# ARZA ADAMS

# CHRONICLE OF A PIONEER

by

Effie W. Adams

with

Dale W Adams



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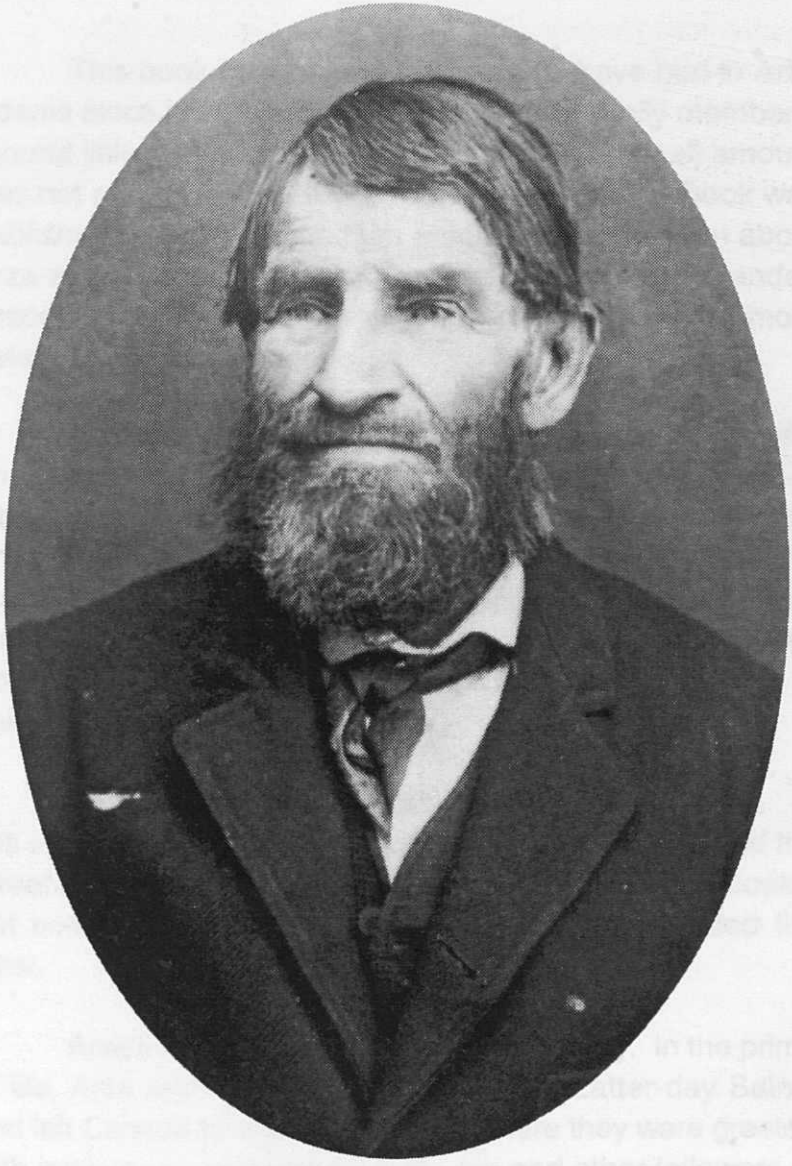

*Arza Adams*

# Foreword

This book results from an interest I have had in Arza Adams since I wrote a sketch of his life for family members. I found little written about him, and even that small amount was not readily available. The first edition of this book was published in 1982. Since then much new information about Arza and his family has become available. This expanded second edition includes this new information as well as more details on Arza's ancestors.

I have attempted to present Arza as his own writing and historical records reveal him. A primary source of information has been Arza's journals. Five of them are in the Special Collections in the Lee Library at Brigham Young University. I have transcribed them, and a copy of that transcription is filed with the original journals. Several pages from his journal are reproduced in one of the appendices to give readers a flavor of his writing.

Arza was not the type who sought the spotlight. In this respect, he was like most of the pioneers who settled the Great Basin. They left few individual tracks in history books, but collectively they provided the muscle that settled the west.

Arza's roots go back to early U.S. history. In the prime of life, Arza and his wife Sabina became Latter-day Saints and left Canada to settle in Missouri where they were greeted with intolerance and persecution. He and other followers of latter-day prophets fled the persecution in Missouri to Quincy, to Nauvoo, to Iowa, and finally found peace, but not plenty, in the Territory of Deseret.

Arza's family was the first to settle permanently in American Fork, Utah. He helped build it into one of Utah's strong and stable communities. He was the father of 27 children; 17 of them lived to maturity.

Arza is the grandfather of my husband, J. Arza Adams, and since I am not related to him by blood, I perhaps enjoy an objectivity that allows me to observe the strengths and weaknesses this pioneer passed on to his descendants. His numerous and scattered descendents ought to know more about this interesting person who gave them a genetic and cultural inheritance that has opened many doors of opportunity for them.

Effie W. Adams
Pleasant Grove, Utah
Originally published in 1982
Revised in 1999

# Acknowledgements

We owe a debt to Arza Adams for occasionally keeping a journal. On several of his missions he kept a day to day account. More commonly, he made journal entries about events that occurred some time earlier. Appreciation of his writing takes first place in my acknowledgments.

Much of the research used here was done by Harriet Pearson Mulliner. She is a careful and skilled researcher who generously took time to share and interpret all information she found. I was able to included genealogical information, sketches, letters, and much else because she had collected such information over a period of more than 50 years.

LaBelle Andersen Ingersoll, who was the acknowledged keeper of the family memorabilia, generously shared her collection, as well as identified old sites in American Fork. Challis Snarr and Beulah Tweede are other Adams cousins who provided valuable information included in this revised edition. Carlos Adams, a descendent of Arza's brother Barnabas, passed on information about his side of the family that amplifies what was known about Arza. Many other Adams relatives provided encouragement along the way.

My son, Dale, helped in preparing this substantially expanded edition. He visited most of the places where Arza's ancestors lived and took several pictures that are included in the book. My granddaughter in law, Michele Adams, also provided excellent editorial suggestions and corrected many errors that would have otherwise marred the book. I thank them for their help.

Much of the additional information included in this edition was extracted from items in the Family History Library and the History Department and Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City. These

excellent libraries are a gold mine for those who are digging for nuggets about their ancestors. All of us who are interested in history owe much to those who patiently assembled and catalogued the vast amount of material in these libraries.

# Table of Contents

# Illustrations

# Chapter 1

## Arza's Ancestors

You have a history book written in your genes.
-- Spencer Wells

The settlement of the Great Basin is often portrayed through the experiences of prominent individuals. It is sometimes forgotten that these leaders would not have gained prominence without the efforts and support of thousands of hardy and loyal followers. These yeoman left few tracks on historical records. They were occasionally bishops and counselors, they cut the timber, they constructed homes, they gave birth, they buried the dead, they tended the ill, they guarded the threatened, they cleared the fields and trails, and they dug the ditches. They likewise built the wagons, herded the cattle, raked the hay, did the hunting, cooked the meals, planted the crops, rescued the desperate, assisted the poor, pulled the handcarts, mostly followed orders, answered military and mission calls, and constructed public buildings.

Arza Adams and his family were among these common yet uncommon followers. He, like many other early members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, had roots that reach into early U.S. history. He was born in 1804, near Delta in Leeds County, Ontario, Canada.[1] In the early 1850s he and his family were the first permanent settlers in American Fork, Utah. He died there in 1889 at the age of 85. His life spanned the settlement of a vast portion of the American continent from chilly upper Canada, through

[1] Delta has had several name changes. It was known as Stone Mill during the time Arza's family lived there. It was later called Beverly and still later called Delta.

the fertile American heartland, and then to the high mountains of the arid west. His life sheds light on the stresses and strains endured by pioneers. He inherited and passed to his progeny the independence, resourcefulness, stubbornness, restlessness, and willingness to forge into the unknown exhibited by many of his forefathers.

## Adams Ancestors

Arza's paternal ancestors came from England, lived in three areas in Massachusetts, helped establish several communities in central Connecticut, settled in central Vermont, and then helped open and colonize two areas in upper Canada. His ancestors participated in the King Philip's War, the Revolutionary War, and the War of 1812. His paternal ancestors spent many days with axes in hand felling trees. His maternal ancestors trace their roots through four pilgrims who crossed the Atlantic in the Mayflower and landed in Plymouth in 1620.

### Watertown, Massachusetts

The immigrant ancestor of the paternal branch of Arza's family was George Adams who came to America *before 1645 and settled in Watertown, Massachusetts* (Henry Adams).[2] The place and date of George's birth is unknown

[2]A suspect genealogy claims that George Adams of Watertown was a nephew of Henry Adams of Braintree who was an ancestor of President John Adams (Bond, Vol. II, p. 43). This claim is based on a pedigree of *the Adams family published in* The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. 7, (1853) pp. 39-40. The Register later published several notes that challenged the validity of parts or all of this Adams pedigree: Vol. 31, (1877) p. 333; Vol. 34, (1880) pp. 66-69 and pp. 432-434; and especially Vol. 37 (1883), pp.159-160. The fact that many of Arza's male ancestors and his progeny were tall, while President John Adams and his son John Quincy Adams were only five foot seven inches in height, further weakens the argument that Arza's ancestors were closely related to the Presidents.

but it was likely in England in the early 1620s.[3] Several shreds of information hint he may have migrated to New England through Barbados.[4]

Located about seven miles up the Charles River from Boston, Watertown was the first inland settlement in Massachusetts. Small ships could use the river as far as Watertown. It was later a jumping-off-point for settlers of the interior of the state. The town was colonized in 1630 by Puritan nonconformists who were attracted by abundant fresh water, ample tillable land, water falls that provided power for mills, and excellent fishing (Drake). In the 1630s a grist mill was constructed, a school was opened in the early 1650s, and in the 1660s a cloth-fulling mill was built in the town. From 1636 to 1653 the community grew slowly from 120 to 160 families, one of the additions being George Adams who

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[3] One unpublished Adams family history compiled by O. C. Day lists George Adams as George's father and a Miss. Streethold as his mother. The history also lists England as George (JR's) birthplace and 1612 as his approximated date of birth. Unfortunately, the history provides no reference or source for this information on George (JR's) parents.

[4] The first hint is in the pedigree published in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register Vol. VII, p. 40, where a Lt. George Adams is said to have died in 1647 while on assignment in Barbados. He is listed as having three sons: Conrad, George, and John. A John Adams, possibly George's brother, is listed as sailing from London to Barbados on the ship Paul of London April 3, 1635 (Coldham, p. 133). His age is given as 16, making him about George's age. The fact that Arza's ancestor George named his first son John, suggests that he was close to a John, possibly a brother. It is pure conjecture, however, to conclude that one of the two or three John Adams recorded as living in Massachusetts early was George's brother: one in Watertown, another in Cambridge, and possibly one in Lancaster (Bond, Vol. I, p. 1; Newell, p. 21; Weis, p. 2). A second hint is that a leader of the settlement of Lancaster, Massachusetts where George Adams located for a time was John Prescott. John settled first in Barbados in 1638 before moving to Watertown in 1640 and then to Lancaster in about 1645 (Weis). Perhaps Prescott knew George in Barbados, or earlier in England, and later invited him to participate in the Lancaster settlement. Since Prescott owned substantial land near Watertown, it is possible that George worked for him there for awhile.

recorded his primary occupation as glover, a trade he probably learned as an apprentice in England (Drake, p. 436 and p. 440).[5]

Many of the early settlers of Watertown fled the religious strife in England that later culminated in a bloody civil war during the 1640s. Between 1628 and 1640 some 21,000 people immigrated to New England in nearly 300 voyages. George may have left England to escape turmoil, or he may have been lured to America by adventure and opportunity. His name is not listed on any of the ship manifests that are available so his date of arrival cannot be fixed with certainty (Boyer; Coldham). He may have come on a ship whose manifest was lost, his name may have been left off a manifest, or he may have signed on as a sailor and then jumped ship after arriving in Boston.

Early settlers such as George had to deal with Indian threats, find enough to eat, keep warm in the winter, and endure religious disputes. As was the case in most Puritan communities, religion played a prominent role in Watertown but there is no record that George was a fervent believer or that he became a baptized member. Without being baptized, he could not become a freeman and vote. Religion provided the glue that bound the community; it supplied spiritual nutrients, recreation, and intellectual stimulation. Residents were required to attend church and were fined for not doing so; all residents were taxed to erect church buildings and to pay ministers. Society was judgmental, and diversity of thought was discouraged. Although the Puritan ethic gave settlers the starch to survive harsh conditions, it also led to excesses such as executions for witchcraft, one of the first being that of a Mrs. Kendall in nearby Cambridge for supposedly bewitching to death a child in Watertown about 1650 (Drake, p. 441). The Puritans were as intolerant of

[5]Glovers made gloves used in funerals and also may have done other leather work.

others as others had earlier been of them, with Quakers and Antibaptists attracting the wrath of the Puritans about the time George settled in Watertown.

