unhealthy and distasteful condition of the water. In youthful persistence, Zadok told his older companions that the more coffee added to the water the worse it became.

Zadok felt that it was because of his harangue on the use of coffee and their desire to retaliate that prompted his comrades to encourage him to become intoxicated following their arrival in California.

As they walked through the city of Los Angeles one day, his companions persuaded him to enjoy a glass of wine with them in one of the numerous saloons. Continuing on their walk, they came to another saloon where he accepted the invitation to try a glass of whiskey. After drinking a glass of brandy in a third saloon, Zadok was intoxicated. He said, "About the time this was down my head began to feel very light; they could tell my condition by the rattle of my tongue and it was proposed that we return to camp." [Note 6. Ibid., p. 30.]

Zadok's antics were a source of merriment to his companions. As they returned to camp, Zadok stepped off a narrow foot bridge into the creek and, without falling down, walked through the water and on to camp. Zadok's incessant talking attracted many soldiers from other tents who gathered to listen.

In addition to building the fort at Los Angeles, the men of the Battalion engaged in such projects as making and burning brick, erecting [page 59] buildings, making roads, paving streets with brick, and digging ditches. Because they were more industrious and less rowdy than other groups of soldiers, the Mormon men were offered many inducements in an attempt to persuade them to re-enlist. When their time of discharge arrived, approximately one company of Battalion men did re-enlist for six months (with double salary), but most of the men chose to return to their families. General Kearny had accomplished his assignment to conquer California, establish peace and organize a civil government. With the arrival of a regiment from New York as reinforcements, General Kearny was granted his request to be relieved as commander and governor of California. Colonel R. B. Mason was sent to California as his replacement. Because the Mormon Battalion would soon be discharged, Colonel Cooke was given permission to accompany the General to Fort Leavenworth and they left Monterey on May 31, 1847.

On July 16, 1837, the day of discharge, General Kearny and Colonel Cooke were near Soda Springs, Idaho, on their way to Fort Leavenworth. With them was an escort composed of three men from each of the five Battalion companies. In the absence of General Kearny and Colonel Cooke, Lieutenant A. J. Smith called the five companies of the Mormon Battalion into ranks, and after walking down and back through the lines, in a low voice, said, "you are discharged." [Note 7. Tyler, p. 278.] Some of the men felt that it was a rather unpretentious mustering out of service, but they were glad it was brief.

Those who were making the trip to the Salt Lake Valley formed [page 60] companies of fifties and tens on the pattern of the pioneers under Brigham Young's direction. The men spent much of their final pay for horses, mules, beef cattle and other items for the journey home. Good horses could be purchased for from three to five dollars and beef cattle from two to three dollars per head.

Some of the families and loved ones of members of the Battalion were in the valley of the Great Salt Lake, others were still in Winter Quarters, and some were dead. Different destinations and objectives motivated the discharged Mormons as they began the trek from California.

Zadok and Hyrum Judd were among those who followed a course that took them near the base of the California mountains towards Sutter's Fort, six hundred miles north on the Sacramento River. Samuel Miles, another member of the group, said they passed "through a wild and seldom traveled region crossing large streams with rafts." [Note 8. Diary of Samuel Miles, p. 9. (Microfilm copy at the Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah).] The men were well equipped; each man had a pack animal and one or more riding horses.

At Sutter's Fort they replenished their stock of provisions and started over the Sierra Nevada mountains east on the emigrant wagon road. They passed the camping places where members of the Donner party perished while trapped in the snow the previous winter. As they rode by, the remains of the dismembered bodies of some of the Donner party were still in view.

They journeyed over the mountains to the Truckee River. Here they met Samuel Brannon returning to California from his trip east to intercept [page 61] Brigham Young and the pioneer company enroute to the Great Basin. Brannon had tried unsuccessfully to persuade President Young to take the Saints onto California. The following day, September 7, 1847, they met Captain James Brown of the Pueblo detachment of the Battalion on his way to California, to draw the wages for that group. He brought a message from Brigham Young and the Twelve, directing members of the Battalion who did not have families in the valley, or who were not going on to Winter Quarters, or who did not have provisions enough to last to the next harvest, to return to California for the winter. [Note 9. Ibid., p. 10.]

Approximately half the members of the company returned to Sutter's Fort where many of the men obtained work from Captain John A. Sutter. Zadok Judd and Samuel Miles went on horseback through generally unsettled country to San Francisco. On the San Joaquin River they passed through a settlement of the Mormon Saints who had come to California on the ship Brooklyn with Samuel Brannon.

Not finding work in San Francisco that suited him, Zadok traveled to Monterey where he found work in a tailor shop. While working there he received word that his comrades at Sutter's Fort had discovered gold as they were digging a millrace. The Mormon Battalion men were not the first to find gold, but they were digging the millrace in which Sutter's mill superintendent, James W. Marshall, found flakes of yellow metal on January 24, 1848. The site of the gold discovery was forty miles east of the Fort on the American River where Sutter was constructing a saw mill.

News of the discovery caused little interest for two or three [page 62] months, and then suddenly it swept through California like wild-fire. Men of every occupation and walk of life laid aside tools, closed shops, left classrooms, and rushed to the American River. The news soon spread to the eastern United States from whence thousands of men, traveling by every means available,

rushed to seek the precious metal.

In Monterey, a man offered to furnish provisions, wagon, and team to men who would go and work in the mines and give him a percentage of what they found. Zadok joined a company of prospective miners with the agreement that when his fellow Battalion members were ready to travel to the Salt Lake Valley, he would leave the field and unite with his Mormon friends.

The small company of gold seekers commenced the one hundred fifty-mile journey to Sutters. Most of the men rode in a wagon, but Zadok and a friend took turns riding Zadok's horse. On the second day of the journey, they arrived at a ranch where Zadok had left one of his horses the year before. With two horses to ride, Zadok and his friends enjoyed exploring the country through which they traveled.

As they neared the mines, they passed through Pleasant Valley where Zadok found some of his friends from the Battalion preparing to journey to the Salt Lake Valley. Zadok stopped with his former companions to make plans to join them for the trip home, but permitted his friend who had been riding one of his horses to take it onto the mine with the understanding that he would secure it in a few days. When he went to obtain it, however, the horse had been turned out and could not be found.

The Mormons had planned to leave California on June 1, 1848, but were unable to do so. From June 17 to July 2, Battalion members and some [page 63] Brooklyn Saints, with their wagons, horses and cattle, assembled at the place of rendezvous, a spot eight miles southeast of Placerville, which they called Pleasant Valley. As they were waiting for the departure, they passed the time away by panning for gold.

One of the wagons purchased by the group was a days travel away. Since Zadok had a horse and only a little money, he was sent to bring the wagon, and his wages were applied to his share of the expenses. Wages were paid at the rate of one hundred dollars a day, an amount considered equivalent to that which a man could earn by panning gold dust. [Note 10. Judd, Autobiography, p. 17. Zadok gave the following description of the process of panning gold:

> A man would take his little Indian basket or common milk pan, go to the place where gold was found, fill it with dirt containing gold, take it to the river, sink it up until the dirt was all washed away, then empty the contents of the pan onto a plate, or any tight dish, fill his pan with dirt and gold again and go through the same process of washing the dirt away, and emptying it onto the pile on the plate. When a quantity of this kind had accumulated, it was put into a smaller dish and a spoonful or two of quicksilver added to it. The quicksilver would gather all the gold and the refuse was then thrown away. Quicksilver and gold were then put into a little buckskin sack, the sack was twisted up and wrung and the quicksilver would run through like water through cloth, leaving all the gold in the buckskin sack, and the quicksilver could be used again for an indefinite number of times.]

Sutter had two small cannons, one a four pound and the other a six pound, which the Battalion men bought, each contributing a seventy-five dollar pinch of gold dust, to take to Salt Lake City as gifts for the Church Authorities. On July 3, the company began the journey to Salt Lake and the following day fired their two cannons to commemorate American Independence.

The returning Mormons determined to build a new wagon road through the California mountains which would shorten by several days travel, the [page 64] route to the Salt Lake Valley. That all might travel through dangerous Indian country together and each participate in the road work, the travelers were asked to assemble and remain at Pleasant Valley until the complete company was ready to depart. Three of the men became impatient, however, and left on June 25, to mark the route and find the pass through the mountains. They never returned. The company followed the trail of the three men and on July 19, found a newly made grave beside a campsite. Finding the gold dust pouch of one of their comrades nearby, they dug into the shallow grave and found the mutilated bodies of the three men. They covered the bodies again with earth and rocks and on a large balsam fir tree carved the following inscription: "To the memory of Daniel Browett, Ezrah H. Allen, and Henderson Cox, who were supposed to have been murdered and buried by Indians on the night of twenty-seventh of June, A.D. 1848." They called the place Tragedy Springs. [Note 11. Norma Baldwin Ricketts, Mormons and the Discovery of Gold, (Placerville, California: The Pioneer Press, 1966), p. 24.]

The company traveled on a few miles and made camp. As it grew dark, the men feared a possible Indian attack and with the hope of frightening the Indians, they loaded and fired one of the cannons. They did not learn the reaction of any Indians to the noise, but the group spent the next day gathering the stock which scattered at the cannon's roar.

During subsequent days travel, they encountered several parties of Indians, and in one party some of the bucks were wearing the clothes from their three dead brethren. Without molesting the Indians, the returning soldiers continued their journey and passed in peace.

During the first part of the new route, road building was not [page 65] difficult, but as they moved farther across the mountains, the country became rougher, and as they descended through one canyon, boulders eight to ten feet high blocked their progress. With no hammers or drills to break the rocks, they feared that their new wagon road was at an end. They had left behind them a good road for wagon travel which, if they could go a few more miles, would join the old road on the Truckee River.

One of the men suggested building fires on the rocks to break them. There was an abundance of firewood near and they soon had hot fires burning on each boulder. The fires had the desired effect, for as deep as the heat of the fires penetrated, the rocks were weakened and could be broken and removed with pick and shovel. With the boulders eliminated, they continued down the canyon and joined the new road to the old route at the Truckee River.

One warm day as the company stopped to eat dinner on the banks of the Saint Mary River,

the men decided to swim and bathe in the river. Zadok could not swim; and, as he waded and bathed, he stepped into a deep hole and was in danger of drowning until one of the men who could swim helped him back to the safety of the bank. He had had a similar experience in his earlier life while wading in the Mississippi River.

On the morning of September 19, Zadok and his companions had their first view of Salt Lake. Not knowing whether their families would be there or still out on the plains, they continued their journey and arrived in Salt Lake City on September 29, 1848. While some found their families there, others had to travel to Winter Quarters to find their loved ones. Zadok learned that his stepmother had arrived in the valley in the summer of 1847. [page 66] Zadok discovered that he had to adjust to the living quarters established in the city. His stepmother made a bed for him on the floor with several heavy quilts under him, but it was so soft he could not sleep. Finally, after midnight, he took one of the quilts and rolled up in it on the bare floor and slept soundly. At last, after traveling for two years, Zadok reached what he regarded as his destination.

CHAPTER IX

GREAT BASIN ACTIVITIES

[page 67] After arriving in the Great Basin, Zadok did not remain long with his stepmother. He rented a small room and established a tailor shop, by which means he planned to earn his livelihood. He found a man who decided he could spare four or five bushels of wheat, but when he learned that Zadok was not married and had no children to support refused to give him the food. After further searching, he was able to purchase a sack of corn, which he had ground into meal, but the corn was wet and the meal became musty. He ate it, however, and was thankful, for it was all he had.