Sometime after arriving in Watertown George married Frances Taylor and later had seven children: John (1645), George Jr. (1647), Benjamin (about 1650) who died in 1672 in Lancaster, Daniel (1652), Joseph (1657) who died young, Samuel (about 1659), and Mary (1664).[6] Soon after arriving in New England, George made part of his living by trading with Indians, especially in the area of Lancaster, Massachusetts which was then the site of a fledgling trading post. He is listed as one of the co-partners in the Nashaway Company that established this post (Hurd, p.3). George was given rights to one of the plots allotted to each of the early settlers, although it is unlikely he lived in Lancaster until several decades later. The town leaders in Watertown gave him 4 acres of land in 1654/55 on King's Commons for a home site where he and his family lived for about 10 years (Historical Society, p. 40).

George's trading activities with the Indians brought him grief in 1653 when the General Court in Boston censured him for selling two guns and liquor to Indians. For this offense George was jailed for a time and then publicly whipped when he was unable to pay his fine (Hurd, p. 12; Parsons, p. 208). Other unlucky Indian traders suffered a similar fate in Massachusetts (Stratton, p. 108). George's misfortunes continued in 1656/57 when he and a number of other Watertown residents were fined for not properly controlling their swine (Historical Society, p. 53). His misfortunes culminated in the Adams family, including five children, being declared indigent by town leaders in 1660/61, along with three other families (Historical Society, p. 71).

[6] The Watertown records from November 28, 1643 to November 9, 1647 are lost.

Lexington and Lancaster, Massachusetts

On November 4, 1664 George sold his house and lot in Watertown to John Chinery. He then moved his family to nearby Lexington.[7] He may have divided his time between Lexington and Lancaster and not moved at least part of his family to Lancaster until about 1670. A history of Lexington lists George Adams as one of the early settlers in the southwest part of the township. It is not clear, however, if this was George Sr. or his second son George Jr. who lived in Lexington most of his adult life (Hudson, Vol. II, p. 4 and Vol. I, pp. 26 and 33). George Sr. eventually moved at least part of his family to Lancaster to ease their poverty through exercising rights to two parcels of land he had acquired there earlier (Parsons, 208). He may have seen the move as an opportunity to provide better opportunities for four of his sons. Land records show George Sr. and his oldest son John both signed documents in Lancaster with Xes (Parsons, p. 208).

When first settled by white persons, Lancaster was a remote trading post located a long days ride from Watertown in the vicinity of several Indian villages. The area included a few lakes, lots of trees, two streams that came together to form the Nashaway River, and hills that have been leveled and rounded by the passing of glaciers.

George may have used some of the hides and pelts obtained through his early trading in Lancaster in his glover activities in Watertown. To stimulate the whites to build a trading post, Indians gave land grants to the co-partners as inducements. George was assigned a 20 acre homestead in 1647 on the east slope of George Hill in Lancaster, immediately south of a parcel of land owned by John Prescott

[7] An Adams Street in Lexington may have been named after George Sr. or after his son George Jr.

on which the original trading post was built.[8] The hill may have been named for George Adams. He was the only early settler with that given name.[9] George later lost the rights to this parcel of land because he did not fully occupy it prior to 1654 (Hurd, p. 3; Henry Adams, p. 99).[10] George's parcel of land was later given to Jonas Fairbank who moved to Lancaster in 1659 (Weis; Parsons). The poverty of the Adams family and legal problems during 1653 may have made it impossible for George to prove his claim before the deadline. He later appealed the case, possibly with the intercession of John Prescott, and received rights to another 60 acres of land in 1670 near the Washacombe Great Field several miles south and west of Lancaster where he built a log cabin (Weis, p. 13). In 1669 his oldest son John bought an additional 100 acres on the south side of Weshecum Pond that he sold a year later to John Buttolph. Sometime prior to moving to Lancaster George was also given 200 acres around Washaame Hill (or Washcomhill) by a Nashaway Indian chief by the name of Shoniow.

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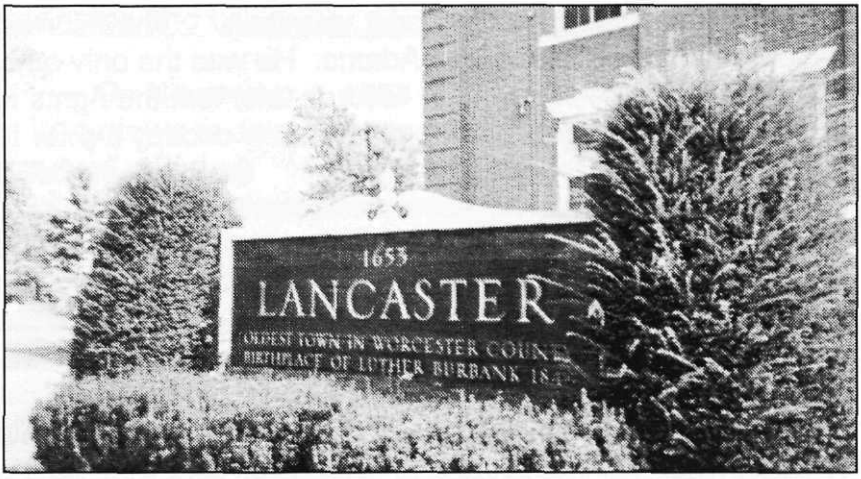
[8] Weis also lists a John Adams as receiving land in Lancaster in 1647 (p. 2). George's son John, who much later owned land in Lancaster, was only two in 1647. The date of 1647 for John receiving land in Lancaster may have been an error on Weis's part, or, if the date is correct, the John listed is another individual, possibly George's brother.

[9] One of the historians of Lancaster, Henry S. Nourse, left an annotated handwritten note in the margin of his Marvin's history of Lancaster suggesting the hill's name may have come from an Indian by the name of George Tahanto. He was said to have had a wigwam on the top of the hill at one time. This annotated book is in the public library in Lancaster.

[10] In 1998 George Hill was mostly covered with trees and provided a pleasant place for upscale country living. The hill is a backdrop for Atlantic Union College, a small Seventh Day Adventist school.




*Lancaster, Massachusetts, 1998*

George and some of his family may have lived in Lancaster, at least part time, for about 5 years, likely scratching out a living by farming and trading with the Indians. His son Benjamin died in Lancaster at the age of about 22 in 1672. Difficulties with Indians that culminated in King Philip's War and two massacres of Lancaster residents in August 1675 and in February 1675/1676 drove George's family and others from the community. During the war George was a member of Captain Joseph Sill's Company (Mackenzie, p. 3). The war began in June 1675 after three Wampanoag Indians were executed in Plymouth for killing a Christian Indian whom they thought was an informer for the colonists (Lepore; Stratton, pp. 107-122). Soon after, the main Wampanoag chief, Metacom, who was called Philip by the colonists, led an uprising of most Algonquian tribes that damaged or destroyed 52 of the 90 white settlements in New England.

Lancaster was one of the 12 communities that was burned and abandoned during the three-year war with approximately 600 settlers and soldiers in various communities being killed. Fierce counterattacks by the colonists killed many Indians and also destroyed numerous villages. Metacom was killed in August 1676 and his head

stuck on a post on the outskirts of Plymouth. During the war numerous Indians surrendered and many of them were shipped to the Caribbean as slaves. The King Philip's War, although not prominent in United States history, set the inhumane standards for the whites' treatment of native Americans for the next two centuries.

The most serious massacre in Lancaster was on February 10, 1675/1676 when 50 to 55 people were killed and a number were captured and later ransomed (Nourse 1890, Vol. 1; Rowlandson). It appears that the Adams family was not living in Lancaster at the time. Thereafter, the town was abandoned for about four years. The Adams cabin was likely burned in this second Indian attack (Henry Adams, p. 101). George and his family returned to Lexington, Massachusetts where he and his wife may have lived with their son George Jr. No record exists of George Sr. owning property in Lexington. About this time, or possibly earlier, his sons John, Daniel, and Samuel moved south to the community of Windsor on the Connecticut River in central Connecticut.

Misfortune dogged George Sr.'s life. Poverty nagged him in Watertown; he ran afoul of the law several times; he was involved in various legal battles to establish and maintain his property rights in Lancaster; he was burned out by Indians; and his family was divided after three sons moved south to greener pastures. Although still in good health, his misfortune continued when he was accidentally killed near Watertown by a falling rock on October 10, 1696 (Henry Adams, p. 8).[11] The primary inheritances he left his family were lessons in how to deal with adversity and 260 acres of abandoned land in a frontier community. Although no

[11] His assets at time of death amounted to about 60 British pounds, mostly comprised of land owned in Lancaster. His third son Daniel was his sole executor (Bond, p. 1).

physical description of George exists, he apparently passed a tall gene to his sons since they were known in Connecticut as being the "three tall Englishmen" (Henry Adams, p. 24).

Windsor/Simsbury, Connecticut

Daniel, George's fourth son, was Arza's ancestor. Daniel's lot improved when he moved to Windsor, Connecticut in about 1676 and later up the Tunxis River (afterward renamed the Farmington River) to nearby Simsbury, then considered an appendage of Windsor. At the time, Windsor was the main white settlement in central Connecticut (Stiles 1976). Daniel was in his early twenties when he and his brothers Samuel and John moved to Windsor in the mid-1670s.[12] Phelp's history of Simsbury lists the Adams, most likely Daniel and Samuel, as receiving land grants in Simsbury as early as 1667 (p.13). This date is almost certainly an error, however, since Daniel was only 15 in 1667 and Samuel was even younger. Their move to Simsbury more likely occurred about 8 years later, possibly after Daniel's military service. He served in the King Philip's War three times: first, under Major Simon Willard from August 23, 1675 to January 25 1676 at Brookfield; second, under Capt. Wheeler in Groton in April 1676; and third, under Captain John Holbrook from June to August 1676.

No record exists showing any of the three Adams brothers owned land in Windsor, but all three of them married women from Windsor, John and Daniel in 1677 and Samuel in the early 1680s (Holbrook, p. xxi). The brothers likely worked in and around Windsor for a time before locating places to settle outside the village. During the 1660-70s Windsor was a thriving community that supplied pitch and tar

[12] John moved later to Colchester, southeast of Windsor, and died there November 22, 1732 (Taintor, p. 109). Samuel moved back to Windsor in the early 1690s after the death of his first wife and marriage to his second wife, Deborah.

products for naval use. The Adams brothers may have earned their "stakes" by felling trees and then extracting these products.

Simsbury is located a few miles up the Farmington River from Windsor in a heavily forested area, with rolling hills and ample water. The valley through which the river flows was called Massaco by the Indians. Daniel received land on the north edge of Simsbury in what was later called Lower Meadows or Westover's Plain (Phelps, p. 13).[13] Samuel located nearby on what was called Salmon Brook. Their initial grants were just west of what was in 1998 Tarriffville Village and near the Simsbury Airport. Later, in about 1681, Daniel also obtained additional lots of land in the Granby area further north of Simsbury. He was made a freeman in 1686. This indicated he was a landowner and allowed to vote.

Around the time he moved to Simsbury and become somewhat established, Daniel married Mary Phelps in 1677.[14] Indian difficulties plagued the residents of Simsbury for several years before and after Daniel settled there. Most men were members of the local militia and Daniel was a sergeant (Vibert, p. 72). Like Lancaster, buildings in Simsbury were burned by Indians during the King Philip's War. About 40 buildings around the community were torched by Indians on March 26, 1676, shortly after all inhabitants fled

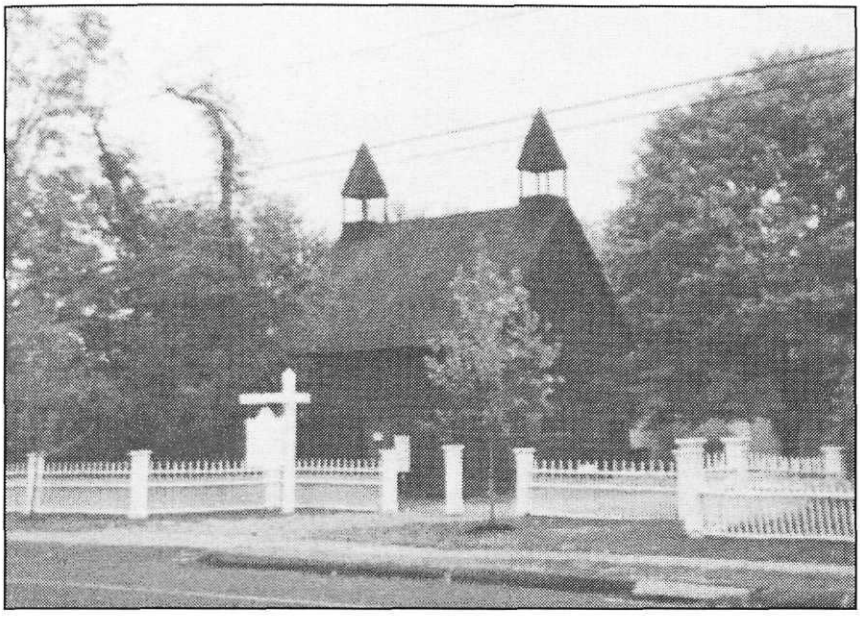
[13] The exact date when Daniel and Samuel moved to Simsbury is unknown. Some of the earliest town records of Simsbury were destroyed or lost. Their brother John may also have settled in Simsbury for a short time (Stiles, Vol., 2, p. 610).

[14] There is confusion about the maiden name of Daniel's wife and also about their marriage date. Stiles and also Holbrook state that Mary's maiden name was Pinney, daughter of Samuel Pinney (Vol. 2, p.12; p. xxi). Holbrook also lists two dates for Daniel and Mary's marriage, December 20, 1677 and September 20, 1677 (p. xxi). The name confusion may have arisen because Mary Phelps' father died and her mother remarried Nathaniel Pinney. Daniel's older brother John married Abigail Pinney on December 6, 1677 (Holbrook, p. xxi).

to Windsor. The refugees did not return until about a year later. A resurgence of Indian threats in 1688 forced the Adams brothers to move their homes to the center of the community located about a mile south in Hopmeadows (Barber, p. 117). Later, Daniel and his family obtained land about three miles east of Simsbury where they then moved.

Arza's ancestor, Daniel and Mary's first child, was born in 1679 and was named Daniel Jr. They later had ten more children. Daniel Sr. was active in religious affairs and participated in a protracted dispute between two sections of the town over where to build the church (Woollacott). He was one of the residents who signed an agreement on May 7, 1683 that the placement of the church house should be decided through divine intervention, by lot (Phelps, pp. 46-47). In 1698 Daniel Sr. was baptized a member of the Congregational Church. He went on to become a leading citizen in the community, including serving five terms in the state legislature from 1699 to 1703 (Phelps, p.157).[15] He was also moderately successful financially. His will lists about 430 pounds in assets, mostly comprised of about six parcels of land he owned in the Simsbury area. He provided modest inheritances to his children, including some inheritance for his three grandsons by Daniel Jr. who died before his father on January 11, 1712/13. Daniel Sr. passed away on November 7, 1713 (Early Connecticut Probate Records, pp.145-146).

[15] Daniel Sr.'s son Benjamin also served several terms in the state legislature in 1726-27.



Replica of first church house, Simsbury, Connecticut, 1998

Daniel Jr., Arza's ancestor, married Thanks Shepard in about 1702 and they had six children, one born in 1705 being named Daniel III after his father. There is no information on the cause of Daniel Jr. death in his mid-30s. He left a will, however, that indicates his death was not sudden. After Daniel Jr's demise his widow Thanks married Joseph Pettibone who assumed the responsibility for raising all but two of Daniel Jr's children. Samuel Pettibone was appointed the guardian for the other two children: Daniel III, Arza's ancestor, and Hannah (Manwaring, Vol. 2, p. 145).

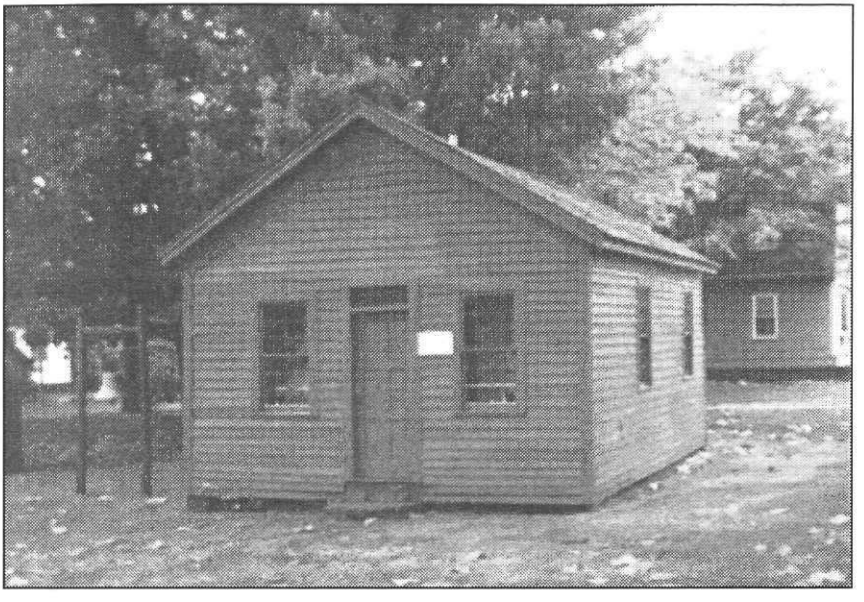
An old map of the town of Bloomfield, Connecticut shows a cluster of Adams families living in the northeast corner of Simsbury Township in the mid-1700s in what was then called Scotland Parish (Wintonbury Historical Society). A building listed as an Adams tavern built in about 1750 was in the Parish. This is an area about a mile north of where Daniel Adams Sr. had his last principal residence and may have been the area where Daniel Adams III was born and

raised. Daniel III married Lucy Saxton on January 11, 1732/33. They had six children including their first child, Arza's grandfather Richard Saxton Adams, who was born on March 16, 1734. Not much is know about the life of Daniel III; he left few historical marks on civic or church records. He and his wife do have well preserved grave markers in the center of the Hopmeadow Cemetery in Simsbury, showing their children cared enough to mark carefully their graves.

Headstones of Daniel III and Lucy Adams, Simsbury, Connecticut, 1998

Richard Saxton Adams married Lucy Matson on December 23, 1762. She was born in Simsbury on November 5, 1741. They had three children in Simsbury who survived to adulthood: Daniel (December 20, 1763), Richard Saxton (September 16, 1768), and Lucy (June 6, 1771). A year after Richard and Lucy moved to Pittsford, Vermont Arza's father, Joshua, was born on May 5, 1780.[16]

[16] Richard Saxton and Lucy had a son on May 24, 1766 in Simsbury named Joshua but he died on October 12, 1774. It was not uncommon at the time to reuse names that had been given to children in the family who died early.

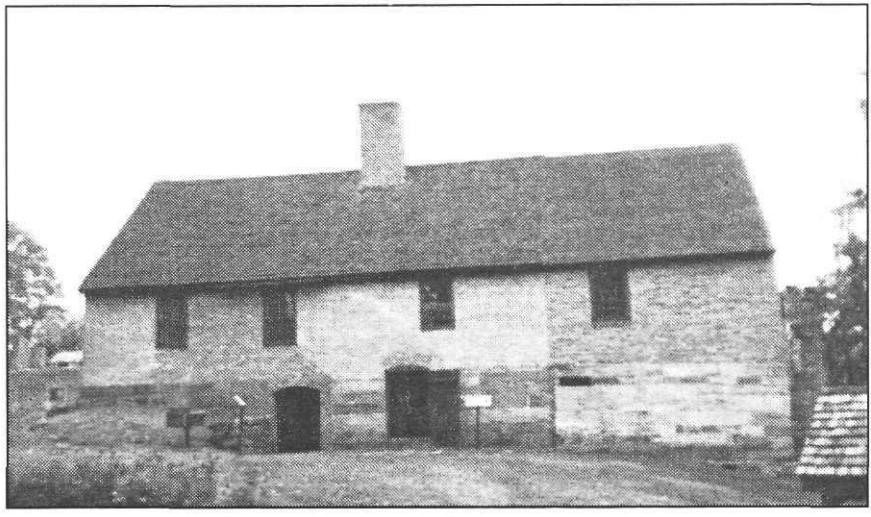


*School house where Richard Saxton Adams attended school, Simsbury, Connecticut, 1998*

Richard moved to Vermont during the Revolutionary War in 1779, the year after the death of his father. During the war Connecticut was a loyalist stronghold. About 2,000 men in Connecticut were estimated to be loyalists and some of them fled to New York during the war to join the British army (Peck). Those supporting the Revolution subjected loyalists to tar and feathering, land expropriation, travel restrictions, and prison. Some convicted loyalists were sent to the Simsbury Mines, a small underground copper mine that was converted into a prison during the war.[17] In Connecticut, Anglicans generally opposed the war, while Congregationalists usually supported it. The war also divided the population along economic lines with the well-to-do often supporting the British cause. An Anglican, Reverend Roger Viets of Simsbury, was convicted of assisting loyalist

[17] This mine is located about 5 miles north of where Daniel Adams Sr. lived. Copper from this small underground mine was used to make the first coins minted in what later became the United States.

prisoners to escape from the prison and was imprisoned for a year. A law passed in May 1778 imposed forfeiture of loyalists' properties. Following the treaty of peace, a large numbers of loyalists emigrated from the U.S. to Canada and elsewhere in 1783 and 1784. Nearly 3,500 loyalists were settled in eastern Ontario by 1784. In many cases the British provided loyalists with land grants in Canada along with additional compensations to settle in frontier areas.



*Simsbury Copper Mine and Prison, 1998*

No evidence exists, however, that Richard Saxton or his two eldest sons had loyalist leanings, even though they later moved into a predominantly loyalist settlement in Canada. There is no record of Richard being prosecuted for being a loyalist. In addition, two of his brothers, Oliver and Parmenio, served in the army on the patriot side (Bates, p. 83).

## Pittsford, Vermont

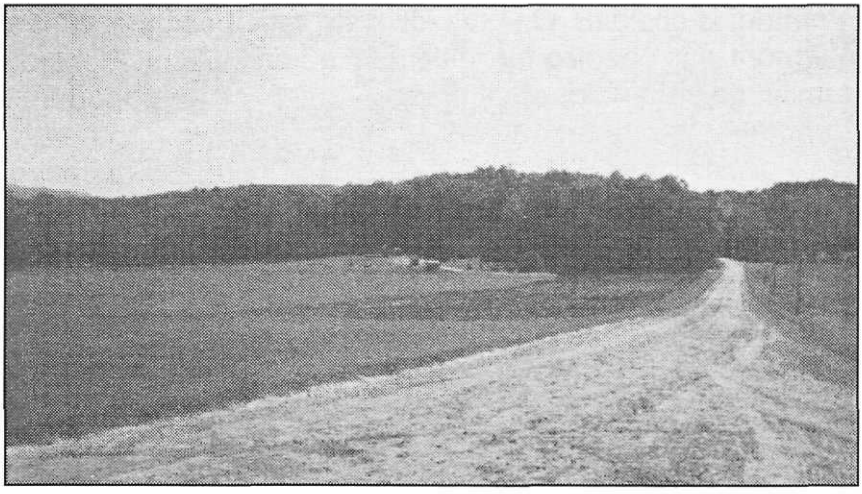
Arza's grandfather Richard Saxton and his family moved to Pittsford, Vermont, a small community located just north of Rutland on Otter Creek and on a military road that

ran north and south. Caverly notes that Richard staked his claim on April 9, 1779 to a parcel of land in the third division of lots to the right of property owned by John Loomis (p. 63). In early 1781 Richard bought an additional 50 acres of land from Roger Stevens that was nearby and in 1792 bought another 26-plus acres from Benjamin Stevens. Land records show that Richard and his wife were also given several parcels of land amounting to about 43 acres in the fourth division of land by Richard's brother-in-law Caleb Hendee.

What induced Richard's move from Connecticut to Vermont is unclear. One reason may have been that central Vermont was opening for settlement about the time Richard's family moved and he may have seen this as an opportunity to acquire cheap land; the first settlers moved into nearby Rutland only four years earlier. Also, the premature death of his grandfather Daniel Adams Jr. certainly limited the assets his father inherited and passed on to his heirs, including Richard Saxton. Several relatives of Richard's wife, her mother Anna or Amy Matson, her step-father Samuel Elsworth, a half-sister Caroline Elsworth, and her husband Caleb Hendee lived in Simsbury before moving to Pittsford (Caverly, p. 40). Caleb Hendee Sr. helped organize the first Baptist congregation in Pittsford and was known as Deacon Hendee most of his adult life. These family connections probably fed Richard's interest in locating in Pittsford. If Richard Saxton and his family became Baptists, the change in religion may have also facilitated the move to Vermont and the later move to Canada.

The Adams home was located several miles west of Pittsford on a trail that connected Pittsford and Hubbardton and near an intersection that was called the "four corners." Similar to Simsbury, Pittsford is an area of rolling hills and plenty of trees, especially maples. Like most of their neighbors, Richard's family eked out a living by growing most of what they ate or wore and forcing back the forest with axes. At the time, most farmers tilled their land with wooden

plows pulled by oxen, threshed their grain with a flail, pastured a few sheep and cattle, harvested some maple sugar, and planted turnips, potatoes, peas, beans, and flax largely for household use. Their diets were supplemented by wild berries in the spring and several pigs and a few chickens that lived off scraps. During the time the Adams's lived in Pittsford, wheat was a major staple and also the primary cash crops. As roads were opened and grist mills built, wheat became the main source of income for many people in Vermont.