Zadok received a bushel of potatoes for a coat he made from a buffalo robe. To preserve them for the spring planting in 1848, Zadok dug a hole at the rear of his tailor shop and buried the potatoes. Unfortunately water seeped into the hole and destroyed many of them. In the spring he planted the good potatoes in a city lot belonging to his brother-in-law, Benjamin T. Mitchell.

Because of the rapid influx of Saints into the valley and the cricket plague of 1848, the Church leaders counseled the Saints to lay aside their mechanical tools and farm the land. Zadok was willing to follow the authorities' advice, for he had found little demand for the tailor trade.

Through the summer of 1849, Zadok farmed a small lot belonging to Benjamin T. Mitchell.

During the summer of 1849, great numbers of people seeking gold [page 68] passed through the Great Basin on their way to the California gold fields. The get-rich-quick fever had such a compelling force that many of the gold seekers had been unwise in the preparation and execution of their journey. Many had started with too many of their belongings, and most of them had pushed their teams too hard in their haste to reach the gold country. By the time they reached the Salt Lake Valley, their teams were worn out, and they were so eager to obtain fresh animals and to lighten their loads that they offered the Saints amazing bargains.

Zadok traded two horses for which he received three yoke of cattle, a good wagon, a sheet iron stove, a dozen shirts, a good silver watch, nearly half a barrel of pork and some mechanical tools. Zadok recognized that this event fulfilled a prophecy made by Elder Heber C. Kimball in the midst of great scarcity of food and clothing the previous summer, that goods would be sold in the streets of Salt Lake City cheaper than in New York. [Note 1. Joseph Fielding Smith, Essentials in Church History (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1946), p. 474.]

Toward the end of summer, Hyrum Judd arrived with his family from Winter Quarters. He spent a few days in Salt Lake City and then moved his family north about fifteen miles, settling near his wife's uncle, Daniel C. Davis.

In the late summer of 1849, Zadok and another young man received a call to take thirteen yoke of oxen and a wagon and meet the last company of Saints coming across the plains for that season. As they traveled east, they met several companies of Saints nearing the Valley. Shortly [page 69] after passing through Fort Bridger, they met the family of Zadok's traveling companion. Leaving Zadok to complete the mission they had been assigned, the young man returned to Salt Lake with his family. Further east, Zadok met some of his own relatives, but would not turn back until he had completed his assigned mission.

Although he was alone for the remainder of the trip east, Zadok always found pioneers to camp with at night. When he reached the last company, Zadok delivered the wagon and ox teams to the company captain. The captain divided the oxen among the company to strengthen tired teams which would help the pioneers arrive in the Basin before the weather became severe.

His mission completed, Zadok found a job driving a team for a woman who had driven it from Council Bluffs.

After returning from his mission on the plains in the fall of 1849, Zadok went to visit his brother Hyrum. He helped Hyrum complete his house and spent a comfortable winter with his brother and his family.

While living with Hyrum, Zadok responded to a call by General Daniel H. Wells for members of the militia to go to Prove and help defend Fort Utah February 8th. The first company, commanded by George D. Grant, traveled all night and arrived the morning of the 8th. The second company, under Major Andrew Lytle, arrived in the evening. Travel was made slow and difficult because of the extremely cold weather and the crusted, foot-deep snow.

Fort Utah was located on the south side of the Prove River, about one and a half miles north west of the present city of Provo. The settlement had been started in the spring of 1849, under the direction of Isaac [page 70] Higbee and his brother.

The settlers in the fort had been harassed by a band of Indians led by Chiefs Elk and Ope-Carry (also called Stick-in-the-Head). Because of the small number of pioneers then at the fort, they had been unable to drive the Indians away or prevent their marauding, thus necessitating a call for militia assistance.

The Indians were entrenched in the willows and timber along the river bottom, a mile or two above the fort. They were protected by the river bank and also a type of fortification of cottonwood trees which they had cut. They had taken possession of a double log house which stood nearby, facing the river. The log house had been built by James A. Bean and his sons, and was the center and object of some of the most severe fighting that took place during the battle. A group of militiamen rushed the house and took possession of it only to be driven back later by the Indians.

The Indians fought so stubbornly that all efforts to dislodge them for a time proved futile.

The militia, under direction of Lieutenant Howland (aide to Captain Stansbury) built a wedge shaped barricade of planks. They placed the barricade on runners and pushed it toward the Indian stronghold. Thus protected from the Indian rifle fire a force of men advanced on the Indian position. [Note 2. Peter Gottfredson, History of Indian Depredations in Utah (Salt Lake City, Utah: Skelton Publishing Co., 1919), p. 33.]

One squaw was killed with a chain shot but otherwise the militia's small cannon inflicted little damage to the Indians. The only death among [page 71] the white men was that of Joseph Higbee, son of Isaac Higbee, president of the Fort Utah colonizing group. One man was shot in the nose and several other white men were wounded.

Zadok narrowly escaped death. As he moved among the brush, he stooped to look under a clump of willows which were bent down by the snow; a shot was fired at him that passed so near his forehead that it made the skin burn. He was not hurt and quickly retreated to cover.

Following the second day of fighting, the Indians withdrew under cover of darkness. The Indians divided into two bands. One band fled up Rock Canyon, while the second bank, [band] the largest of the two, traveled southward in the direction of Spanish Fork. When the militia arrived the third morning, they found the trails left by the fleeing Indians. General Wells, who had just arrived to direct the fighting, divided his men into three groups; one group to stay with the battery, a second to pursue the Indians up Rock Canyon, and the third group to follow the Indians to the south. Zadok was assigned to stay with the battery.

Both bands of Indians were overtaken by the militiamen, and many in each band were killed. It was estimated that eighty warriors were engaged in the battle, of which approximately 40 were killed. [Note 3. Ibid., p. 35.]

Thus ended the Provo War, first of the Indian wars in Utah. The Church leaders had followed a peaceful policy with the Indians, and it was with reluctance that Brigham Young gave permission for the militia to be called to drive them away from the settlement on the Provo River.

The Provo War had provided the young, discharged Battalion soldier with his first taste of actual fighting.

CHAPTER X

MISSION TO THE LITTLE SALT LAKE

[page 72] After returning from the Provo War in February 1850, Zadok again went to live with Hyrum and stayed with his brother until December, when he accepted a call for pioneers to settle the Little Salt Lake region in southern Utah. The bishop of Hyrum's ward helped with the decision by telling Zadok that he should answer the call for volunteers.

The colonizing activities of the Church were carefully planned to establish a vast basin kingdom. Settlements were established to gradually extend the cordon of communities to include the entire great basin, and in some areas, were pushed beyond the rim of the basin to secure a seaport on the Pacific Ocean and certain important approaches to the basin.

As some men were called to leave their homes to travel to various places to preach the gospel, other men were called, with their families, to leave their homes and help establish new communities or strengthen one newly begun. Each colonizing experiment was called a mission and each participant a missionary, which gave to the settlers greater dedication and enthusiasm and made possible the establishment of communities in difficult locations and under unusual circumstances. Whenever possible, each group of settlers included men who were skilled in the various crafts and trades needed to build a successful community, such as, masons, cobblers, tailors, sawyers, and smiths.

The expedition formed to settle the Little Salt Lake region was under the leadership of George A. Smith, a thirty-four year old apostle of [page 73] the Church. Some of the volunteers left Salt Lake City on December 7, 1850, and others followed during the next few days, until the complete pioneer company had assembled at the place of rendezvous on the south side of the Provo River on Sunday, December 15, 1850. In all, there were one hundred sixty-eight members: one hundred twenty men, thirty women over fourteen years of age, and eighteen children under fourteen. [Note 1. Henry Lunt diary, Microfilm copy located at the Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah.]

Sunday evening, December 15, Apostle George A. Smith called a meeting and spoke to the brethren concerning their duties on the mission. He prophesied, in the name of the Lord, that if the brethren would obey his counsel, they would arrive at the place of their destination in safety. During the meeting, the organization of the company was effected with the election of captains of fifties and tens.

Sunday night, wolves came into the camp and killed a pony belonging to one of the company.

The pioneers embarked at 9:00 a.m. Monday morning and traveled six miles over slick

muddy roads to Hobble Creek. Except for daily weather and road conditions, the scribes wrote little concerning the expedition's journey of over two hundred miles to Center Creek. The weather was cold. At times the temperature dropped to below freezing; some days were fairly moderate and thawing.

The company of 101 wagons was divided into three groups; the horse teams comprised one group, the slower ox teams another, and the third group contained the lame teams from the various companies.

[page 74] After making camp on the night of January 10, 1851, the advance group, which had come within sight of their destination, were advised by President Smith to fire the cannon and also any of their rifles which had been loaded throughout the journey. Besides the cannon, twenty-four muskets were discharged.

The pioneers in the other camps heard the shooting and were alarmed, thinking the Indians were making an attack on the advance party. Fifteen or sixteen miles separated the first and last groups, and it was 2.00 a.m. before the settlers were assured that peace prevailed in all of the camps. Zadok said the explanation given for the shooting was that it commemorated the new year and the nearness of the company to their destination. [Note 2. Judd, Autobiography, p. 21. Also Luella Adams Dalton, History of Iron County and Parowan the Mother Town, p. 63.]

On January 13, 1851, the pioneers completed their journey and camped on the banks of a stream they named Center Creek. Under the direction of Apostle Smith, the company began to build their new settlement and gave it the Indian name Parowan.

On January 21, eighty men began building a road up the canyon to give the settlers access to timber. Within a few days the road was completed with bridges over the stream and some of the men began hauling logs for building houses and a fort.

A fort was first erected and Apostle Smith counseled the Saint to build their homes inside for protection against Indian attacks. Parowan was the southernmost settlement of the Mormons and considerable hostility had been shown by the Indians at its beginning. Zadok and the other [page 75] men of the community were assigned to a military organization through which they guarded their houses and cattle; each group of men stood guard for a twenty-four hour shift.

During January 1851, the General Assembly of the State of Deseret granted charters to five cities: Salt Lake City, Ogden, Provo, Manti, and Parowan, On February 6, 1851, Parowan was incorporated.

On January 25, 1851, a ninety-nine foot flagpole was erected on the southeast corner of the public square. It was dedicated by Apostle Smith and given the title of Liberty Pole.

With their Liberty Pole erected they needed a flag to fly from its top. Three qualified

members of the company were assigned to make a flag; they were Phoebe Forester Benson, an expert dress maker, and Edward H. Williams and Zadok Knapp Judd, both trained tailors.

Scraps of red and blue material were gathered throughout the settlement. Zadok donated a beautiful red Spanish sash which he had purchased while in California with the Battalion. The red sash and a few other scraps of red material completed the red stripes. The field of blue was made of blue scraps of various hues; one piece was the tail of a worn out shirt. White sheeting brought from England by Phoebe Benson was used for the stars and the white stripes. They had no sewing machine in the company so the flag was all hand sewn. The flag measured approximately twenty-six by forty-eight inches, and had fourteen stars. The pioneers were proud of their flag, and it was flown from the Liberty Pole on all state occasions.

On May 10, 1851, President Brigham Young, Jedediah M. Grant, Wilford Woodruff and more than thirty other Church leaders arrived in [page 76] Parowan and were greeted with the flag flying from the Liberty Pole and the roar of the old Sow cannon.

The first building erected was a log meeting house. On January 27, 1851, twenty-six teamsters began hauling logs from the canyon for its construction. One group of men hauled rock, others laid the foundation, and the meetinghouse was soon completed. On the top they built a tall cupola, which served as a lookout station for the guards during the day. With the aid of a good telescope, the guards could watch the movement of the cattle for a long distance and give warning if the Indians attempted to steal them.

The first houses were constructed of logs, but later the settlers built a saw mill and cut the logs into lumber for their homes. Zadok took his ox team and wagon up the canyon and hauled logs to the saw mill to be sawed into lumber for his house. Unaided, he cut, loaded and hauled saw logs twelve to fourteen feet long; each log was cut into from 250 to 300 feet of lumber.

In the spring of 1851, the settlers took a small stream of water from the creek to water their gardens. Later, when they had divided the farm land into ten acre plots, they took another larger stream from the creek to irrigate their field crops. Zadok was made captain or water master over each of these streams, and the crops they planted in 1851 returned a good harvest.

New families arriving in Parowan during the spring of 1851, caused the new community to grow rapidly, and when the first census was taken on July 1, 1851, there were 191 males and 169 females, for a total of 360 people.

[page 77] In May 1851, John Dart moved with his children to Parowan. He had arrived in Salt Lake City in September 1850, and was told he could go either north or south of the city to settle. Consequently, he moved to Fort Utah (Provo) for the winter, and in the spring of 1851, responded to a call from President Young for families to strengthen the settlement of Parowan.

As John Dart and his family had crossed the plains, the cholera plague had taken his wife and

two of his children. The first to die and be buried in an unmarked grave was a son, George, who died June 29, 1850; twelve hours later a daughter, Harriet, died and was buried, On July 6, when they were about four miles east of Fort Laramie, John Dart buried his wife.

With the arrival of the Dart family in Parowan, Zadok and some of the young men of the community became interested in a daughter, Mary Minerva Dart. On July 24, 1851, when the settlement held a celebration to commemorate the arrival of the Saints in the Salt Lake Valley, Zadok had his first date with Mary; he escorted her to the dance at the home of Brother Shirts.

During the following winter, Zadok and other young men accompanied John D. Lee on an exploring expedition to the south of Parowan. Taking with them four wagons, thirteen horses, and fifteen days provisions, the twelve explorers left Parowan at two o'clock on January 27, 1852. In a letter to the Deseret News, dated February 20, 1852, John D. Lee gave a detailed description of the expedition; he told where the group traveled, what the country was like, what streams were found, how deep and wide they were, and which areas would be suitable for the establishment of settlements. [page 78] [Note 3. Deseret News, (Salt Lake City), April 3, 1852.]

When spring arrived Zadok noticed that Mary Dart was showing more interest in him than the other young men of Parowan. Zadok courted Mary throughout the spring and summer. In the fall, he took a job helping her father thresh grain. Zadok wanted to ask Brother Dart for his daughter's hand in marriage, but each time he tried to ask, his heart pounded so hard he could not ask the question. Learning of John Dart's plans to go to Salt Lake City for conference, Zadok decided to ask for permission to accompany him and, during the journey, make known his desires concerning Mary. His courage again failed him, however, and John Dart departed for the north with Zadok having neither permission to accompany him, nor to marry his daughter. [Note 4. Zadok's hesitancy to ask Mr. Dart for permission to marry his daughter may have stemmed from two facts known to Zadok: one was that Mary was only fourteen years of age, while Zadok was twenty-four, and the other was that Mary's older sister, Phoebe (who was of age), married Robert R. Gillespie. It was with Mr. Dart's disapproval.]

Although Zadok did not have her father's permission to marry her, he did propose to Mary. One day as they were discussing the forthcoming marriage of another young couple in the community, Zadok simply said, "When shall we be married?" He recalled that it was not romantic, but that it served the purpose, for she replied, "Just as soon as you are ready." [Note 5. Judd, Autobiography, p. 22.]

Zadok was ready, but their attempt to persuade the presiding elder to unite them in marriage prior to the return of Mary's father was [page 79] unsuccessful. After John Dart returned to Parowan, he gave his consent, and on November 14, 1852, Zadok and Mary were married. The ceremony took place in the house Zadok had built and was witnessed by many of their friends.

Concerning their courtship and marriage, Zadok later wrote the following verse:

The summer was over,
My flocks were all shorn,
My fields were cut down
And I had harvested my corn.
To the cottage of sweet Mary,
So neatly to view,
I straightway went to courting
For I had nothing else to do.

'Twas down in the valley
Together we sat.
We passed away the hours
In curious chat.
I told her that I loved her
And hoped she'd love me too;
And we'd love one another,
For I had nothing else to do.

So to the next village
Together we roamed,
In search of the clergy,
We found him at home.
I paid him his fee;
He made one of us two,
We were married straightway,
For we'd nothing else to do.

Years have made a change
Since we came to this place.
Our table is too small,
Our cottage wanting space.
We have healthy rosy lads
And lassies too;
And we loved the little rogues,
For they have caused us else to do.
[Note 6. Ibid., pp. 22-23.]

[page 80] The first of the "little rogues" that gave them something else to do was a daughter, born October 18, 1853. They named her Lucinda.

In order to help the newly established iron works in Iron County, Zadok Judd, John Steele, James A. Little, William Barton, Samuel Lewis and Robert Gillespie left Parowan about the first of February 1853, on a journey to the Muddy, a distance of two hundred miles, to collect the iron from

wagons which had been abandoned along the southern route to California. The expedition was due back in three weeks and when they had not returned by the end of the month their families were worried. Their anxiety was increased when a report reached the community that two men, answering the description of two of the Parowan party, had been killed by the Indians. The Minute Men of the Parowan military organization, under the leadership of Captain George Woods, quickly formed a company and rode to investigate. After a journey of sixty-eight miles, the militiamen found the expedition returning safe and unmolested. Their return had been delayed by deep snow drifts at the Mountain Meadows and by the weakening of their teams due to the theft of their grain cache by the Indians. [Note 7. John C. L. Smith, quoted in Journal History, February 28, 1853. Also Autobiography of Mary Minerva Dart Judd, typewritten copy located at Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah, pp. 7-8 (hereinafter cited as Mary Judd, Autobiography). Mary Judd left out the name of her sister Phoebe's husband, Robert Gillespie, and gave the name of one of the men as William Barton. John C. L. Smith supplied Gillespie's name and gave the name as Lorenzo Barton. Zadok in his Autobiography only states that six of them went on the expedition.]

Soon after returning from the iron expedition, Zadok took his wife Mary with him to Salt Lake City. They attended the April General Conference of the Church and witnessed, as part of the conference, the laying of the cornerstone of the Salt Lake Temple on April 6, 1853. After visiting Zadok's relatives for two or three weeks, they returned to their home in [page 81] Parowan.

The hostility of the Indians continued to be a problem to the Parowan Saints in 1853, and as a means of protection for the community which had spread beyond the small fort, the men of Parowan built a wall completely around the town. The wall was eight feet high, four feet thick at the base, and tapered to a thickness of two and one half feet at the top; each wall was forty rods long. [Note 8. Horace Fish diary, pp. 4-5, Microfilm copy located at Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah. Fish says the wall was twelve feet high and one mile long on each of the four sides.] Zadok gave the following description of the interesting manner in which it was built:

> The wall was built of wet dirt thrown into a box held together by wagon box rods. The first course was about eight inches of dirt well pounded, so when dried was hard like adobe, then a course of cedar boughs was spread over the wet dirt, then another course of wet dirt pounded solid. This was continued until the box was filled about three feet deep, then the bars drawn out and the box set another length ahead and so on until the entire village was surrounded; then legs were attached to the sides of the box which raised it up to the top of the first course, then dirt and cedar boughs were put in the same as the first course and so on until the wall was completed. This work occupied about the entire season. [Note 9. Judd, Autobiography, p. 24.]

On January 13, 1854, Zadok and Mary each received a Patriarchal blessing from Patriarch Elisha H. Groves. This was Zadok's third blessing. His first was from Joseph Smith, Sr. (mentioned earlier in this writing), the second was from John Smith at Salt Lake City, January 22, 1849.

After Mary had given birth to a daughter named Lucinda, Zadok and Mary became concerned regarding the needs of the Indian children who were being sold into slavery. The Mormons discouraged the Indian's practice of selling their children and members periodically bought Indian children who were to be sold as slaves. Thus in 1854, Zadok and Mary bought [page 82] a six-year old Pahranegat Indian boy whom they named Lamoni.

In the spring of 1854, Zadok was called to join a company of men who were engaged in obtaining glazing material for a pottery making venture in Salt Lake City.

Zadok and Mary continued to work together to wrest their livelihood from the soil and make their home and improve themselves in Parowan. On November 25, 1855, their home was blessed with the addition of a son, to whom they gave the father's name, Zadok Knapp.

On Christmas day, December 25, 1855, as Zadok and Mary were spending their fourth Christmas together, they received a call that took them away from the home and farm they had been working hard to build in Parowan. On this day, Zadok's brother-in-law, Jacob Hamblin, visited the Judd home. Jacob had been called earlier in the year, with a few others, to be a missionary to the Lamanites and to extend settlements farther south beyond the rim of the basin to the Santa Clara River. The missionaries had not yet started a settlement; they had built one house and cleared a small plot of ground on which they had planted a few crops, including some cotton, but the prospects seemed encouraging and Jacob had just returned from Tooele with his family. When he received his call from President Brigham Young, he was instructed to select and call a few other men to join the mission. As he ate Christmas dinner with Zadok and Mary, Jacob explained the mission call and asked Zadok to join. [Note 10. Ibid., pp. 23-24. Also Jacob Hamblin Diary, handwritten copy located in the Church Historian's Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.]

Being familiar with the Santa Clara country, impressed with the good soil and warm climate, and desirous of being a part of the missionary work among the Indians, Zadok wanted to join the mission, but first went [page 83] to talk to his bishop about the call. The bishop doubted the authority of Jacob Hamblin to call men to the Lamanite Mission and advised Zadok to stay in Parowan. After further consideration with Mary, Zadok chose to ignore the bishop's counsel and accepted the call from Hamblin.

Zadok was twenty-seven years old, but Mary would not be eighteen until the following March. They both knew that it would mean leaving what they had at Parowan to build again, but they were willing to make the sacrifice.

About the first of January 1856, Zadok left his family in Parowan and traveled to the Santa Clara River where he joined Jacob Hamblin and the little group of missionaries in building a fort. A few men had also been called from the small settlements of Pinto and Cedar, and together the men spent the winter quarrying rock and building a fort. When it was finished it was one hundred feet square, with walls twelve feet high and two feet thick of hammer-faced stone.

With the fort completed, Zadok returned to Parowan to settle his affairs and move his family to the Santa Clara.

Zadok's acceptance of the call to help settle Parowan had brought new experiences into his life. He had become a colonizer and home builder; he participated in civic affairs and served as a city councilman. He had also continued his military experience, becoming a second lieutenant in the Parowan militia.

CHAPTER XI

LAMANITE AND COTTON MISSIONS ON THE SANTA CLARA

[page 84] On a cold afternoon in early April 1856, Zadok took his family, consisting of his wife, two small children (the baby was just over four months old), and their seven-year old Indian boy, Lamoni, and departed from Parowan for the newly completed fort on the Santa Clara River. While following the old California road through Mountain Meadows, Zadok herded the cows and Mary drove the team and wagon and took care of the children.

Weather and road conditions were unfavorable for traveling. Snow fell throughout most of their journey which made it difficult for the horses to pull the wagon and also hampered the Judds in finding wood and starting fires when they camped at night. There was such a scarcity of forage for their animals that Zadok and Mary found it necessary to feed their horses the straw from their beds.

Commenting on their meager possessions, Mary said:

> Our stock consisted of a pair of mares which drew our wagon, two cows and two calves. In the wagon was our very limited household furnishings, our clothing and provisions. The whole outfit was very primitive in its character, consisting only of a very limited supply of . . . necessities. It was probably a fair sample of the general conditions of the Saints who colonized these mountains in these early days. [Note 1. Mary Judd, Autobiography, p. 8.]