*Home site of Richard Saxton Adams, Pittsford, Vermont, 1998*

As many early settlers discovered, the attractive scenery around Pittsford masked thin soils and weather that often crimps farming. Cropping without replacing soil nutrients soon resulted in declining yields on land that had earlier been cleared of forests. Occasional early or late frosts and dry or wet spells further damaged crops. About ten years after Richard moved to Pittsford, for example, almost no wheat was harvested one year in Vermont. Those residents who could afford it were forced to import corn from Virginia to survive (Caverly, pp. 262-263).

*D. Stanley Adams examines white birch on land once owned by Richard Saxton Adams in Pittsford, Vermont*

Perhaps Richard Saxton and his oldest sons earned income from occasional work in the iron, charcoal, or lime industries that emerged around Pittsford, Chittenden, and Rutland during the 1780s and 1790s (Rolando). A furnace for smelting iron ore was constructed in Pittsford in 1791 with most of the ore being hauled from Chittenden, two miles to the east (Vermont Historical Society, p. 125). Possibly Richard and his sons provided charcoal and other wood products that were used in smelting. After 1795 marble quarries also became increasingly important in the Rutland/Pittsford area (Hance).

Vermont's cool climate and thin soils limited Richard's opportunities. The heavily forested area yielded timber products and maple sugar. But clearing areas for farming involved lots of cutting and burning. Richard and his family, like many other early Vermont settlers, sought to better their economic conditions further west, some streaming into

western New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, while others, including Richard, moved to upper Canada. He sold his property in Pittsford to Solomon Purdy for the modest sum of 150 pounds in 1798.

Richard and his family left few tracks in Pittsford aside from several marks on sketchy land records.[18] Much of the land they cleared has returned to forest, and nothing is left of their home or fields. Even his initials (RA) that were cut in the trunk of a beach tree at one corner of his property have long since disappeared (Pittsford Town Clerk, pp. 107-108). In 1998 the area around the Adams' homestead had only a couple of operators of small farms still trying to supplement their income by pasturing a few cattle, tapping maple syrup, or harvesting a few apples.

## Bastard, Canada

The Adams' move to Canada was largely because of the efforts of Abel Stevens who was an early settler and supporter of the Baptist Church in Pittsford. Caleb Hendee Sr., Richard's brother-in-law, was also a strong Baptist. Hendee helped Stevens and others build the first house of worship in the community. Abel was the son of Roger Stevens who was tried and convicted during the Revolutionary War for being a British agent. For this, Roger was jailed and forfeited his property. With his father's assistance, Abel and four other Baptists from Pittsford petitioned the British Government in Canada in late 1791 for land grants in upper Canada for loyalists living in Vermont (Cruikshank). After much negotiation Abel was given rights to settle supposed Loyalists in several new townships in what later became Leeds and Granville counties, Ontario. By 1798 Stevens had settled about 120 families from Vermont in Kitley and Bastard Townships, some of whom were Baptists and

[18] Many of the land records for the first ten years of Pittsford's history are lost.

most of whom professed to be Loyalists to qualify for 200 acre land grants (Blanchard, p. 63). The Adams's were among these first settlers.

Richard Saxton Adams was 64 years old when his extended family moved to Canada. Land records for Leeds County show his sons Richard Saxton Jr. and Daniel each acquired 200 acres of land in Bastard Township which is northwest of Brockville. They received patents to their land in mid-1801 (Leavitt, p. 120). Richard Jr's lot number was 17 in the sixth division, and Daniel's lot number was 14 in the sixth division. A neighbor was Ami Chipman who also acquired 200 acres that were patented a year later in 1802 (lot number 13 in the sixth division). Other neighbors of note included Arza Judd (lot number 13 in the 5th division), and Barnabas Chipman who later bought lot number 13 in the tenth division.

Bastard Township was surveyed in 1794 by William Fortune a loyalist from South Carolina (Fritz). There was pressure to complete the survey because of the large number of loyalists who were waiting for land allotments. Abel Stevens Sr. and about 20 other families squatted on land in what is now Delta in early 1795. They were some of the families that Stevens brought from Vermont who eventually settled in Kitley and Bastard Townships (Larry Turner, p. 13).

The township was named after John Plooexfen Bastard a prominent man from Kitley, near Plymouth, in Devonshire, England. Bastard was first described as a howling wilderness that was heavily wooded and plagued with swarms of mosquitoes and black flies during the summer. Some of the early inhabitants were stung so often that their eyes swelled shut. Settlers expended much effort clearing land and building roads -- farmers viewed trees as their enemies. The nearest store was in Brockville on the St. Lawrence River twenty miles away. Initially, the settlers subsisted on the deer, partridges, pigeons, and fish that were abundant in the area. Later, wheat, oats, corn, potatoes, butter, and maple sugar were important enterprises.

Arza's father, Joshua, assumed much responsibility early in life. This included caring for his parents, marrying and then raising a large family, and supporting the families of his two older brothers after their untimely deaths. Joshua's brother Richard Jr. apparently died before 1804. This is suggested by the sale of 150 acres of his land on January 13, 1804 to James Schofield. Joshua's brother Daniel apparently died sometime before 1823 when his heirs, including his wife Lois Chamberlin Adams French, sold Daniel's 200 acres to Elijah Chamberlin. Joshua married Elizabeth (Betsy) Chipman on March 15, 1803. They later had 13 children.[19]

Land records show Joshua was sufficiently established by 1809 that he began to purchase land on his own. On March 11, 1809 he bought 140 acres from Gideon Sheldon (lot number 13 in the seventh division) for 100 pounds. He later sold most of this lot on December 2, 1815 for 237 pounds. The remaining portion of this land he sold still later to Elijah Chamberlin on February 2, 1831. He added to his holding on September 24, 1812 by buying 200 acres from Evan Roys Sr. (lot number eight in the seventh division). He held on to this parcel of land long after moving to Perth but finally sold it to Sheldon Stoddard on March 2, 1832.

## The War of 1812

The area where Joshua and his family lived had a number of small lakes and streams. Perhaps because it was often cold, Arza and his next oldest brother Alvah resisted

[19] The names of their children were Arza Matson (Jan. 22, 1804), Alvah (Nov. 23, 1805), Saxon (Feb. 6, 1808), Beulah E. (Jan. 26, 1810), Barnabas Lothrop (Aug. 8, 1812), Joshua (May 14, 1815), Lucy Matson (Dec. 5, 1817), James (Oct. 16, 1819), Daniel (Oct. 17, 1820), Franklin Metcalfe (Jan. 27, 1823), Joshua (Apr. 5, 1825), Elizabeth (May 3, 1827), and Lydia Ann (Jan. 22, 1830).

learning to swim. Their father told them he would give them a thrashing if they were not swimmers by the end of the summer of 1812, when Arza would have been eight and Alvah would have been six. Years later, Alvah recorded they avoided a thrashing by mastering swimming that summer.

In the same year, 1812, Joshua moved his family some five miles from their farm in Bastard Township to Stone Mill, now called Delta, and was commissioned a captain in the Second Regiment of Leeds Militia. He also served as the regiment's adjutant. The regiment of 336 men was organized into 8 companies with a captain in charge of each company (Edwin Livingston). In 1814 there were 37 men in Joshua's company including Sgt. Arza Judd, age 47, and his son Arza Judd Jr., age 17. Arza and his family lived in Stone Mill until the end of the war, when Joshua moved his family back to their farm for several years. Joshua was called Captain Adams the remainder of his life.

After years of provocation, the Americans declared war on the United Kingdom in June 1812. The declaration sent shivers throughout Canada, especially along its lightly defended border. The British were heavily engaged at the time in a war with France and most of their regular troops were tied up in that struggle. As a result, local militia, such as Joshua's Company, were a vital part of the defense force. In the early stages of the war both the British and the Americans concentrated on controlling the water route along the St. Lawrence River and through the Great Lakes. The lack of roads into the interior of both the United States and Canada forced military leaders to rely on boats to ship both supplies and troops into the Great Lakes. Immediately after the war began, both the Americans and the British rushed tc strengthen their naval forces in the Great Lakes and to build forts along the St. Lawrence River.

One of the minor British defense posts was Gananoque, a small village located 17 miles east of Kingston. Gananoque was also the home of Joshua's regimental commander, Col. Stone. Soon after the war started Joshua's Company was posted there to protect convoys of Canadian boats toiling their way up river into Lake Ontario. It was the last overnight stop for tired boatmen going west to Kingston. At these stops the convoys were most vulnerable to attack by Americans. On September 12 Captain Benjamin Forsyth led about 100 Americans on a raid of Gananoque. Their journey by small boats started in Cape Vincent. They landed just west of Gananoque and caught the local defenders completely off guard.

The flank companies of Leeds militia turned out as soon as the alarm was given, but as no entrenchments or other form of fortification had been erected to protect the makeshift harbor they fled after firing their muskets at the charging American regulars. After routing the surprised local defenders, Forsyth's troops burned a few military supplies and ransacked Col. Stone's home before returning to Sackett's Harbor (Hitsman).

Four of the soldiers in Second Leeds were wounded, and eight were taken prisoners during this encounter (Hitsman, p.96; Gray). The Americans suffered one dead and two wounded.

Although this skirmish had no effect on the course of the war, it was a morale booster for the Americans, who had earlier lost a large number of troops in a battle for Detroit. After their defeat at Gananoque, Joshua's company did garrison duty in military posts along the St. Lawrence River for the remainder of the war. This included erecting fortifications, building roads, and standing guard. Local units such as Joshua's were typically called to active duty for a month or so and then given leave for several months to attend to household, business, and farming responsibilities.

While on duty the militia received a small salary, six pence per day for privates, and their families were issued provisions by the government. The low pay and general disillusionment with the war, especially among militia who had recently moved to Canada from the United States, resulted in many desertions from Joshua's regiment, despite the promise of land grants after the war. During the war about one-quarter of Joshua's regiment, a total of 103, deserted to the United States.

## Perth, Canada

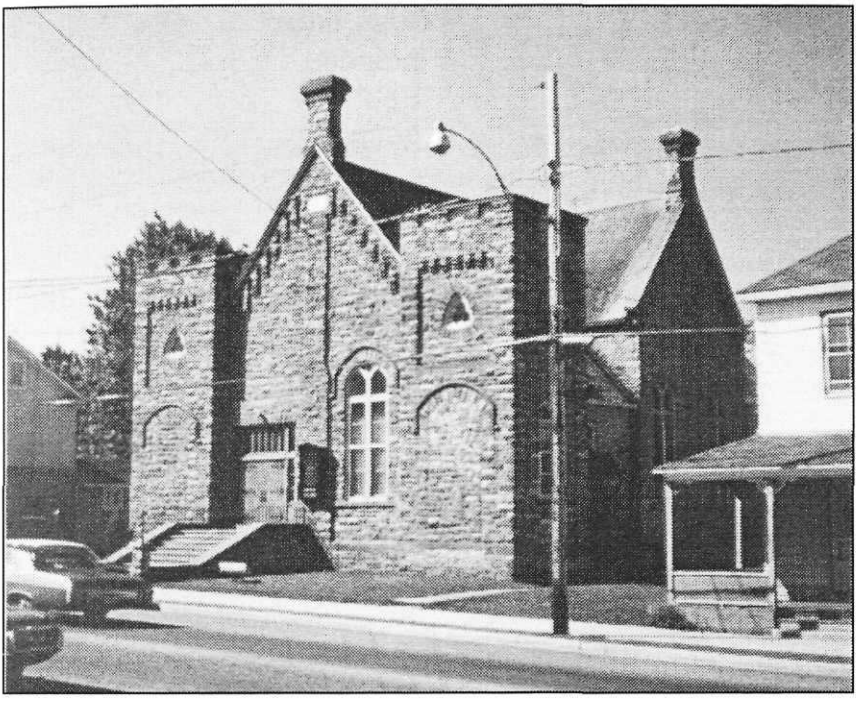
The Rideau River runs from west to east just north of Bastard. Before the War of 1812 most of the area north of the river was wilderness. Because of the perceived military and ideological threats from the Americans after the war the British Government promoted the settlement of areas north of the Rideau River for defensive purposes (Larry Turner). This included assisting emigration from Scotland and Ireland and inducing former soldiers and officers to settle in the region.

Perth, Joshua's next home, is about 40 miles north of Delta, and was initially a military settlement that opened in 1816. By 1817 there were nearly 1,900 new residents in and around Perth, including 708 soldiers or former soldiers (Larry Turner, p.19). Members of the military were induced to settle in the region by grants of land plus free implements and provisions for a year. Officers received additional inducements in the form of city lots, additional grants of land, and, in some cases, half pay for a time. The completion of the Rideau Canal later with the connecting canal to Perth on the Glen Tay River substantially lessened transportation problems in the area. Little quality agricultural land was around Perth, however, and this, along with short growing seasons limited farming.

For his service in the British army Joshua received both a land grant of 800 acres and a city lot (Alvah Adams).[20] He may have also received half-pay for a time plus a subsistence allowance for a year. His land was a desirable parcel located several miles west of Perth on the Tay River in Bathurst Township, lot number 20 in the second concession (Mildred R. Livingston). The small river on his property dropped sufficiently to run water-driven mills, a valuable asset at the time.

Joshua may have delayed his move to Perth for a year, until 1817, because of the unusually cold weather in 1816. A massive volcanic eruption in Indonesia in 1815 blew huge amounts of dust into the earth's atmosphere that substantially lowered temperatures in Canada and the northern parts of the United States during the summer of 1816. It froze every month during the summer of 1816 and seriously damaged crops in Vermont. Upper Canada likely suffered similar misfortune.

[20] Alvah may have been mistaken about the amount of land that Joshua received as a grant. Land records suggest his initial grant may have been only for 100 acres, although he may have received subsequent grants later.



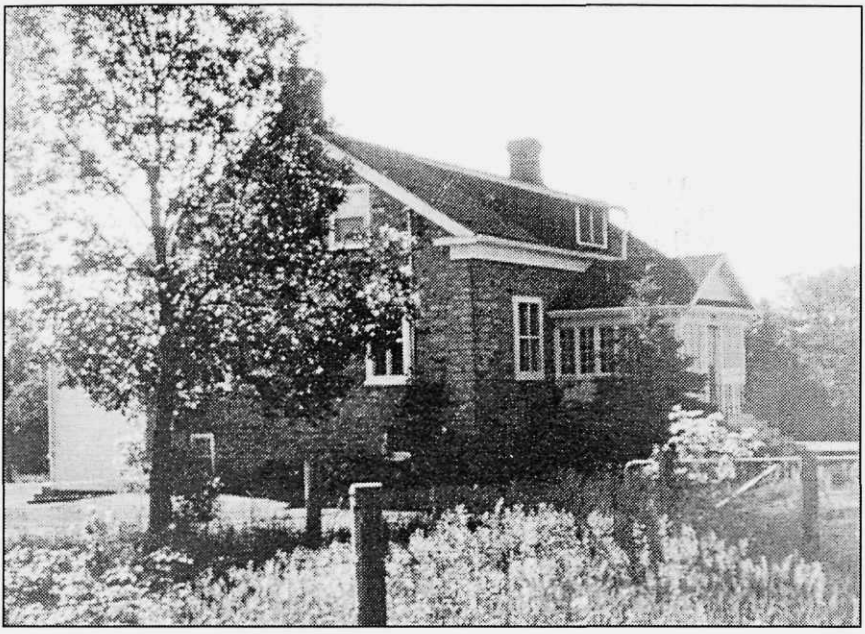
*Methodist church in Perth, Ontario, 1983*

Joshua built a home in Perth and lived there for a few years until building a home on his property outside of town. Among other activities, he and his wife operated an inn in Perth. He is listed as one of seven innkeepers licensed to operate in 1820-21 (McGill, p. 54). Joshua and his wife also were instrumental in fostering Methodism in the community. The first Methodist minister to visit Perth, William Brown, who rode the Rideau Circuit, held his initial services in the Adams home in December 1817 (McGill, p. 46). Joshua and his wife sustained their fervor for Methodism. One of their sons, Alvah, later became an ordained Methodist minister. Two of their daughters married Methodist ministers. Most, if not all, of their children were baptized Methodists, and Joshua filled important church positions all his adult life.

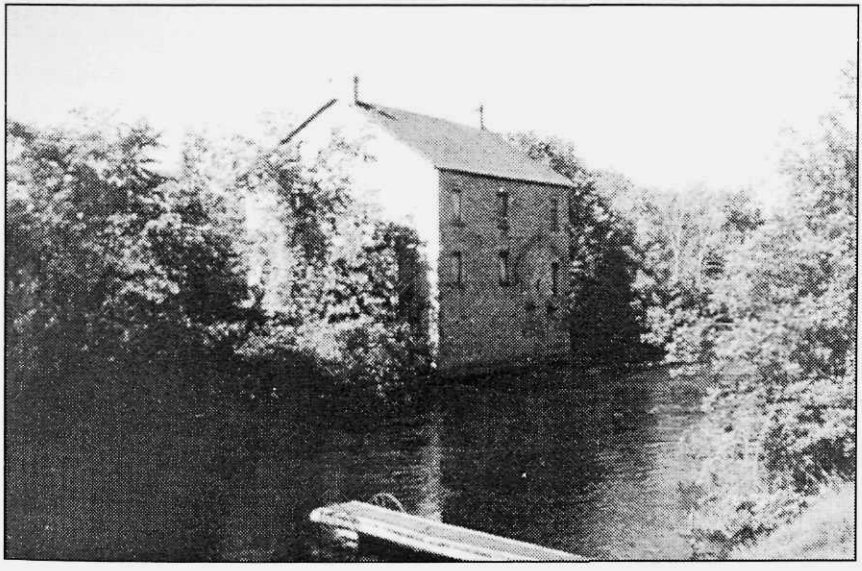
*Joshua Adams*

Joshua sold his city property on Herriott Street in Perth to William Grace for 200 pounds on July 17, 1822 and moved to his property a few miles west of town on the Tay River. The small community around Joshua's new home was originally known as Adams' Mill, later Adamsville, and still later Glen Tay. Joshua built a substantial rock home on his property and erected a two-story rock mill south and west across the Tay River from his home. The home was in use and most of the mill was still standing in the early 1980s. In addition to a grist mill, Joshua also owned a saw mill, an oat mill, a carding and fulling mill, a substantial farm, and a lumber hauling business. He hired many men to work in these enterprises, and some of them boarded with the Adams family.

Through the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s Joshua often bought and sold land in Bathurst Township (Sargeant and Miller 1991). He had more than a dozen transaction listed in Canadian land records, including leasing Crown land for harvesting timber. In general, the land in Bathurst was marginal for agricultural purposes, with pasture, trees for lumber, and oats being significant land uses.



*Adams home in Adamsville, 1983*



*Adams mill in Adamsville, 1983*

Joshua and his wife had 13 children, nine sons and four daughters. The oldest was Arza. They were compassionate people, remembered for adopting and raising several orphan children obtained from Indians passing down the Glen Tay River (Shortt, p. 20). Their family was prominent and respected. A life sketch of Joshua, written by his son Alvah, records that his father from about the year 1820 until his death, was in commission as Justice of the Peace, a Crown appointment. After the creation of the municipal system, he was long a Township Councilor and Warden of the County, often also acting as Associate Judge in the Methodist Church to which he belonged -- holding for many years the offices of Trustee and Steward, and sometimes of Class Leader. For a time, in early life, he was likewise an exhorter.

Joshua died on April 23, 1863 and was buried in the Methodist cemetery after a large funeral.

In regard to their mother, Elizabeth (Betsy) Chipman Adams, Alvah wrote:

> with confidence that in all things that pertained to her as wife and mother, church member and neighbor, few excelled her or were her equals.

Friends remembered her as being a compassionate person who often tended the sick. She died seven years before her husband on March 1, 1856 and was buried in the Methodist cemetery in Perth.[21]

[21] A friend, Josias Richey, wrote a letter dated March 10, 1856 to the editor of the British Standard that served as an obituary for Elizabeth.

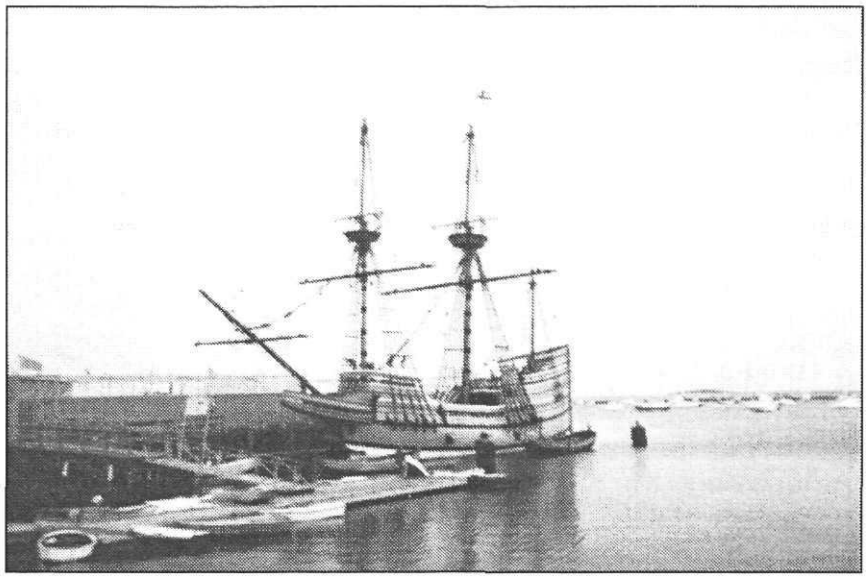
## Chipman Ancestors

Arza's mother was the daughter of Barnabas Lothrop Chipman, an early settler in Bastard. Three aspects of the Chipmans are of particular interest. First, they had four ancestors who came to American on the Mayflower (Willison). Second, the lives of the Adams and Chipman families were intertwined after members of both families joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in about 1836. Third, John Lothrop, a famous religious dissident, was an ancestor of the Chipmans (Holt).

Elizabeth's Chipman forefathers were early settlers in America and their movements paralleled that of the Adams ancestors of Arza. Young men from both families came to Massachusetts about the same time, and the progeny of both families lived in Connecticut and Vermont before moving to Canada.

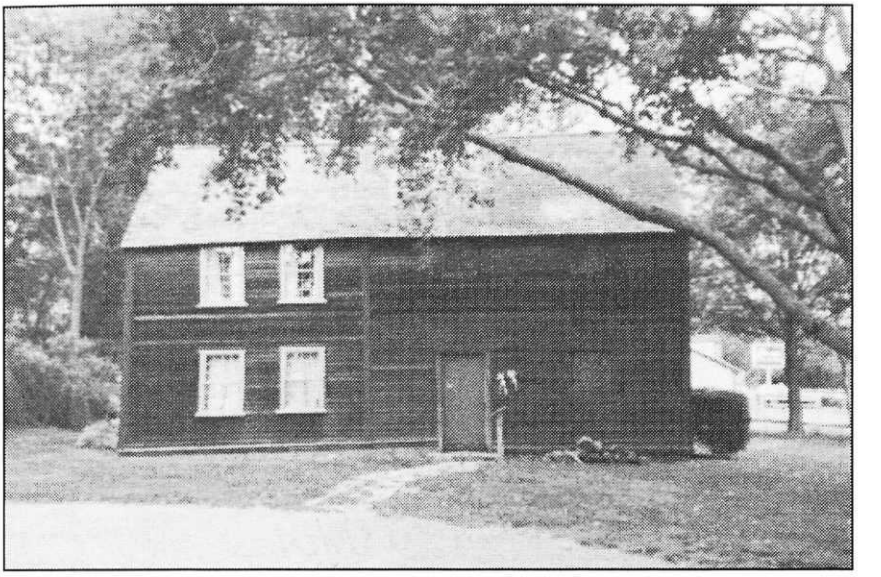
The original immigrant ancestor of this branch of the Chipman line was John Chipman, who came to the Massachusetts Bay Colony from England in 1637 when he was 17 (John Chipman). He settled in Plymouth and married Hope Howland in 1646. Hope was a daughter of John Howland and Elizabeth Tilley, who came to America on the Mayflower in 1620 (Willison, p. 472; Stratton, pp.311-312, 362). John and Hope Chipman had a son Samuel, who had a son Thomas, who had a son Amos. Amos was the father of Barnabas Lothrop Chipman, Elizabeth's father.

Governor William Bradford records in his History of Plymouth Plantation that John Howland nearly lost his life during the Mayflower voyage. In a severe storm he was washed overboard but grabbed a dangling rope as he went over the rail. He was pulled to safety after being dragged in the frigid sea. What would the fate of Arza and his Chipman ancestors have been if John Howland had missed the rope or had died from exposure? The parents of John's wife Elizabeth Tilley were not so fortunate; neither survived the first winter in Plymouth.



*Replica of Mayflower, Plymouth, Massachusetts, 1998*

It is unknown, but unlikely, if the paths of Arza's Chipman and Adams ancestors crossed prior to both settling in Bastard. The Chipman ancestors lived in Plymouth and Barnstable, Massachusetts before moving to Groton and later to Salisbury, Connecticut. In about 1765, Arza's great grandfather Amos Chipman moved from Salisbury to Sunderland, Bennington Country, Vermont, a small community about 35 miles south of Rutland. He lived there until he died sometime after 1776. His son Amos took the responsibility for his two younger brothers Ami and Barnabas after their father died. Later, Barnabas and Ami married sisters in Sunderland (Beulah and Sarah Everts). In the winter of 1795, Barnabas, Ami, and their families moved to upper Canada by way of Lake Champlain, St. John's, Montreal, and Elizabethtown (Brockville). They were among the first wave of settlers who moved into Bastard Township.



*Jabez Howland house in Plymouth, Massachusetts, 1998*

What prompted Arza's grandfather, Barnabas Lothrop Chipman and his brother Ami to pull up roots in central Vermont and move to Bastard is unclear. It is certain that the Chipmans were not Loyalists, since Amos Chipman and all four of his sons Amos, Jesse, Barnabas, and Ami were in the patriot army during the Revolutionary War (John Chipman). No information is available regarding the Chipmans' religious beliefs, so it is unknown if they were drawn to Bastard through a Baptist connection. They and the sons of Richard Saxton Adams likely were attracted to Bastard because of the availability of relatively large amounts of cheap land. They likely only feigned British sympathies to qualify for this land.