One morning, after snow had fallen throughout the night, the weakened team was unable to pull the wagon up one of the steeper hills along the route. In order to help the team, Zadok drove the cows up the road to [page 85] break a trail through the deep snow. Zadok returned and drove the team while Mary moved blocks along behind the wheels of the wagon until they arrived at the crest of the hill. At the summit, wind-driven snow struck them in the face with such force that they were momentarily blinded.

Though their travel was fraught with hardship, the Judds never lost courage. Concerning their journey, Mary said, "Healthy and full of faith, we started out into the desert one hundred miles to make a new home for ourselves and extend the border of the town of the rapidly increasing Saints at that time." [Note 2. Idem.]

As they descended the south slope toward the Santa Clara River, they found the weather milder with less mud and snow to hamper their progress. One night, while camped on the headwaters of the Santa Clara, they were visited by a friendly Indian. After giving him some flour mush, Zadok sent him to the fort with a note asking Jacob Hamblin to come to their aid with two yoke of oxen.

They continued their journey the next morning and arrived at a place where the Indians had killed several white men. The location was ideal for an ambush; the road dropped down into the creek bottom near a high projecting rock where heavy timber and underbrush grew thick along the stream. Mary was nervous, but Zadok assured her that, since the Indians had seen him working on the fort and knew him, they were in no danger.

They were soon out of the canyon and into the broader valley where travel was easier, and as they passed through an area where the Indians had raised corn, several braves came from their nearby camp and followed them. [page 86] As the procession continued, the Indians became more numerous and the Judds became more nervous. Zadok drove the cows faster, while Mary urged the team on, keeping close to her husband.

After following for sometime, many of the Indians stopped and turned back to their camp. Finally, one buck asked where they were going and Zadok told him they were going to Jacob's wik-e-up on the Tonaquint (the Indian's name for the Santa Clara), all but two or three braves re turned to camp.

About noon they arrived at the foot of a steep hill. They did not try to get the weary team to pull the loaded wagon to the top but unloaded their possessions and carried them up the hill. To Zadok and Mary's surprise the few remaining Indians helped by carrying a sack of flour. As they started down the other side they met Jacob Hamblin coming to their assistance.

Their descent to the fort was rapid and the change in weather was like going from winter into summer. One day they were in snow, mud and chilling winds, and the next day they saw the cottonwood trees in leaf and vegetation in bloom.

The Judd family arrived at the fort on a Sunday evening, hopeful of being able to rest from fatiguing travel, but before daylight the next morning, word came from the Church leaders for the missionaries to abandon the fort and move back to more populace settlements. The Indians were becoming increasingly hostile and it was considered unsafe for the little colony to remain on the Santa Clara.

Mary said that they "submitted with the best possible graces to the stern decree of circumstances," and with their jaded teams and [page 87] exhausted resources, turned to go back. [Note 3. Ibid., p. 9.]

The company had four wagons and eight mounted men: the eight were Robert Ritchie, Richard Robertson, Samuel Knight, Prime Coleman, Isaac Riddle, Dudley Leavitt, and Oscar and Jacob Hamblin. Instead of returning by the route Zadok and Mary had used, they forged a new road east from the Fort, taking a course toward Harmony, the nearest and most southern of the settlements.

The first day they traveled five miles and camped at a spring above the present site of St. George. Except for an occasional grassy spot, the country through which they traveled was barren and desolate, covered with cactus and thorny mesquite.

The next day the company separated for part of the journey; the horsemen continued east while the wagons made a road over the black ridge. Although they usually found a spring or stream with grass to camp by, the journey was not an easy one. They had their greatest difficulty ascending two miles over a mountain covered with boulders of black volcanic rock, brush and cedar trees. To the little party with wagons drawn by weakened teams the obstacle looked nearly impassable.

While the wagon segment of the company camped the final night on Ash Creek not far from town, the eight missionaries on horseback rode into Harmony to be with their wives and children who were living there, waiting to move to Fort Clara. The next morning, the little party at Ash Creek moved on, having received word that the women at Harmony would have supper prepared for them.

[page 88] The families of the missionaries remained at Harmony while the men returned to the Santa Clara to plant cotton and sugar cane. With the crops planted, Zadok went back to Harmony and then on to Parowan for a load of flour and other supplies left in their old home. After returning again to Harmony, Zadok and Oscar Hamblin moved their families back to Fort Clara.

Each day through the spring and early summer, the men were under the necessity of riding about ten miles up the creek to build a dam to provide water for their growing crops. With the men gone each day, it was lonesome for the two women and their children at the fort.

One morning as the men left to work on the dam, Jacob Hamblin felt impressed to turn his horse and ride back to warn the women to keep the gate shut, as the Indians, seeing the men leave, might come and try to frighten them. The women did as directed until afternoon when they had occasion to go to the creek for water and, as they returned, they saw the old Indian chief, Agarapoots, coming. They ran to the fort, but as they tried to fasten the large heavy gates, Agarapoots reached the gates and tried to push through. The two women held the gates so stubbornly that the chief was frustrated in his attempt to enter and stalked angrily away. After this experience, the women packed lunches and accompanied the men to the dam, but they soon grew tired of this practice and stayed at the fort with the gates locked.

The crops grew and it seemed they would do well, but then the creek began to dry up. The Indians complained to Jacob Hamblin because their corn was dying. Chief Tutsegavit told him that the missionaries had promised that if the Indians would work with them they should have food. Jacob [page 89] was disturbed, and going off by himself, prayed that rain might come and save the crops. In a few days rain began to fall and filled the creek so that both the Indians and the missionaries had plenty of water.

The hot climate caused the wheat to mature early in the summer, and after it was gathered

and thrashed, Zadok and Oscar Hamblin took their families and, with the other missionaries, made a trip to Salt Lake City.

The grasshoppers and locusts had destroyed much of the crop in the northern part of the territory and, as Zadok's wheat had produced well, he took a load of wheat to share with friends and relatives and to trade for a pair of cotton cards and a spinning wheel. The wheat was welcomed by his friends for they were out of bread and could seldom find any to buy.

On August 10, 1856, Zadok and Mary had their marriage sealed in the Endowment House. They remained in Salt Lake City until their friends had harvested their own wheat and then returned to Santa Clara.

The cotton seed, saved from the crop of the previous year, was planted by the missionaries. Their experience separating the seed from the lint had been so discouraging that Zadok, using ideas he acquired from some saints from the southern states, invented a crude cotton gin. He constructed it on the same plan as a clothes wringer with rollers about three quarters of an inch in diameter. A crank was attached to each roller, turning them in opposite directions. Two people were required to run it, one to turn one crank and feed the cotton in, the other to pull the lint and turn the other crank. The seed was dropped on one side while the lint was taken out on the other. By diligent labor, two people could gin two pounds of lint and four pounds of seed a day. [Note 4. Judd, Autobiography, p. 29.]

[page 90] Zadok made several of these small gins and later experimented with a larger water powered model using steel rollers. This was fairly successful but pulled the lint through too fast and mashed some of the seed. Zadok's gins were used for several seasons until a circular saw gin was installed in the cotton factory built at Washington.

Mary said she spun the cotton which produced the first piece of cloth made from cotton raised in Utah. [Note 5. Mary Judd, Autobiography, p. 10.] By the fall of 1857, Mary had made enough yarn from the raw cotton to weave thirty yards of cloth. Sister Leavitt, mother of Dudley Leavitt, had joined the community that year and, being an experienced weaver, wove the first piece of cloth and taught Mary and the other women of the community the weaving art. A sample of the cotton cloth manufactured by the Santa Clara missionaries was sent to President Brigham Young who sent a sample to the elders in England to be evaluated by experts. It was found to be of good quality.

Tragedy struck the Santa Clara community when Maria Woodbury Haskell, the seventeen-year-old wife of Thales, was shot by a presumably friendly Indian. Thales was several miles up the creek taking out beaver dams when the young Indian entered the fort and went to the Haskell home where Maria was busy cooking. He took Thale's gun from where it was hanging against the wall and began examining it. The gun discharged and the bullet entered Maria's left thigh, lodging under the skin near the upper part of the abdomen.

Hearing the shot, Mary hurried outside and saw Maria Haskell come out of her house holding her hands over her lower chest. Mary ran to her [page 91] and asked, "What is the matter?" Maria answered, "I do not know but I think I am shot." [Note 6. Mary Judd, Autobiography, p. 11.] Oscar Hamblin and his wife helped Mary take Maria into the house and place her on a bed.

Mary ran about a mile to the fields and brought the men who were working there and an Indian runner was sent to bring Thales from the stream. Jacob Hamblin directed the women to examine Maria and see if they could find the bullet. Upon finding it, Mary cut into it with a razor, but as she tried to remove it she became faint and Jacob Hamblin completed the operation.

Maria was shot Saturday morning; Thales arrived early Sunday morning and his wife died at four o'clock in the afternoon. The women dressed her in her white underwear and wedding dress and she was buried in a coffin made from boards taken from a wagon box. At first, Thales seemed almost inconsolable; he could neither talk nor weep.

Indians were frequent visitors to the fort and seemed to go in and out of the pioneers' homes at will. On December 15, 1857, so many Indians were gathered in Mary's home while she was doing her wash that it was difficult for her to move about. It became necessary for her to remove a large kettle of boiling water from the fire, and thinking to prevent someone, especially one of her children, from falling into it, placed it under the table. Almost immediately her young son Knapp [Note 7. Zadok Knapp Judd, Jr. was known generally through his life as Knapp and is referred to be that name in this paper.] backed up against the kettle and fell into it, scalding himself on one side from his shoulder to his foot. Zadok and Mary gave him constant care, watching over him [page 92] night and day, for three weeks before he was out of danger.

On January 14, 1858, one month after Knapp was scalded, Mary gave birth to their third child, Harriet Pauline. In March, they bought another Indian child, a girl, named Matilda.

By the twenty-fourth of July 1858, the Saints of the southern settlements had received the news of the peaceful negotiations with the government and Johnston's army and that the people of the northern communities had moved back to their homes. This news, plus the prospect of a bounteous harvest from their crops, caused the pioneers of Santa Clara and surrounding area to give increased enthusiasm to their celebration of the anniversary of the pioneer's arrival in the Salt Lake Valley. Plans were made and they decided to all join together at the newly established community of Washington, located twelve miles east of Santa Clara on the Virgin River.

Clothes were washed and fixed as nice as possible, food was cooked, the wagons were loaded and the little band of missionaries and their families joyfully began their excursion. They left Santa Clara on July 23, after an early lunch, and arrived in Washington after sunset. Many camped on the town square and spent the evening around the campfires visiting with families from Harmony and Toquerville. Others accepted the hospitality of the Washington Saints who had room to accommodate them. The Judds stayed with the Waldo Littlefield family.

The celebration of the twenty-fourth of July was so enjoyable, it was decided that after the crops were gathered, they would hold another celebration at the same place and exhibit their agricultural and manufactured articles in a "fair." Of the fair, Mary said, "It evidenced the [page 93] progress of the people in their efforts to sustain themselves and was quite an interesting affair . . . . We took enough food for several others besides our own family. In those early, isolated settlements of the desert the people were so nearly equal that there was no class distinction. The result was that these social gatherings were a source of great enjoyment to the people." [Note 8. Mary Judd, Autobiography, p. 11.]

Later in the summer, Zadok moved his family to the Mountain Meadows, hopeful that the cool air of the higher altitude would improve the health of their infant daughter, Harriet Pauline. The move did not prove sufficiently beneficial, however, and the baby died in September at the age of nine months. They returned home and buried the baby at Santa Clara. Mary busied herself with carding and spinning cotton whenever she could spare the time from the multitude of tasks which devolved upon her from the hard pioneer life.