# Chapter 2

## Arza's Early Life

We live unsettled lives
And stay in a place
Only long enough to find
We don't belong.
-- Mark Stand

Joshua Adams lived in Bastard Township for nearly five years before marrying Elizabeth Chipman. Their first child, Arza, was probably named after a friend of the family, Arza Judd, who lived nearby (Ileen and Hilga Johnson).[22] Arza Adams was born on January 22, 1804 into the primitive circumstances faced by the early settlers in Bastard: living in small log cabins, land that was covered with forest and stumps, swarms of flies and mosquitoes, paths that passed for roads, and ample hard work. He likely enjoyed few years of frolicking barefoot in the woods and swimming carefree in the nearby lakes and streams before being pressed into doing a man's work. This undoubtedly included clearing land by felling trees, grubbing brush, and repeated burnings to open areas for crops and pasture. Like Abe Lincoln, Arza spent much of his youth splitting logs for firewood and for fences. In later life Arza was know for his skill with an axe, a talent he learned early. Planting and harvesting crops, tending cattle, hunting for game, and helping his father with extended family obligations undoubtedly kept Arza busy. Although only a youngster, Arza assumed even more family responsibility while his father served in the army during the War of 1812-1814.

[22]On several occasions in later life Arza used the middle name of Matson, his maternal grandmother's maiden name.


*Old Stone Mill in Delta, Ontario, 1983 with Greg and Mark Adams*

Nothing is known about Arza's opportunities for formal education, but he probably spent little time inside a school, possibly only after his family moved to Stone Mill (Delta) or later to Perth. Specimens of his handwriting indicate it was adequate for the time. He may have learned the skill at home, during a few months in school, or along the way. He expressed himself well in his journals; his spelling served its purpose, and he wrote with some fluency.

While living in Stone Mill, Arza may have had the opportunity to become familiar with milling grain. The first grist mill in Stone Mill was built in 1796 by Abel Stevens Sr. and rebuilt in 1820 on the same site.

## Perth

Arza left no record about what he did after his family moved to Perth when he was about 13 or when they moved to their new home on the Glen Tay River a few years later when he was nearing adulthood. He undoubtedly helped his father clear farm land, cut trees for lumber, planted crops among the tree stumps, and assisted with erecting a family home and buildings for mills from locally quarried rocks. He must have spent many days driving a wagon into Perth to deliver lumber and milled grain or to pick up supplies. While a young man Arza worked in his father's grist and saw mills where he learned how to keep accounts, how to supervise employees, and how to mill grain and saw timber.

Sometime after 1820, Arza was baptized a Methodist (Sargeant and Miller, 1986, p, 1). Records show that, subsequently, at least some of his brothers and sisters were also baptized Methodists, including his younger brother Barnabas. Given the religious commitments of his parents, Arza and his brothers and sisters likely attended church services regularly in Perth, despite living several miles west of town. His Methodist training favorably conditioned him to accept later the Latter-day Saints' message. Many of the early converts to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, especially in upper Canada, were Methodists.

At the age of 26 Arza was well established and mature before marrying Sabina Clark on March 23, 1831, with Reverend Smart officiating in Augusta. Their marriage was reported in both the Brockville (March 31, 1831) and Perth papers. Arza was an eligible bachelor since he came from a prominent, relatively well-to-do family and owned property

himself. Sabina's father was Nathan Clark Jr. and her mother was Nancy McEathron.[23] Sabina was born September 1, 1812, (or possibly on September 12) in Augusta Township, Leeds County, Ontario, Canada.[24]

About nine months before marrying on July 14, 1830, Arza purchased, or bartered for his labor, a parcel of land in Bathurst Township from his father for 100 pounds (lot number 20p in the second concession). Less than a year later Arza sold part of this land, 94 acres, for 190 pounds on June 23, 1831 (Sargeant and Miller, Vol. I, 1991). This transaction may have been a way for Arza' s father to compensate him for labor, and possibly provide money for a home. Two years later, on June 17, 1833, Arza purchased another parcel of land in Bathurst for 100 pounds (lot number 13W in the second concession), that he sold for the same price less than two years later on February 5, 1835. The short periods of time that Arza owned these two parcels in Bathurst suggest he did not farm the land, possibly other than to harvest the timber on them. In general, the area in Bathurst is not suitable for farming (Gardner, pp. 2-3). Much of it is rocky or swampy, and Arza made most of his livelihood in Adamsville managing one or more of the family businesses.

In addition to land transactions in Bathurst Township, Arza and his brother Barnabas also leased or were given land grants in North Crosby Township which was located immediately south of their Adamsville home. They may have only harvested timber on these lots.

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[23] Sabina's mother's maiden name was also spelled McEachron. Sabina's father served in the War of 1812 with the British and died young in 1816. Sabina's mother remarried William Shipman. Nathan Clark III was Sabina's only sibling.

[24] Arza lists September 12 as the date of birth for Sabina in his journal. His son Nathan lists her birth date as September 1 in his brief life history, the same date recorded in Nauvoo Temple Records.

Perhaps because of family ties in Bastard, Joshua and Arza both owned property there while they lived near Perth. Arza purchased 200 acres in Bastard from his maternal grandfather, Barnabas Chipman on February 18, 1834 (lot number 13 in the tenth concession) for 300 pounds. Arza may have thought of relocating his family to Bastard, or may have been simply speculating on land values. Whatever the case, he sold the land back to his grandfather for the same price two years later.

## Becoming a Latter-day Saint

About eleven months before Arza's marriage, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was organized. Canada was the first country outside of the United States to receive Latter-day Saint missionaries. Brigham Young, Phineas Young, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Orson Pratt were prominent early missionaries who sought converts in Canada. In 1836 Parley Pratt preached in Toronto and surrounding areas with substantial success.

Contemporary with Parley Pratt's mission, John E. Page began seeking converts in Lanark and Leeds County where Arza and many of his Adams and Chipman relatives lived.[25] Page was the most successful Latter-day Saint missionary to labor in Canada. His son Justin later described him as indefatigable, strong, healthy, vigorous, ambitious, and large in stature (Bennett 1975, p. 48). He was an excellent orator and well grounded in scripture. He was especially fond of preaching on the Book of Mormon and made friends and converts easily.

[25]Page protested going on his mission because he was destitute of clothes, whereupon Joseph Smith took off his coat and gave it to him telling him to go and the Lord would bless him (Andrew Jenson 1886, Vol. 5, p. 57).

Page and his companion William Harris left Kirtland on May 31, 1836 to tract in Canada. They did missionary work north of Kingston, Ontario for a time until Harris returned to Ohio. Page proceeded on alone to seek converts in several nearby townships, including Bastard. James Blakely became Page's companion for a short time before he also returned home. By mid-November 1836 Page and his part-time companions had baptized 97 people. He went on alone to do missionary work in Elgin, Westport, and Portland. In late November or early December of 1836 he went north to Perth. Working alone he baptized 170 individuals in less than two months in the dead of winter and established branches in Elgin, North and South Crosby, and in Perth (Bennett 1975, p.47). Three of his converts in Perth were Arza, his wife Sabina, and Arza's brother Barnabas.

Arza briefly recorded their baptisms in his journal:

> Arza Adams, born January 22, 1804, and baptized unto Jesus Christ by Elder Jo. Page Dec 25, 1836, and Sabina Adams, my wife baptized on the 26th and both confirmed members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints by the laying of hands (Effie W. Adams, journal 1, p. 1).

Page's message had an immediate and profound effect on Arza and Sabina; it led them to be baptized in icy water in late December, only a couple of weeks after Page began preaching in the Perth area. It would have been interesting if Arza had more fully described his Christmas Day baptism and related feelings. The temperature was almost certainly below zero.

Some of the family tension caused by their baptism is hinted at in a family history written by Arza's younger brother Alvah late in his life:

> First son, Arza . . . married a Miss Clarke, by whom he had two or three children (sic), when he removed from Adamsville to the interior of the Far West. Few particulars have been heard from him. . . Fifth child of Joshua Adams, Esq., a son, and named Barnabas Lathrop . . . at one time promised much, religiously, but went West with his elder brother under circumstances that left their religious prospects under a cloud in the minds of their friends.

Despite this implied disapproval of Arza and Barnabas' baptisms, there was no lasting antagonism between the two brothers and their family. Arza returned later to his family's home in Adamsville various times while on a religious mission. An affectionate letter from their mother to Barnabas in Quincy, Illinois expressed the wish to see him and also sent love to all. Arza corresponded with Canadian members of his family as late as the 1880's. Copies of these letters are in possession of family members and indicate there was mutual love and affection among them. (See copies of letters included in the Appendix.)

## Reasons for Conversion

Unless one has experienced a sudden and dramatic conversion in religious beliefs, it is probably impossible to understand completely why Arza, Sabina, and Barnabas suddenly decided to become Latter-day Saints. Arza left no record that allows a fuller understanding of their conversion. Perhaps it was Page's charisma and oratory skills that first attracted them to this new faith, or possibly it was the strange and powerful message contained in the Book of Mormon that

led to their conversion, as it did for many other early converts.[26] Or, maybe the new gospel message propagated by Page filled an unsatisfied need or void. The turmoil among Methodists in Canada at the time may have also contributed to their accepting a new religion.

Arza had some important excuses for not jumping into a new church and starting a trek west into the unknown. As oldest son, he would have inherited a substantial part of his father's businesses. He was well settled at age 33 and had a wife and three young children in his care. To become Latter-day Saints, Arza and Sabina gave up a secure life, close family ties with the Adams family, and substantial future assets. Physical comfort was another possible excuse for not being baptized in late December. Likewise, there must have been some temporary family awkwardness when Arza and Sabina renounced the family's faith and embraced a new religion.

Ordination and first mission

Soon after Arza's baptism, Page returned to Kirtland for a short time, collected his family, and returned to upper Canada to continue his mission. Leavitt reports that Latter-day Saint missionaries came to Bastard in 1837

> "...and held meetings, at which they secured a great many converts. The converts were drawn from two classes. First, U.E. Loyalists and their descendants, who had become disgusted with the government of the country.

[26] Page was an extraordinary missionary who claimed to have converted one thousand people to the Latter-day Saints' faith (Quist). Soon after Joseph Smith's death Page affiliated himself with James Jesse Strang. He later drifted off to support James C. Brewster's splinter group, and still later joined with the Hedrickites. Page died on October 14, 1863 still testifying to the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon, but skeptical about all of the organizational schisms spawned by the book.

> Second, ignorant and poor people who were led to believe that they would better their condition by becoming followers (p. 124).

Some of the converts that Page made in Bastard may have suggested that Page contact Arza's family in Perth. Arza's friends and relatives in Bastard who became Latter-day Saints included Ami Chipman's family (Arza's mother's cousin), Stephen Chipman's family (Arza's uncle), Arza Judd Jr., and several related Stoddard and Hinckley families (Pamela Johnson, Leavitt).[27]

Page found fertile soil in Lanark and Leeds for his message and for converts. In less than two years he baptized about 600 people, an average of more than one every day during the time he was in the field. He also traveled more than 5,000 miles, mostly on foot. The culmination of Page's mission was a conference held in Portland, District of Johnstown on June 10 and 11, 1837.

Arza was ordained to the office of an Elder a week before that conference and was then called on a local mission. Wilford Woodruff attended the Conference and recorded in his Diary that: "there were thirteen Elders present, and along with other ordinations, there were seven Elders ordained (Kenney, Vol. I, pp. 150-151). In the eight branches represented, there were 305 members "being the fruits of the labors of Elder John E. Page in the last thirteen months." Arza attended this conference and offered the opening prayer in one of the sessions (Latter-day Saints Messenger and Advocate, Vol. 3. No. 11, pp. 558-559).

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[27]The converts made in Bastard had unintended consequences for Page and for the Latter-day Saints Church. After his first wife died in the early 1840s, Page married one of his converts from Bastard, Mary Judd, Zadok Knapp Judd's sister. Arza Judd Jr. had Church President Gordon B. Hinckley as one of his progeny.

Arza recorded in his journal his ordination and mission call:

> I was called to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ by revelation from God and separated for the ministry by the hands of Elder J. E. Page and A. Stevens on the 3rd of June 1837 and soon began to preach the word of life unto my acquaintances and friends (Effie W. Adams, journal 1, p. 1).

He also says in his journal that he "...started on the 19th of June to preach the gospel without purse or script." The journal proceeds with a narration of his activities: "I continue to preach and settle up my affairs until the Spring of 1838." Unfortunately, most of the pages in his journal that cover his missionary work during 1837 in Canada are too faint to read. He does mention doing missionary work in Newburg and in his wife's birthplace, Augusta. Arza probably continued to live in Adamsville while doing missionary work during short trips to nearby communities.

## Move to Missouri

Fervent faith in their new religion, a belief in millennialism, and the draw of "going to Zion" were likely important reasons for Arza and Sabina pulling up roots and moving to Missouri in 1838. Several other forces perhaps reinforced their decision to migrate. The year before their move saw the start of a serious economic depression in the United States as well as in Canada. Bank failures, business closings, and lack of jobs were a serious problem for several years following the start of the depression. The businesses owned by Arza's father and the economic opportunities for Arza in these activities were undoubtedly adversely affected by this economic downturn. In addition, there was a pseudo

civil war in Canada around the time Arza and Sabina decided to emigrate. The turmoil in Canada during 1837 is summarized by D.G. Creighton:

> . . . in the oppressive atmosphere of rebellion, defeat and political chaos, the year (1837) closed. The country has not been able to endure the grinding stresses imposed upon it; and now at last its breakdown was complete. The finances were in disorder, the public works were suspended, the commerce of the country had dwindled away under the pressure of renewed competition, and the stagnation of the slump. The population, still suffering from the effects of the financial crisis and the depression, was divided by the rancorous political hatreds of an abortive civil war (cited in Bennett 1975, p. 25).

Religious and political turmoil in Canada during the years immediately before and during Arza's and Barnabas migration also encouraged the move. For a number of years prior to 1837 the Methodist Church in Canada along with other protestant sects had objected to the support given by the government to the Church of England and to the British Crown. When British Methodists, who were loyal to the Crown entered the fray it caused a schism in the Canadian Methodist Church. Some of the members supported the British Wesleyans, while others supported the reform Methodists who were also allied with the political reformer William Lyon Mackenzie and his republican views (Shaw). Mackenzie and his followers demanded more home rule, more democracy, and fewer ties between state and church. He led an unsuccessful uprising in December 1837 aimed at toppling British authority that became know as the "Rebellion of Upper Canada." Individuals and families from the reform part of this religious schism comprised a sizable portion of the converts to theChurch of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

during the 1836-1838 period. Many of the emigrants to the U.S. during 1838 were insurgents who supported these reforms, but lost.

Economic, political, and religious problems led to mass migration from Canada to the United States in 1838 and 1839. Bennett (1975) quotes Hansen and Brebner regarding this migration:

> The emigration assumed disturbing proportions. A thousand [people] a week were reported as crossing Niagara River into the state of New York during July 1838 and from Detroit came similar accounts describing the extent of the exodus during that and the succeeding year (p. 25).

The rigid class structure in Perth may have also made Arza uneasy. The upper class in Perth was comprised of former army officers, including Arza's father. Arza may have also had republican leanings that were unpopular in Perth. In later life Arza occasionally took umbrage to those who tried to boss him. This characteristic may have prompted him to get out from under his father's wing in 1837-38 and strike out on his own, both economically and religiously.

In the spring of 1838, Arza made the decision that thousands of Canadians, especially Latter-day Saint converts, were making: he would move his family south and west to seek their fortunes in the United States. He wrote:

> I started with my family consisting of wife and 4 children to the Land of Missouri where the Lord had appointed for the gathering of *kingdoms and nations to serve the Lord and* wait for the coming of the son of man (Effie W. Adams, journal 2, p. 1).

When he left Canada, Arza was 34 years old, and his wife Sabina was 25. Their children were Nathan, 6 years, Joshua, 4 years, George, 3 years, and Sabina Ann, a year old.

Some of the Canadian converts joined the John E. Page Company of Latter-day Saints immigrating to Missouri. A few of them fled Canada during the winter of 1837-38 and gathered in Oak Point, St. Lawrence County, New York before going on to Missouri. It appears that Arza and his family crossed into the U.S. later, possibly joining the Page group on various occasions along the way west. Little is recorded in Latter-day Saints history about this migration of converts from Canada. Arza does not provide information about this journey. In a brief life sketch his son Nathan described the journey many years later. He wrote:

> My Father and mother joined the Church of Jesus Christ in Canada and in gathering with the Saints in about the year 1836 (and in 1838) crossed the St. Lawrence at Ogdensburg thence to Niagra Falls and Buflo and to Dewit Masoria. thence to Far west. thence to Quincy, Adams Co Illinois. Thence to Nauvoo Hancock Co. Illinois about the year 1838 (sic.)....

From what Arza records in his journal, it appears his family was one of those who came independently, but possibly linked up with the Page Company sometime before arriving in De Witt. It is unclear if Barnabas, Arza's younger brother, came with Arza or with other friends or relatives in the John E. Page Company. He was unmarried and 25 years old at the time of the migration. Barnabas' obituary published in the Deseret News June 3, 1869 reported that:

> . . . he joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, we think under the ministry of John E. Page, when he was 23 years of

> age (sic.). It not being convenient for him to emigrate to Kirtland when his brother Arza (who now resides at American Fork) did, he afterwards gathered with the Saints in Missouri, in what was known as the Canada camp, which was led there by John E. Page.

Arza and Sabina traveled through northern Ohio and Kirtland on their way to Missouri. One wonders if they had second thoughts about casting their lot with the Latter-day Saints after seeing the turmoil that reigned in Kirtland in mid-1838. A few months earlier Joseph Smith and other leaders of the church were driven from Kirtland by a flurry of lawsuits, alleged arrest warrants, and threats of bodily harm. The fallout from the aborted attempt to establish a bank in Kirtland in early 1837, along with the depression of that year, seriously undermined the Kirtland economy, including the intertwined finances of Joseph Smith and the fledgling church (Karl Anderson; Hill and others). Allegations by D. P. Hurlbut and E. D. Howe that the Book of Mormon was plagiarized and that Joseph Smith and his family left behind bad reputations in New York State further poisoned the atmosphere in Kirtland (Rodger I. Anderson). Apostasy, accusations, and counter accusations filled the air, with some of the most hurtful charges coming from apostates. In the first seven months of 1838, about 1,600 members of the church left Kirtland for Missouri to escape these problems. Arza and his family merged with this exodus. The large Kirtland Camp with more than 500 members left Kirtland on July 6, 1838, with the Page Company leaving a few days earlier.

Arza left no record about his feelings as his family left Kirtland and traveled across Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and finally into Missouri. He and Sabina were too busy tending their animals, caring for four children, finding firewood, arranging for food, washing clothing, and locating a place to camp each evening to record their travels. They took the well-traveled

roads south, southwest, and then west out of Kirtland, covering 10 to 15 miles each day. They passed through New Portage, Wooster, Mansfield, Bucyrus, and Bellefontaine, Ohio, and then picked up the National Road at Springfield, Ohio, proceeded west through Indiana, and on through Springfield, Illinois. Their travel experience was likely similar to that described in detail by members of the Kirtland Camp and by Zadok Knapp Judd who traveled to Missouri at the same time (Hill; Joseph Smith: Vol. 3, pp. 87-148; Judd).

As did other Latter-day Saint migrants, Arza may have stopped along the way to work several times (Joseph Smith: Vol. 3, p. 115). Many of the members of the Kirtland Camp and the John E. Page Company, for example, stopped near Dayton for a month or so to work on the Dayton-to-Springfield road and various other construction jobs (Hill; Joseph Smith: Vol. 3, pp. 117-119). Arza and his brother Barnabas may have earned some cash in these efforts that came in handy during the travails they encountered the next few months in Missouri and Illinois.

Arza tells us nothing about their illnesses and fatigue, about the muddy and rutted roads, about the dust and lack of fodder, about the upkeep and repair of their wagon, or about the mosquitoes and hot weather that accompanied their journey. Other Latter-day Saints travelling the same route recorded that drought was a problem for at least part of the journey and it was difficult to find forage for their animals.

Nonetheless, Arza was most certainly impressed with the large amounts of hardwood forests and high quality land he saw along the way. The hustle and bustle in towns and villages they passed through must have reinforced his optimism about the economic possibilities that were emerging amidst the largest expanse of high quality agricultural land in the world. He may have wistfully thought about possible mill sites on a number of streams and rivers along the way. He and his wife were undoubtedly thankful that none of their

children died on the trip, a misfortune that struck many other Latter-day Saint families who made that journey. Their optimism may have been dampened somewhat by an early frost on September 2, before they reached Indianapolis, Indiana. This frost was a harbinger of a severe winter that was to follow which would find them much less well sheltered than they had been in "cold" Canada.

Unlike many poor Latter-day Saints travelling to Missouri that summer, especially those in the Kirtland Camp, Arza must have carried a significant amount of money with him, supplemented by what he earned along the way. This, plus his resourcefulness, allowed the family to essentially live out of a wagon for about a year, including the six months it took them to go from Perth to their hoped-for Zion in De Witt, Carroll County, Missouri.

# Chapter 3

## Facing the Vigilantes in Missouri

There is no grievance that is a fit object
of redress by mob law.
--Abraham Lincoln

Latter-day Saints moving to Missouri from Kirtland and Canada in 1838 plodded into a firestorm. Instead of finding a place of opportunity and tranquility, Arza and his family were immediately sucked into a maelstrom of conflict between the Latter-day Saints, who were gathering in several counties in northwest Missouri, and their hostile neighbors. This conflict had festered and occasionally erupted for seven years. It started soon after Latter-day Saints began gathering in Missouri in 1831 and finally exploded into a civil war a few days before Arza and family arrived in De Witt, Missouri.

Initially, Latter-day Saints settled in Missouri around Independence where they planned to build a temple. Joseph Smith had designated the area as the Saints' Zion (LeSueur). Large amounts of cheap, high-quality land and convenient river transportation made Independence an attractive place for settlement. Because it was the starting point for trade up the Missouri River, it was also an ideal place for those wishing to establish businesses. Within two years hundreds of Latter-day Saints moved to Independence, and it became one of the two main gathering points for church members, the other being Kirtland, Ohio. In 1833, however, after several skirmishes, vigilantes drove most Latter-day Saints north into adjacent Clay County where they found temporary refuge. The respite for the Latter-day Saints was short lived in Clay County; within three years they were strongly encouraged to leave, and a new county, Caldwell, was created immediately northeast of Clay County by the State Legislature as a Latter-day Saint "reservation." Displaced Missouri church

members, new converts, and church members escaping the turmoil in Kirtland converged on the new Latter-day Saint mecca in Caldwell County in 1838.

By the time Joseph Smith arrived in Far West, Caldwell County on March 14, 1838 three to four thousand Latter-day Saints were camped there and in surrounding counties. Within six months thousands of additional church members moved into the area (LeSueur, p. 29). The number of immigrants to Caldwell County quickly exceeded the land available and Latter-day Saints overflowed into surrounding areas, especially into Davies and Carroll Counties. Jenson records the following about this overflow into De Witt:

> In 1838 De Witt contained only a few houses but through solicitations of Henry Root and David Thomas, owners of extensive tracts of land in the area, saints were induced to settle there after Caldwell County filled up. Quite a number of saints were expected from Canada that season, and it was decided by authorities of the church [that] they should locate in De Witt. Other families from Ohio already had moved in (Historical Record, Vol. 5, p. 13).

On his way to Far West in April 1838, Sidney Rigdon stopped in De Witt and was urged by land speculators to direct Latter-day Saints to settle there. Subsequently, church leaders purchased land in De Witt and directed Canadian converts there. In June 1838, John Murdock and George M. Hinkle gave speculators a personal note for $500 that was countersigned by Bishop Edward Partridge for about half the urban plots in De Witt (Hill, p. 163).

## De Witt, Missouri

In July 1838 a few Latter-day Saints moved into De Witt, located in the extreme east edge of Carroll County, about 60 miles south and east of Far West, the "capital" of the Latter-day Saint's new gathering. De Witt had few inhabitants before the Latter-day Saints Church purchased property in the new village. The availability of an attractive boat-landing site on the Missouri River and the nearby confluence of the Grand River with the Missouri River made it an appealing place for settlement. Compared to the thin and rocky soils that Arza left behind in Canada, the gently rolling landscape with ample fertile land nearby must have favorably impressed Arza as he neared De Witt. Zadok Knapp Judd remembers De Witt as being a beautiful place with broad acres of rich land covered with grass and ample timber (Judd).

Arza and his family arrived in De Witt a day before the John E. Page Company pulled into the small settlement (Hill, p. 164). Arza's comment about his arrival in De Witt is brief:

> The family arrived at De Witt, Carroll county September 26, 1838, but soon surrounded by a mob we were driven into Caldwell County, 63 miles to the main Body of the saints (Effie W. Adams, journal 2, p. 2).

A few of the Canadian converts who moved to De Witt arrived before Arza and his family. Arza Judd Jr. and his brother Ira, for example, arrived several weeks earlier and immediately began to cut wild hay for fodder and logs for cabins (Judd, p. 8). Arza and the remainder of the Canadian immigrants who arrived in De Witt in late September 1838 had less opportunity to put down roots.

About the time Arza arrived in De Witt, vigilantes camped outside the village and harassed anyone trying to enter or leave the village.