Zadok's cane produced well in 1858, and in the fall they made considerable molasses which greatly added to their food supply. During the year, Mary manufactured and colored yarn for a piece of check cloth for shirts and two coverlets. Mary employed Sister Meeks of Parowan to do the weaving. The completion of a piece of cloth was an event of considerable importance to the pioneer family.

In the autumn of 1858, Mary's sister, Phoebe, arrived with her three children from the northern part of the territory. After much hard labor, Mary and Phoebe completed a long piece of jeans cloth and some lindsey. They colored the jeans cloth green by making dye from the wild [page 94] vegetation.

In June 1859, George A. Smith, a member of the First Presidency of the Church, and Apostle Amasa Lyman visited the southern Utah colonies and organized the Saints of Santa Clara and Pinto into ward. Zadok was ordained to be the first bishop of Santa Clara Ward and chose James Ritchie and John William Young as counselors. Zadok indicated that Ritchie did not enjoy working in this capacity and was soon replaced by Zadok's brother Hyrum Judd. [Note 9. Judd, Autobiography, p. 20.]

On July 24, 1859, the twelfth anniversary of the entrance of the pioneers into the Salt Lake Valley, Zadok and Mary were blessed with their fourth child, a daughter, whom they named Lois Sabina. About this time Mary's sister Phoebe married Andrew Gibbons of Washington and moved from the Judd home.

The year 1859 was a dry year and the wheat crop did poorly. With grain scarce, it was difficult for the settlers to obtain sufficient bread to eat. Zadok and Mary had a half bushel of sugar cane seed ground to see if it could be used for making bread, but it was of such inferior quality that they had to be content to use white corn meal. Their vegetable garden did well, however, and they

had beans and squash to eat with their corn bread.

In October 1859, Zadok and Mary journeyed to Salt Lake City where they attended the October Conference of the Church. After the conference and a visit with friends, Zadok and Mary returned to Santa Clara and continued to farm, spin and weave, and do the many other duties incident to [page 95] pioneer life. To keep their bodies covered, they were under the necessity of manufacturing cloth from raw materials for their clothes. Mary became proficient in the weaving art and made many kinds of cloth. In 1861, she spun yarn for jeans and a carpet.

In May 1861, Matilda, the Indian girl Zadok had purchased, died. During the summer, one of Zadok's stepsisters, Francis Stoddard, married Fredrick Hamblin. Zadok's stepmother, Jane, had moved from San Bernardino, California, to Santa Clara when Johnston's army was advancing toward the Salt Lake Valley.

Of considerable interest and importance to the little group was a visit by President Brigham Young in May 1861. Favorable reports had reached him concerning the warm climate, the success of the cotton plants, and the abundant fruit crops raised by the missionaries. After confirming this report by a personal visit, President Young decided to have the region settled.

Upon his return to Salt Lake City, President Young sent a colony of newly arrived Swiss Saints to help build up Santa Clara and called three hundred families to establish the community of St. George.

The company of Swiss Saints arrived in Santa Clara on November 28, 1861. Those converts had crossed the ocean, traveled to Missouri, constructed handcarts, walked fourteen hundred miles to the Salt Lake Valley and then were sent the additional three hundred miles to southern Utah.

On December 16, 1861, a son, Henry Eli, was born to Zadok and Mary. For several weeks before the baby was born, Mary had been ill with chills and fever and could take little nourishment other than water in [page 96] which dried peaches had been soaked. After the birth of the baby, Mary's health improved for awhile, but she was soon suffering with the gravel. [Note 10. Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary, (New York: The Publishers Guild, 1953) p. 761 defines gravel as "a disease produced by small calculous concentrations in the kidneys and bladder."] She thought she was going to die. Zadok called the elders to administer to her after which she testified that the pain left and she began to recover.

On Christmas day, 1861, heavy rains began to fall throughout the southern Utah area and continued for three weeks. The houses, dugouts, and other shelters were not adequate to hold out the water, and clothing and bedding were soaked and could not be dried.

Zadok had a new house under construction for his family. The front bedroom was finished so, on January 11, 1862, Zadok moved his family into the partially completed house. That night, Zadok dreamed of a great flood which washed the entire town away. The dream so disturbed him

that he awoke and told Mary and reminded her of an old superstition that the dream you have the first night you sleep in a new house will come to pass.

In a short time they became aware of lamp and torch lights outside and upon arising found their neighbors fleeing raging torrents of the flooding Santa Clara creek. They found that the rapidly rising water had already surrounded the fort where Jacob Hamblin and several other families lived.

Zadok dressed and went out to assist in evacuating a Swiss family named Stalie from the fort. The flood waters were pouring through a small gate on one side of the fort and out the opposite side through the large gate, carrying with it everything that would float.

[page 97] Mary, alone with her small children in the house, was anxious as she awaited the return of her husband. She said, "I did not know what to do, The water was running through and around the fort and pouring into the creek with the noise of a big cataract." [Note 11. Mary Judd, Autobiography, p. 12.] Soon an Indian boy rushed in and inquired of Mary where a certain large rope could be found exclaiming that a man was down in the river. Mary wanted to know who was in trouble but the Indian boy only repeated his question. Mary said she thought the rope could be located at the Knight home and the boy ran out leaving Mary to wonder If Zadok was drowning.

When the water continued to rise and was within a few feet of the front door of their house, Mary decided she must do what she could to save the children and their household goods. She had sent Lamoni to find out what was happening, and he returned with the report that the people were moving to the hill above the houses. Mary, though weak from her recent illness and childbirth, with Lamoni's help, moved the beds and her carpet to higher ground behind their house, moved the children and put them to bed and then, exhausted, lay down beside them.

Zadok returned to find the flood waters had reached their new house and went in search of his family. He soon found them camped on the hillside with their neighbors. He told Mary that the whole town was under water and that he had narrowly escaped being washed away as he carried a young Swiss boy from the fort. As he had started through the torrent, the boy had leaned away causing Zadok to lose his balance and fall into the flood. In the struggle Zadok had lost his hat and as he lunged for it, [page 98] went into deeper water where he was rolled with the current for a few feet. Before being swept out into the main part of the flood, Zadok had regained his footing. Holding onto the boy and his hat, he had made his way back to the wall of the fort and waited inside until a rope had been secured. He then carried the boy through the flood to safety.

As Zadok recounted his experience to Mary, the dawn began to break and they could see Jacob Hamblin carrying the Swiss boy's mother on his back through the flood. Jacob also had to hold on to the rope to keep from being swept away by the raging water. The mother had given birth to a baby the day before so the family had refused to evacuate when they had first been advised.

The men worked all day to remove a large store of grain and molasses from the fort, but before it could all be saved, the heavy stone fort and its contents were washed away in the flood.

As the people watched, helpless to prevent it, one house after another followed the fort until all their homes were lost to the muddy water.

In the evening the flood began to recede, and just before dark, Jacob Hamblin walked to the edge of the bank to survey the situation; as he stood looking, the large piece of earth on which he was standing sluffed off into the current. His cries for help were drowned by the roar of the flood, but just as he was about to be washed away, a rope was thrown to him and he was pulled to safety.

The following day, after the water had subsided, the pioneers assessed the extent of the destruction. They observed that where their houses, a fort and a gristmill had stood there was now a gulch several rods wide and forty or fifty feet deep. Also destroyed by the flood was [page 99] a dam and an irrigation ditch which the Swiss colony had recently completed at a labor cost of $1,030. Of this incident, Mary wrote, "In this flood one town went down. Fort, gristmill and much of the farming land on which stood many beautiful shade and fruit trees. The results of years of toil and privation passed away like a dream or night vision, down the river Colorado and the sea." [Note 12. Ibid., p. 13.]

Zadok and Mary and the other families moved about two miles down the creek where a new town was surveyed and established. Zadok hired men to make adobes while he dug and rocked up a cellar. Before leaving that fall on a mission to the Navajo and Moqui Indians with Jacob Hamblin, Zadok had nearly completed a three-room house.

As bishop, Zadok had the responsibility of constructing a new school house. At his urging, the trustees had the brush cleared from the land. A foundation was laid and the building was soon completed.

In addition to working on his house through the summer, Zadok fenced his lot and set out fruit and shade trees. About the end of the summer, Zadok became seriously ill with chills and fever. The fever was of such severity that Zadok sometimes imagined he was taking an active part in the battles of the Civil War which he had read about in the newspaper.

On Sunday, October 26, 1862, Jacob Hamblin, while speaking at a stake conference in St. George, related some of his experiences among the Moqui (Hopi) Indians in Arizona and stated that President Young, during his recent visit to southern settlements, had told him that it was time [page 100] for him to extend his labors among the Lamanites. Apostle Orson Pratt also spoke on this occasion. After reflecting on the predictions of The Book of Mormon concerning the Lamanites, Elder Pratt requested twenty or twenty-five men to accompany Jacob Hamblin to the Moqui villages; they were to be ready to start on November 17. [Note 13. Bleak, op. cit., pp. 112-13.]

In the afternoon session of the conference, Zadok and nineteen other men were named as missionaries for the Moqui expedition. [Note 14. Diary of John Steele, quoted in Journal History, October 26, 1862. According to Steele the following men were called as missionaries: Thales Haskell, Jehiel McConnell, William Stewart, Thomas Walker, Taylor Crosby, Lucius Fuller, Francis

Hamblin, Ira Hatch, Zadok K. Judd, Joseph Knight, Nathan C. Tenney, William B. Maxwell, John Steele, Newton Adair, James Pearce, William P. Lytle, John M. Lytle, Alexander McIntire, Isaac Riddle, and Benjamin Redd.

Later eight others were called: Mosiah L. Hancock, James G. Smithson, James Andrus, Nephi Johnson, Hyrum Jerome Judd, Thomas J. Clark, David Cameron, and Albert Hamblin (an Indian boy adopted by Jacob Hamblin).]

Zadok began immediately to prepare for the trip. Each missionary was to take the following supplies: seventy-five pounds of flour or hard bread, twelve pounds of dried beef or bacon, twelve pounds of dried beans, one pound of salt, one riding animal, one pack animal with pack saddle, one lasso, one pair of hobbles for each animal, one canteen (two quart), one cup, one knife and scabbard, one tin plate, one revolver or light rifle or both if possible (with at least twelve rounds of ammunition and as much more as convenient), blankets, tea, sugar, coffee, molasses and other items as each man desired. [Note 15. Idem.]

[page 101] Interest in the missionary work had lagged on the part of both missionaries and Church leaders since the brutal slaying of George A. Smith, Jr. on the second mission across the Colorado. Encouraged, however, by President Brigham Young and other general authorities, the missionaries were enthusiastic and joined to make this a large expedition. Equipment for the journey included a boat to be taken by wagon to the Colorado River. This was the third regular mission to the Hopi Indians for Jacob and some of the missionaries. [Note 16. Jacob Hamblin and a few others had made a mid-winter trip to the Moqui country to retrieve the remains of George A. Smith, Jr. who was murdered by the Navajos while accompanying Jacob on the second mission.]

The men were set apart for their mission on Monday, November 17, 1862. [Note 17. Steele, Journal History, October 26, 1862.] In the afternoon, the company commenced their journey and traveled four miles to the Virgin River and camped for the night. [Note 18. Ibid., January 8, 1863.]

The missionaries traveled in a southerly direction. The previous missions had traveled east, fording the Colorado River at the Crossing of the Fathers or Ute Crossing. However, on this trip they were following the recommendation of President Young to cross the Colorado south of St. George and explore the country in that direction, with the hope of finding a more feasible route than the one previously traveled. [Note 19. Little, p. 85.]

[page 102] A week later, after struggling through rough and barren country, the missionaries arrived on the banks of the mighty Rio Colorado. The next day the wagon carrying their boat arrived and by sundown the boat had been assembled and readied for ferrying the men and equipment. By two o'clock the following day all the company had safely crossed the river.

They traveled through cold and sometimes stormy weather. John Steele recorded that one Sunday morning they found ice frozen one-half inch thick. [Note 20. Steele, Journal History, January 8, 1863.] When they camped at a small seep spring on December 2, they could see the San

Francisco Mountains to the southeast. Jacob Hamblin said that the next morning their Indian guide, whom they had recruited from a band of Sheepet Indians they had encountered earlier, refused to go farther because they were going into country destitute of water.

The men counseled together and decided they could reach the mountains without perishing. It was thirteen days later, however, before they found a stream of water located near an ancient Moqui village. The jubilant men took their hats off and gave three cheers.

After a day's rest in the village, they continued their journey and five days later, on December 18, they crested a ridge and could see the long looked for village of Oraibi standing upon a high prominent point of rocks. [Note 21. When they arrived near the village they found the Indians in readiness for war, their watchmen hallooing along the mountain warning of their approach. Thales Haskell went on alone to find out the cause of the hostile attitude on the part of the Indians among whom they had previously received warm welcome. When the Indians recognized Haskell, they rushed forward and began shaking his hand and greeting him joyfully. The Moquis had supposed the missionaries to be a marauding band of Navajos, traditional enemies of the Hopis, and had prepared to give them battle.]

[page 103] The missionaries remained at Oraibi doing missionary work Thursday, Friday and Saturday. The brethren talked to the Indians about sending some of their chief men back with the missionaries to see the Mormon people, their country and to talk with their leaders. The Indians were reluctant to go because of a tradition among them that they should not cross the great river until the three bearded white prophets who led them across the river should return and lead them back again.

Prior to the arrival of the missionaries, the Moquis had been holding some religious ceremonies, dancing and chanting, for the Great Spirit to send storms to wet their country, that they might have bounteous crops for the coming season. As Jacob Hamblin and his companions prepared to leave, the Indians counseled them to wait until the storm they had prayed and danced for had passed, for they were confident that they had been heard and that the storm would soon come.

Jacob was apprehensive about waiting longer to start home, however, for he had made a perilous journey during winter to return the remains of George A. Smith, Jr. to his father, and desired to avoid repeating the hardships and dangers of that trip. Consequently, the missionaries started homeward, leaving behind three of the group, Jehiel McConnell, Thales Haskell, and Ira Hatch, to labor among the Indians for a season. The storm came the first night out, and according to Jacob Hamblin, it wet the country well and the missionaries had to take shelter under a rock. [Note 22. Little, p. 86.]

While they were camped under the ledge three Moqi men overtook them with the announcement that the chiefs had held further consultation [page 104] and decided to let them go with the missionaries.

Since the snow covered the grass, the animals became weak and several died. Because of the inclement weather and the weakened condition of the animals, the missionaries' return journey was slow and tedious. At the Ute crossing the water was deep and running with ice, greatly increasing the hazards of fording. This, together with the tradition of the Moquis about crossing the river, caused the three Indians to be reluctant about continuing, and they did so only because Jacob Hamblin had anticipated their feelings and sent their provisions and blankets with the first missionaries to cross. When the Indians were safely on the other side, they stopped and gave thanks to the Father-of-All for their preservation. The crossing was accomplished January 1, 1863.

Originally it had been the intent of the missionaries to return by the same route by which they had come, but instead they used the old route through the Ute crossing.

Brothers Lucius M. Fuller and James Andrus, whose animals were still in fair condition, were advised to travel on as fast as practicable and send supplies back to the impoverished band who would follow slowly to save their weak animals. The main body of missionaries stopped a day at Pahreah and killed and cooked crows to supplement their meager rations.

The group plodded slowly on to Kanab Creek, and while camped there, Lucius Fuller and a companion arrived with a fat dressed sheep and some bread and flour, furnished by William B. Maxwell from his ranch on Short Creek. When the Moqui saw the food they thanked the Great Father for pitying them. This act deeply touched Jacob Hamblin who said, "Prayer and thanksgiving was the daily custom in our company--but to see these Indians, who are looked upon as barbarians, so humble and childlike in their reference to the Great Father, seems worthy of special notice." [Note 23. Ibid., p. 88.]

The brethren who brought the food brought also the sad news to Jacob Hamblin that one of his sons had been killed at Santa Clara. The one killed was thought to be Lyman. However, during the night, Jacob had a dream and the next morning said that he had learned that it was Duane. [Note 24. Idem.]

Duane had been working on an irrigation ditch when the bank caved off and buried him. He had recently returned from his mission for the church and had been married only a few months. [Note 25. Mary Judd, Autobiography, p. 14.]

Before leaving on the Moqui expedition, Zadok had hired a carpenter to finish his house. During his absence on this mission, Zadok was released as bishop and replaced by Edward Bunker, who moved his family into the small house with Zadok's wife and children. Upon arriving home, Zadok learned of his release and found the Bunker family still living in his house. Zadok immediately turned the tithing and records over to Bishop Bunker and stated that everything was properly accounted for.

During the summer of 1863, the Judds continued their frontier life activities at Santa Clara. They had built and were living in their third home since moving to Santa Clara and with the

luxuriant growth of the shade and fruit trees and grape vines around the house it was beginning [page 106] to be cool and pleasant.

Mary continued to spin yarn and to make coverlets, jeans, and other useful articles while Zadok kept busy with farm work. Much of Zadok's best farm land had been washed away in the flood in January 1862, and other parts of it were divided between some Swiss families for the new Santa Clara city lots, so Zadok prepared and planted an area five miles up the Santa Clara creek and raised some excellent crops.

In the fall of 1863, Zadok and Mary's children were sick with an illness which Mary called the putrid sore throat. All the efforts they and a local doctor made were not sufficient to cure all of the children and four year old Lois died October 12. They buried her beside the grave of her sister Harriet Pauline. There was much ill health at Santa Clara throughout 1863, especially among the children.

On April 3, 1864, Mary gave birth to their sixth child, a son, whom they named Ezra Aner.

In the spring of 1864, the Church leaders suggested that some of the families leave the overcrowded Santa Clara settlement and go to some valleys seventy-five miles north west where it was suitable for dairy farms. Zadok and Mary, with several other families feeling that it might be more healthful, moved to a place called Meadow Valley. [Note 26. Meadow and Eagle Valleys are in the northeast part of Lincoln County, Nevada, near Pioche.]

Soon after their arrival, they found there were silver mines nearby and the men staked out claims. Miners soon began moving to Meadow Valley and vicinity in considerable numbers to mine the silver. Some of the miners camped near the Saints and cut hay from the meadows, but for their vegetables [page 107] and dairy products, the miners traded with the Mormons, providing the Saints with a small income.

Throughout their colonization, the Saints generally had followed the counsel of President Brigham Young to feed the Indians rather than fight them, but this was not the general policy of other white men in the west who frequently preferred to fight the Indians. The Indians recognized the difference and made a distinction between Mormons and Americans.

When the Saints first moved to Meadow Valley, the Indians were friendly and traded berries and nuts with them, but with the influx of miners the situation changed to one of distrust and fighting and the Mormon families found it necessary to move close together for protection.

Trouble increased in the fall of 1864, when some Indians were captured and put under guard. One Indian escaped and another was killed in the attempt. Mary said of the occasion:

> One broke and ran away and I never saw such running before. One man shot at him but he ran all the faster. He went like a kite in the wind. He beat both men

and horses and was soon out of sight behind the low mountains in the distance. Other Indians tried to get away and fought like bloodhounds. I think one of the prisoners was killed during these efforts to escape. This made more trouble. [Note 27. Idem.]

For the winter months Zadok and Mary and a few other families returned to Santa Clara taking with them their twenty-five head of cattle and horses. The Judds had made a large supply of butter and cheese for themselves and Jacob Hamblin. Mary had continued her work with the loom, making some checked flannel for dresses.

While the family was in Santa Clara, their adopted Indian boy, [page 108] Lamoni, died on January 28, 1865.

When spring came Zadok sold his home in Santa Clara to George Bonnelli and moved to Eagle Valley. Enroute to the valley, they stopped for a rest at the home of an acquaintance whose neighbor's children had the measles. Soon after they arrived at Eagle Valley four of Zadok's children, two nephews, Arza and Don Carlos Judd, and a Mrs. Young who had traveled with them, broke out with the disease. Most of the small children of the community died from the measles including Zadok and Mary's one year old son, Arza Aner.

The houses of Eagle Valley were built close together in the shape of a fort with the school house occupying most of one end. The families lived in the fort for three years as a protection against the Indians who continued to be troublesome.

On April 9, 1866, a daughter, Esther Arena, was born.

In the fall of 1866, a community was surveyed and city lots were laid off and assigned to the families. The following spring, Zadok planted his lot with mulberry, apple, peach and pear trees and currant, gooseberry, and strawberry plants. The families continued to make improvements and to be generally successful. In 1868, Zadok moved his family into a small house on their city lot and during the year built a barn, and fenced his field, dividing it into pasture and hay crop acreage.

To supplement their income from the farm, Zadok hauled lumber to Pioche and sold it to the miners of that community. On one trip Henry Eli fell from the load and one of the front wheels passed over his body. Zadok thought he was dead, but, as he picked him up, two elders, a Brother Adams and a Brother Nicoll, came by and after finding that Zadok was a Mormon, [page 109] administered to the boy and Henry Eli recovered.

In Eagle Valley, the Judds were visited frequently by a young man, Charles Henry Oliphant, whose object was to court Zadok's oldest daughter Lucinda. The couple were married in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City, April 11, 1870.

On August 14, 1870, a son, Samuel Ami, was born to Zadok and Mary. He was their eighth

child and the last to be born in Eagle Valley.

During the winter of 1870-71, Zadok began building a one-and one-half story frame house which he never completed. When the Mormon families first settled in Eagle Valley, it was thought to be in Utah, but when a later survey showed the area to be part of Nevada and problems arose over high tax levies, President Young advised the families to move back to Utah settlements.

In the spring of 1871, Zadok took his family and turned east to Kanab, to build and plant anew.

CHAPTER XII

KANAB

[page 110] Before any organized attempt to establish a settlement at Kanab, a few men moved their cattle into the area and lived in dug-outs along the creek. The missionaries to the Moquis made the Kanab Creek one of their main campsites as they traveled to and from their missions. It was on at least one of these trips that Zadok became acquainted with the Kanab area which he later helped to colonize.

A small settlement was begun in 1864, but was abandoned two years later because of Indian depredations in connection with the Black Hawk war. Livestock was frequently driven off and in January 1866, Dr. James Whitmore and a herder by the name of McIntyre were killed by a band of Indians near Kanab. In March 1866, President Brigham Young advised the families to leave Kanab and move approximately fifteen miles north to Windsor (now Mt. Carmel). In April 1866, Joseph and Robert Berry and Robert's wife, Isabella were murdered in the area. When President Young received word of the atrocity, he advised the families to move to the Dixie settlements, and the Kanab and Windsor families, with the protection of a strong guard from Cedar and St. George, moved to Dixie in June 1866.

In the spring of 1869, Jacob Hamblin and four other men and their families moved to Kanab and engaged in farming. [Note 1. The other men were John Mangum, James Mangum, George Ross and James Wilkins.] Some friendly Piute Indians lived in the fort with the white families and helped guard the [page 111] settlers livestock from raids by the still troublesome Navajos from across the Colorado River.

In the spring of 1870, President Brigham Young, George A. Smith, Erastus Snow, John Taylor, John W. Young, Lorenzo D. Young, Brigham Young, Jr., A. S. Gibbons, Joseph Asay, and about twenty men as guards made a visit to the southern Utah settlements, and on April 2, visited Kanab. A meeting was held in the fort and Brigham Young dedicated the land of Kanab unto the Lord, blessed it, and set it apart for the gathering of the Saints. Upon his return to Salt Lake City, President Young called Levi Stewart to form a company of men and establish a settlement on the Kanab Creek. [Note 2. Elsie Chamberlain Carroll, ed., History of Kane County, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Kane County Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1960), p. 17.]

Stewart formed a company of fifty-two persons from Big Cottonwood, and Bountiful, and one family from Goshen; and these pioneers arrived in Kanab in June 1870. The arrival of Stewart's company to join with Jacob Hamblin and the few families who had moved to Kanab the previous year from the mission on the Muddy, marked the official re-settlement of Kanab.

The families that accompanied Levi Stewart to Kanab moved into the homes in the fort where the Piutes had lived and had an unpleasant task cleaning the homes and ridding them of lice

and other vermin.

Early in the spring of 1871, the Judds left their home and the improvements they had made in Eagle Valley and began the two-hundred mile journey to Kanab. Zadok loaded two wagons with as many of their household furnishings, food, clothing, and other possessions as he thought the teams could pull and the wagons would hold. By placing the cook stove in the wagon and the table upside-down with a cover over the legs, Zadok provided [page 112] a place for his little children to keep warm while traveling in the cold March weather.

Five children made the trip to Kanab with their parents. Sixteen year old Zadok Knapp, Jr., was of great help in driving the second team and wagon. The job ten year old Henry Eli usually performed was driving the stock, but he also served as camp water carrier and relief driver for Knapp. Esther Arena, who was nearly five, sometimes tried to be helpful, but usually played, carefree and mischievously each day of the long journey. She remembered years later, how frightened she was of the barking wail of the coyote as they camped along the way. Asa Walter, who was two, had just learned to walk, and Samuel Ami was a six-month old baby. [Note 3. Autobiography of Esther Arena Judd Ford, p. 5.]

Their route was through Panguitch where they camped in an empty house for a few days while they renewed acquaintances with the Waldo Littlefield family and other families who had been with them in other settlements. While they were at Panguitch, Mary opened a pound can of honey which Zadok had purchased in Pioche for fifty cents and spread some bread for the children. Years later, as she wrote her own life story, Esther Arena remembered it as the best honey she had ever eaten. [Note 4. Ibid.]

Ira and Ancel Hatch and their families accompanied the Judds on the journey from Panguitch to Kanab. The little company arrived in Kanab April 1, 1871, and the Judds moved onto a city lot across the street from Jacob Hamblin. Some of the families were moving onto their city lots, but many were still living in the fort.

[page 113] The town had been surveyed the previous year when the Stewart company arrived and was laid out in square blocks with the streets running straight with the directions of north-south and east-west. Each block was divided into four lots. The influence of the Prophet Joseph Smith's plan for future cities of Zion may be seen in Kanab and in many of the communities built by the Saints.

Zadok was allowed three city lots. On one of these he made a temporary home for this [his] family by removing the covered wagon box from the wheels onto the ground and adding a lean-to room on the side. The days and weeks that followed were some of the busiest Zadok ever spent. He planted the two extra city lots into peach, plum, and apricot trees and grape vines and dug ditches to bring water to them. As a beginning for a better house, he dug a cellar and rocked up the walls; he hauled lumber from the saw mill and placed sleepers and flooring over the room, and after adding a temporary roof, he moved the cook stove into it and it became a kitchen and dining room,

greatly relieving the crowded wagon.

To Zadok, it seemed that Kanab was the windiest place he had ever lived. There were times during the summer when the wind blew with such force that it lifted the end of the wagon box off the ground and would have blown the roof off the basement room except for a rawhide rope weighted with rocks which Zadok placed over it. The wind-blown sand covered the young grape vines, making it necessary to periodically remove the sand from each vine to keep them from perishing.

Through the latter part of the summer, Zadok and many other men of the community spent much of their time in a large clay deposit northeast of Kanab making adobes for their homes. In the fall, Zadok built, upon the [page 114] previously constructed basement, a two-room house with a fireplace. By Christmas the home was sufficiently complete to allow the family to enjoy the fireplace.

For several years relations were strained between the Indians and the white settlers at Kanab. In 1871, a party of about thirty hostile Navajos visited Kanab and made unreasonable demands of the settlers' short supply of food. They were in a surly mood and with bow and arrows in hand, threatened to enforce their demands. Jacob Hamblin and some of the other men of the town assembled at the Judd's, where the Indians were gathered, and held council about what to do in the situation. Mary suggested feeding the Indians their breakfast, and the men argued. Jacob asked Mary to feed a few and distributed the remaining braves to other homes.

Mary made a pot of mush and roasted some ears of corn for the Indians left with her. After the Indians had finished eating, they seemed satisfied and, after trading with the settlers for a few items, they departed. [Note 5. Judd, Autobiography, p. 23.]

In the summer of 1872, Zadok completed the rooms he had started the previous year and over the next few years, as means provided, he added to the house, making it quite comfortable for the family until it was destroyed by fire in 1880. To replace the burned home, Zadok built a two-story house which was also burned in 1892, making it necessary for him to build a third home in Kanab.

On January 30, 1873, a son, James Arthur, was born, and after living a brief four months, passed away May 30. This was the fourth child [page 115] Zadok and Mary had lost and Mary wrote that the deaths of their children tended to keep them thoughtful, sober, and prayerful that they might be prepared to meet those who had been called away to that better land. [Note 6. Mary Judd, Autobiography, p. 15.]

Less than a year after the death of their son, James Arthur, another son was born to Zadok and Mary. He was born May 2, 1874, and was given the name of William Leonard.

In July 1875, Zadok went to work at the community dairy at buttermilk on the divide. As

he prepared to leave for the dairy, Mary expressed the desire to take the children and accompany him. Their baby, William Leonard, was sick at the time, however, and Zadok advised Mary to remain at home where she might give the baby better care. Mary did as she was counseled and gave the baby the best care she could, but when he continued to fail in health, Mary joined her husband at the herd, hopeful that the higher altitude and cooler air might benefit the baby. In spite of loving care and administrations by the priesthood, the baby died on August 20, 1875.

William Leonard was the fifth of their children to die an Zadok and Mary found his death particularly hard to accept. Of the occasion Mary wrote:

> . . . death came and we had no power it seemed. But I could not give him up and did not until he was buried, and then I felt as if I had buried my heart with him. I had buried four children before this time and I thought God would not want so many of our children if we only knew how to stay the hand of death . . . I felt as though I would never be joyful again. But I decided to say as little as I could and would try to away my sorrow. [Note 7. Idem.]

[page 116] The pathos of Mary's expression echoes the despair other parents of the era must have felt when they were called upon to bury their babies because of the lack of knowledge and medical skill necessary to save them.

But death came to challenge Zadok and Mary again and again as they watched their own and other babies die. During the next seven and one-half years, Mary gave birth to three more children, Mary Gertrude, born June 22, 1876, Arza Orange, born June 18, 1880, and John Lael, born December 17, 1881, Of these three, only Mary Gertrude survived. Arza Orange died March 2, 1881, at age nine months. Mary wrote of the event, "It seemed that death was the only visitor at our house," [Note 8. Idem.] John Lael was only five months old when he died on May 28, 1882; and Mary mourned, "Seven of our fourteen are now buried beneath the sod and what is earth, but a place to mourn. The Lord alone knows how deep the sorrow has been in our hearts. No other could tell of all I have felt and passed through in so much death." [Note 9. Idem.]

As an ordained mid-wife, Mary helped with the birth of many of her grandchildren as well as the babies of many other mothers in every community in which she lived. In addition to her service at the birth of babies, Mary also gave much time and effort to relieve the suffering of the sick. To do this, she learned all she could about herbs and how to use them. Zadok and Mary raised their own herbs at Kanab and perhaps elsewhere, and steeped them in the wine from their grapes, producing what they called bitter herbs. Also at Kanab, Mary had a carriage drawn by a [page 117] white horse by which she was known by the people as she went around caring for the sick of Kanab and other communities.

As previously stated, the United Order was first organized in Kanab on March 12, 1874. The organization was effected by John R. Young who had been in St. George during the winter of

1873-74 when President Brigham Young taught the people the principles of communal living. He was greatly impressed by the teachings and was chosen by President Young and George A. Smith to visit the settlements of southeastern Utah and organize them into United Order companies. On March 11, 1874, John R. Young arrived in Kanab where, in a meeting called by Bishop Levi Stewart, he explained the principles of the communal order.

There were four distinguishable kinds of United Orders established in the church. The Order in Kanab was basically patterned after the plan used in St. George. Each family contributed all of its economic property to the order and shares were given according to the amount of property given and the labor performed. With this plan a small community was able to profit from an increase in specialization of labor and, by cooperative farming, realize more value from their farms. Families were permitted to regularly make withdrawals in the form of consumer goods and services. [Note 10. Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 330.]

The organization was directed by a board elected for that purpose. The Corporation was to continue for a period of twenty-five years with the following objectives: to promote all industries, mining, manufacturing, commercial and other industrial pursuits; for the construction and operation of wagon roads and irrigating ditches; for the colonization and improvement of lands, and for the establishment and maintenance of colleges, [page 118] seminaries, churches, libraries and any benevolent, charitable, or scientific association and for any other rightful object consistent with the constitution of the United States. [Note 11. Carroll, p. 59.]

On March 12, Zadok and the head of nearly every family in the area joined the United Order. A census at the time listed 261 members in Kanab, 39 in Johnson branch and 67 in Paria branch for a total of 367. The officers of the United Order board of directors in Kanab were elected as follows: John R. Young, president; Bishop Levi Stewart, vice president; Thomas Robertson, second vice president; James Lewis, secretary; John Rider, treasurer; Taylor Crosby, foreman of farming; Charles H. Oliphant, foreman of gardens.

Some of the companies and institutions operating under the Kanab Order were as follows: The Tannery and Manufacturing Company, the Sawmill Company, the Co-op Sheep herd, the Sink Valley ranch, a brick yard, and dairy ranches at Cave Lakes, on the Divide at Buttermilk, and at Swallow Park.

One of the decisions of the Kanab United Order was to ". . . only have business with the men and leave the families alone for the man to manage, letting each family have a cow, chickens, pigs; and the women can get their trinkets with eggs, butter, and take the labor off the hands of the Board." [Note 12. Idem.] It was also decided that the lot upon which the person lived would be for the use of the family with the member of the order given the privilege of using one day each week, assigned by the superintendent to care for it. All other property was turned over to the Order with credit given each person on the records. Appraisers were appointed and [page 119] appraisals began in May 1874, with each animal, building, tree, garden, and tool individually appraised and

credited.

The United Order had an enthusiastic and united beginning, but by December 1874, dissension and discord had arisen. The disagreement was over leadership. Some of the members backed Bishop Levi Stewart in his assertion that as bishop he should be president of the United Order; others stood behind John R. Young, who claimed to have been sent by President Brigham Young to organize the United Order in the area.

Mary had been upset by the controversy over who would be the leader of the United Order and was concerned about the effect it was having on her family, her older boys particularly. She wrote a letter to President George A. Smith, telling him of the conditions among the men of the Order and asked his advice. She received a letter written on January 29, 1875, containing the following answer:

> . . . You enquire if Bro. John R. Young is expected to be the President of the United Order at Kanab; that a great many say he is crowding out Bp. Stewart and that there is a perfect hell on this point. In reply I state as near as I remember the instruction sent by Pres. B. Young and myself: "Let the people of Kanab settlement when assembled for selecting the Board of Directors for the United Order act perfectly free, make known their feeling to each other, and when they have made their selection of the brethren let all controversy and differences of opinion be hushed to sleep." In this advice you perceive no name is used, the choice being left entirely to the people of Kanab . . .
>
> In reference to your boys, I believe that they, if you continue faithful will be inspired to abide in the truth, and I am glad that you have the spirit to influence them in that direction - which you should do continually. [Note 13. George A. Smith, January 29, 1875, original handwritten letter, in possession of Agnes F. Johnson, Kanab, Utah.]

During this controversy regarding leadership, the United Order was officially organized through the court at Toquerville May 1, 1875, with [page 120] John R. Young as President. In a meeting of the members of the Order at Kanab, March 7, 1875, the officers, as listed earlier in this chapter, were sustained, with the addition of Charles H. Oliphant, Zadok K. Judd, and Nathan Adams as appraisers. A few days later the responsibility of raising broom corn and caring for the mulberry plants was entrusted to Zadok.

Problems continued to appear in the Order as evidenced by an entry in the minutes of March 26, stating the board's decision to issue no further rations of food to those who were not identified by their labors in the Order. On May 29, discord in the Order was manifest by the notation that some had withdrawn their lands, others had refused to work, and that Bishop Stewart had forbidden the holding of Order meetings unless he or his counselors presided. [Note 14. Carroll, p. 61.]

On September 17, 1875, President Daniel H. Wells, Lorenzo Snow, and Erastus Snow,

general authorities of the Church, and Bishop L. John Nuttall of Provo attended a special meeting of the board of the United Order of Kanab. President Wells had with him a letter from President Brigham Young releasing John R. Young as President of the United Order and Levi Stewart as Bishop of Kanab Ward and uniting both duties under L. John Nuttall as Bishop. The purpose of this move was to "unite the hearts end feelings of the brethren and consolidate the interests of the people. [Note 15. Diary of L. John Nuttall, typewritten copy located in B. Y. U. Library, Provo, Utah, pp. 45, 46.]

By January 2, 1876, the former Board of Directors had settled their accounts and on January 3, a new board of nine directors was chosen as follows: L. John Nuttall, president; Levi Stewart, first vice president; [page 121] Thomas Robertson, second vice president; James Lewis, secretary; John Rider, treasurer; Joseph G. Brown, field and farming superintendent; and John Standiford, Abel A. Dewitt, and Taylor Crosby as other members of the board. [Note 16. Diary of Allen Frost, typewritten copy located in B. Y. U. Library, Provo, Utah, January 3, 1876, p. 84.] John R. Young was nominated as a board member but declined.

Reminiscent of the reformation movement of 1856-7, when many of the members of the Church were rebaptized to renew their covenants, all who desired to again be part of the Kanab United Order were required to covenant by an oath and to be rebaptized. Zadok and approximately sixty heads of families entered the Order and were rebaptized. [Note 17. Nuttall, p. 100, and Carroll, p. 63.]

The condition of the United Order improved for awhile. With renewed energy, the men went to work to make it a success. Crops were planted and new assignments made for foremen of the herds and other industries. Plans were made and a new school house was constructed. However, in January 1877, Allen Frost recorded that the bishop chastized some of the brethren for not cooperating and sustaining the United Order as they had covenanted. [Note 18. Frost, p. 124.]

Wednesday, April 18, 1877, L. John Nuttall was sustained as president of the stake and set apart by Elder John Taylor. His counselors were Howard O. Spencer and James L Bunting. At the same meeting Zadok K. Judd was sustained as president of the priests quorum and set [page 122] apart by Orson Pratt. [Note 19. Nuttall, pp. 45, 46.]

Zadok was elected to the board of directors of the United Order on February 5, 1877. [Note 20. Frost, p. 124.] He was active in the meetings and affairs of the Order and, as a member of the board, he frequently accompanied President Nuttall on speaking trips throughout the valley.

Problems continued to besiege the United Order until the Church leaders agreed to discontinue the experiment. Many of the problems arose from human weaknesses of selfishness, jealousy and indolence. Zadok surmised that ". . . there was only five-cent difference between the man that worked and the man that idled, and the man that idled generally had the five cents, for he was always at home and knew when anything was brought into the treasury and would call for the first and the best." [Note 21. Judd, Autobiography, p. 28.] "The majority seemed in favor of

discontinuing," Zadok observed. "A meeting of the board of directors was called, of which board I was at the time a member. The matter was discussed at some length and a plan was formed to divide the property on hand and pay off each individual according to the credit which he had received. This was the end of the United Order." [Note 22. Idem.] Apparently, this final meeting was held September 15, 1877.

For many years the Saints had been without a temple in which to perform the vicarious saving ordinances for the dead. It was announced [page 123] in 1871 that a temple would be built in St. George. The site was dedicated November 9, 1871. During the construction of the temple, the Saints throughout southern Utah were called to assist in this project. Men and teams from Kanab joined the enterprise. Zadok and four or five other men from the area hauled grain from Long Valley to St. George to provide feed for the teams used to haul rock for the temple. Later Zadok sent a boy and a four-horse team to transport lumber from Mt. Trumbull to the temple site, a distance of eighty miles.

As the temple neared completion, Zadok realized that he would soon have the opportunity to perform the saving ordinances for his dead ancestors. Accordingly, he wrote to relatives and obtained the necessary information for the ordinances to be performed. He secured names and dates of several hundred ancestors for whom he either did the temple work himself or hired the work done, believing that by this action he was fulfilling a promise made by Patriarch Joseph Smith, Sr., that he would be a Savior on Mt. Zion.

Wherever Zadok established his home he planted shade trees, fruit trees of various kinds, grapes, and berries. He always included mulberry trees. Perhaps that was one of the reasons he was asked by the Church leaders to experiment with producing silk. In 1875 Zadok and Mary began hatching and nurturing silk worms on shelves built in the upstairs rooms of their house. The worms required constant care, having to be fed shredded mulberry leaves every four hours. The climate of Kanab proved unfavorable for producing large quantities of silk but their daughter Gertrude, helped to raise and collect enough silk for a wedding dress which she wore when she married Charles Cottam in 1903.

[page 124] Grape wine produced from Zadok's grape vines provided a source of income for the family. They made the wine themselves and sold it from barrels which Zadok became skilled in making. The barrels, which varied from five to fifty gallons in size, were also used to store and sell molasses, honey, beeswax, peach preserves, and dried fruit. These products were all produced in Zadok's orchards, fields, and beehives, and prepared by the family. After loading his wagon with these commodities, Zadok would travel as far north as Panguitch, trading food for cash or needed supplies.

Throughout his life, Zadok exemplified the qualities of industriousness and dependability. He engaged in many activities in the Church, including being bishop, superintendent of the Sunday School, missionary to the Lamanites, and a member of the board of directors of the United Order. He participated in community functions and projects. He became treasurer of the town Corporation

of Kanab in 1884. He was appointed prosecuting attorney on December 26, 1885. When a murder was committed on Buckskin Mountain in 1866, Zadok was appointed Justice of the Peace at the coroner's inquest; and, in 1887 he was appointed Sexton of the Kanab Cemetery. For twelve years Zadok had the contract for carrying the mail for Johnson, Utah, to Lees Ferry on the Colorado River. He was active on election days gathering and transporting people to the polls in his carriage, and he represented the Mormon Battalion in the Kanab July 24th celebrations. During that holiday, he rode his horse and carried a banner bearing the inscription of a "Ram in a thicket."

Zadok's progressiveness helped promote many projects for the improvement of the town and its citizens. In 1899, though in his seventy-first [page 125] year, Zadok became one of the original stockholders of the newly established Kanab Pipeline Company. Water for irrigation and culinary purposes was a major problem in Kanab. Zadok devoted much time and energy to working on ditches and in helping to build dams on Kanab Creek. The building of a dam was a continual project because one dam after another was built only to be washed out by a flood and the job would have to be done over again. The floods also deposited sand and rubbish on the farm land. One flood left mud to the depth of fourteen inches on Zadok's wheat field, ruining much of the wheat that had been harvested and shocked up. [Note 23. Idem.] It was not until two years after Zadok's death that a successful permanent dam was completed.

Towards the end of their lives, Zadok and Mary applied for and received a pension from the government for his services in the Mormon Battalion. But this pension did not continue for many years, for Zadok died at his home, January 28, 1909, and was buried at Kanab Cemetery on January 30. Mary survived him only six months, dying August 5, 1909.

Zadok lived a productive and eventful life but in such a modest way that it led the author of his obituary to write, "In the passing away of Mr. Judd, the community loses one of its quiet and most exemplary members, the Mormon Battalion one of its few surviving heroes, and the state one of her sturdy home builders and hardy pioneers. [Note 23. Military records of Zadok Knapp Judd, General Services Administration, Washington, D. C.]

As one of the individuals making up the masses or groups in history, Zadok played an important role, not because the history of the [page 126] the country or the Church would have been significantly different without his life, but because his willingness to follow the counsel of the Church leaders and to devote himself to the cause he espoused, contributed to the success of some of the small segments or movements which make up the whole of history.

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ABSTRACT

Zadok Knapp Judd was born in Bastard, Leeds, Upper Canada on August 15, 1828, the sixth of nine children born to Arza and Lucinda Adams Judd. His mother died when he was six and his father remarried. In 1836, missionaries for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day- Saints were preaching in the area, and the Judd family was converted and baptized. From that point, Zadok's life was devoted to and primarily directed by his participation in church movements.

Zadok's family left Canada in 1837, and arrived in Kirtland, Ohio, in time to follow the exodus of the Saints to Missouri in 1838. There, as a young boy, Zadok witnessed the abusive persecutions suffered by Mormon church members. The family was driven, with the church membership, from Far West to Nauvoo, Illinois, and lived in that area until further persecution forced the Saints farther west.

On the way to Winter Quarters, in July 1846, Zadok enlisted in the Mormon Battalion, being one of the smallest (five feet two inches tall), and youngest members of that group. The course of events then took him on a grueling two thousand mile march through Santa Fe, New Mexico to California.

He was discharged from the army in 1847, and came to Utah the following summer. He established a tailor shop in Salt Lake City which he operated until 1849, when he participated in the Provo War.

Zadok responded to a call for saints to accompany George A. Smith to colonize southern Utah in December 1850, where he helped [page 2] establish the community of Parowan. In 1856 he moved his family to Santa Clara to join Jacob Hamblin as a missionary to the Lamanites. He became the first bishop of Santa Clara Ward and, as a participant in the Cotton Mission, produced a workable cotton gin.

Zadok was among the saints who colonized Eagle Valley, Nevada, and, when the saints were recalled from there in 1871, he moved his family to Kanab, Utah, where he lived the remaining years of his life as a faithful member of the church, a progressive, active citizen of the community and a participant in the United Order experiment, serving as a member of the board of directors.

While living in Parowan, he met and married fourteen year old Mary Minerva Dart, November 14, 1852. They were sealed in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City, Utah, August 10, 1856. They became the parents of fourteen children, seven of whom died in early childhood. They also adopted three Lamanite children.

Zadok worked as a tailor and also became a productive farmer, raising grapes, fruit trees, cane for molasses and, also raising bees and experimenting with silk worms. He carried the mail from Johnson to Lee's Ferry, Arizona, for twelve years, served as cemetery sexton, Justice of the

Peace and coroner.

He died in Kanab, Utah, January 28, 1909.

Zadok's membership in the church directed the course of his life, and he contributed to the success of those movements of the [page 3] church in which he participated.

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