The events leading up to the collision between the Latter-day Saints in De Witt and other residents of Carroll and surrounding countries were later chronicled by both sides of the conflict (History of Carroll County, pp. 243- 261; and Joseph Smith, Vol. 3, pp. 161-177). The Missourians viewed the Latter-day Saints as religious fanatics, and leaders in Carroll County reacted negatively soon after they learned that the Latter-day Saints had purchased land in De Witt. Several meetings were held in the county seat, Carrollton, during July and August to foster anti-Mormon feelings. This included asking people in surrounding counties for help in expelling the Latter-day Saints from De Witt and making sure they did not resettle nearby. The numerous Canadian converts who arrived in De Witt in September energized these sentiments and this was quickly converted into a gathering of vigilantes who acted to oust the newcomers.

In mid-September 1838 a committee led by Sarshel Woods delivered an ultimatum to the small group of Latter-day Saints led by George M. Hinkle who had earlier settled in De Witt. They were told to vacate the county by September 20 or they would be expelled at the point of a gun. Hinckle refused to surrender, sent for help from Far West, and organized his few men to defend their rights. True to his word, Reverend Woods and others immediately assembled vigilantes numbering about 150 from Carroll and Saline Counties to assault De Witt. Within a few days this quasi-army was camped a few miles west of De Witt preparing to attack the village. In the meantime the number of Latter-day Saints in De Witt increased as the Canadian converts, including John E. Page's group and Arza and his family, innocently drove into town and constructed a tent and wagon city just south of the village. Instead of finding a place of rest

at the end of a long and arduous journey they found themselves in the path of an uncivil storm that blew them out of De Witt after two anxious weeks.

The arrival of reinforcements from Far West, including Joseph Smith and other church leaders, boosted the morale of the De Witt immigrants for only a couple of days. The vigilantes postponed their attack for a few days until they could obtain a canon and additional reinforcements from Ray, Clay, and Howard Counties. Joseph Smith reported the dire conditions he found in De Witt:

> I found my brethren, who were only a handful in comparison to the mob by which they were surrounded, in this situation, and their provisions nearly exhausted, and no prospect of obtaining any more (Joseph Smith, Vol. 3, p. 153).

Others later filed affidavits about the conditions in De Witt, including Sidney Rigdon and Hyrum Smith. Rigdon's affidavit written in 1843 stated that:

> The citizens were completely besieged by the mob. No man was at liberty to go out, nor any to come in. The extremities to which the people were driven were very great, suffering with much sickness, without shelter, and deprived of all aid, either medical or any other kind, and being without food or the privilege of getting it, and betrayed by every man who made the least pretension to friendship (Joseph Smith, Vol. 3, p. 407).

Hyrum Smith's affidavit stated:

> The people of De Witt were obliged to leave their homes and go into Far West, but did not do so until after many of them had starved to death for want of proper sustenance, and several died on the road there, and were buried by the wayside, without a coffin or a funeral ceremony; and the distress, sufferings, and privations of the people cannot be expressed (Joseph Smith, Vol. 3, p. 407).

There was only a brief lessening in the tension in De Witt after two companies of state militia under the command of General Parks arrived in nearby Carrollton. Ostensibly they were to keep the peace between the Latter-day Saints and the vigilantes. It quickly became apparent, however, that the militia would side with the vigilantes if sent to De Witt, regardless of their peacekeeping orders. This would have boosted the number of vigilantes who were arrayed against the Latter-day Saints to more than 400 armed men. Being badly out-numbered and out gunned, the 75 Latter-day Saint families in De Witt and their supporters from Far West capitulated and left town on October 11, 1838. Perhaps only with the benefit of time and some reflection, Alexander C. Blackwell, one of the leaders of the vigilantes, hints at some remorse about the treatment he and other vigilantes administered to the Latter-day Saints:

> There was something pitiful in the condition of the Mormons after the surrender. The majority of them were poor, and had all of their (wealth) invested in the settlement in DeWitt. Winter was approaching, and they were forced from their little, but comfortable, homes into the inhospitable weather of a Missouri autumn and late fall,

> with their wives and children and all they possessed on earth. But they loaded up their property on their wagons, and the long procession evacuated the place, the men with heads depressed, the women in tears, and all casting longing, lingering looks behind, as they left the place where they had hoped to live their lives out in peace, plenty, and quietude (History of Carroll County, p. 258).

In a fanciful attempt to rewrite the history of the brutal treatment of Latter-day Saints in De Witt, Blackwell romanticizes their trip to Far West in a statement that would have made Arza and his companions gag had they read it:

> As they passed through this county they received nothing but the kindest treatment at the hands of the citizens, who had lately been in arms against them and who were determined not to allow them to remain in the country. This kindness was fully appreciated by the poor refugees, who declared they had received better treatment from the Carroll county people than from those of any other county through with they had passed. Scarcely anyone charged them for corn and provisions, of which they were in need. The people realized that there would be no more trouble with them, and as conquerors, felt that they could afford to be generous (History of Carroll County, p. 258).[28]

[28] Although treated harshly, the Latter-day Saints in De Witt were more fortunate than others. Several weeks after Arza's group was driven from De Witt, 17 Latter-day Saints were killed and 14 wounded in the Haun's Mill Massacre. This tragedy occurred several days after Governor Lilburn W. Boggs' issued an order to exterminate the Latter-day Saints in Missouri (Baugh).

Several aspects of the expulsion of the Latter-day Saints from De Witt are particularly disturbing, aspects that must have galled Arza and others as they fled the village at gun point. The first is that the vigilante leaders were mostly ministers or otherwise prominent people in the county. Reverend Abbott Hancock and especially Reverend Sarshel Woods inflamed local resident to take unlawful and unchristian-like actions against the newcomers. Woods even removed his cleric's collar, took up arms, and became a major in the vigilante mob that invested De Witt. Judge John Standley gave speeches urging locals to ignore the law when it came to Latter-day Saints. A respected physician, Dr. W. W. Austin, was the chairman of the committee organized to oust the Latter-day Saints. Alexander C. Blackwell, an educated young man from Virginia, was the aggressive secretary for the committee who left a lucid record of the vigilante's illegal activities. The leaders of the vigilantes were not illiterate red neck heathens. Nor were they individuals who were completely ignorant of due process, legal rights, and the Constitution. Their treatment of the Latter-day Saints as vermin would have been more understandable if these leaders had been ignorant of the laws of the land.

The second troubling aspect is the general intolerance of most of the inhabitants of Carroll and surrounding counties and their rush to despise a group of people they knew little about. The Missourians demonstrated a thin veneer of civilization. They judged the Latter-day Saints based on rumors and inflammatory speeches, often without ever meeting a Latter-day Saint in the flesh. Their willingness to think and act for themselves was disappointedly limited. The fact that only eight residents in Carroll County voted in favor of allowing Latter-day Saints to settle in the county in an election in August, 1838 shows how widespread and deep this intolerance was. Given this, one has to admire the courage of these eight voters -- those who were not Latter-day Saints -- who voted to allow the newcomers to settle in Carroll County, rather than going along with the crowd. One

also has to admire several local leaders who attempted to intermediate between the vigilantes and the Latter-day Saints in De Witt to avoid bloodshed. Judge James Earickson and William F. Dunnica from Howard Country were rare examples of peacemakers in the sorry De Witt affair (History of Carroll County, p. 254).

Given the raw experience Latter-day Saints had with vigilante "justice" in De Witt and elsewhere in Missouri, it is understandable why they later became so leery of state and national governments and attempted to administer their own justice in Illinois and Utah.

Far West, Missouri

The trip from De Witt to Far West took Arza 4 to 5 days. Some of the refugees were forced to surrender many of their personal effects to the vigilantes. Zadok Knapp Judd later recorded how cold his bare feet were during that disheartening journey (Judd). Several of the refugees were buried in shallow graves along the trail to Far West.

The De Witt survivors, along with other Latter-day Saints trudging into Far West about the same time, found little relief there, except in numbers. They encountered a severe housing shortage, a lack of food, sporadic vigilante attacks, threats from the state militia, and an early and severe winter. Some emigrants crowded into one-room log cabins with families who had settled earlier in Far West. Others sought shelter in abandoned cabins, dugouts, tents, or constructed temporary shelters out of wagons. Christopher Merkley, Zadok Knapp Judd, and Ami Chipman wrote about the rough fare they had during the winter of 1838-39. Judd reported becoming extremely tired of eating johnny cakes made from pumpkins and chewing on field corn (Judd, p. 10). Merkley recorded that Far West residents permitted the refugees from De Witt to glean their fields for ears of corn that were then boiled and the corn pounded into rough meal

out of which bread was made (Merkley, p. 6). He also mentions killing 43 deer during the winter that provided most of the meat for his family and others. Many refugees in Far West, such as Ami Chipman and his family, were forced to rely on charity to survive (Leavitt, p. 124). Arza and Sabina undoubtedly shared the same miserable conditions recorded by these fellow converts from Canada. Although extremely painful at the time, these harsh experiences galvanized ties among church members who endured.

During that harsh winter Arza had many hair-raising and painful experiences. These included defending against vigilantes, agonizing over the well-being of jailed church leaders, struggling to keep warm and fed, helping others who were less fortunate, never knowing when or if violence would descend on his family, and wondering where they could find peace and safety. His youngest son, Daniel, vividly remembered many years later hearing his father talk about the experiences endured during his family's sojourn in Missouri. Daniel related that he would often go with his father to visit old pioneer friends in American Fork during the 1880s: "I would get very tired of sitting in the wagon and listening to them tell and retell about the mobs in Missouri." Of course, Daniel was only a young boy at the time, since his father died when he was eleven.

An incident that happened during Arza's stay in Far West is described in a short sketch of his life written in 1924 for the Daughters of Utah Pioneers by Myrtle Robinson Seastrand and LaBelle Andersen Ingersoll, Arza's granddaughters. Although they do not give the source of their information, other mentions of the incident that occurred during the winter of 1838-39 suggest the story was handed down orally. The sketch records:

> It was at this time that the Saints were being subjected to persecutions by the mobs, and Arza, who was credited with

> having a tigerish disposition -- which means that he was always ready to meet trouble halfway or better -- was in the thick of many of the hottest skirmishes. It is related of him, that one time he and fifteen others, mostly boys, were closely pressed (by vigilantes). When Arza decided that they had gone far enough, he induced the others to make a stand and fight it out. They accordingly entrenched themselves on a hillside in a grove of trees and awaited the assault which never came, because when the mob came close enough to see them, they (the mob) turned and beat a precipitous retreat. The boys were very much surprised and could not understand why they should leave them in that way, as they [the vigilantes] were so much stronger in numbers.

About eight or nine years after this event, Arza became well acquainted with the leader of the mob, and when they brought the matter up, Arza asked him why they retreated. His answer was that when they caught sight of them on the hillside, there appeared to be hundreds of armed Mormons against the trees, and they thought they had run into a trap. Arza said that as long as he knew that man he could never get him to believe there were no more than sixteen boys in the group, but the man stuck to his claim that they could see hundreds of men.

Despite being in the midst of a virtual civil war, and with some of their leaders in jail, Arza and others in Far West continued to conduct church affairs. At a meeting of the Seventies Quorum on January 5, 1839 Arza was ordained a Seventy. Although the location of the meeting was not recorded, it may have taken place at Adam-ondi-Ahman. Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and John Taylor

participated in this meeting. They ordained thirty-one Seventies, and then proceeded to give them missionary instructions. The Journal History records that "The Twelve called on the Seventies in the name of the Lord to go on their missions as soon as their circumstances would admit" (January 5, 1839). Peter Nicoll, Arza's friend from Perth, was also ordained a Seventy at this same meeting.

In November of the dreadful winter of 1838-39, Joseph Smith and other church leaders were incarcerated in Liberty Jail, north of Independence. They were held hostage to assure that the Latter-day Saints would leave Missouri in the early spring. During this time the Latter-day Saints were forced to surrender their arms, to completely submit to state military authority, and agree to leave the state as soon as possible. The harassed Saints were offered sanctuary around Quincy, Illinois, and Brigham Young, as senior member of the Quorum of the Twelve, proceeded to organize them for the flight east. To alleviate suffering and expedite the move, the people were organized to help each other. Arza was at the meeting on January 29, 1839, in Far West where he and many others signed the following covenant:

> On motion of Brigham Young, it was resolved that we this day enter into covenant to stand by and assist each other to the utmost of our abilities in removing from this state, and that we will never desert the poor who are worthy, till they shall be out of the reach of the exterminating order of General Clark, acting for and in the name of the state (Joseph Smith, Vol. 3, p. 250).

Brigham Young and other church leaders gained valuable leadership experience during this trying period in organizing the exodus. Arza and many others pledged all their resources to help the poor, retaining only what was

needed to move their own families. Since the Adams family left Canada only the previous spring and had been in Missouri under siege all winter, it is unlikely that Arza had much excess to pledge. When the Latter-day Saints later presented a claim against the state of Missouri for loss of property to the Federal Government in November 1839, Arza's loss was listed mostly in the form moving costs. Whatever cash Arza brought with him or earned along the way to Missouri was likely exhausted in sustaining his family and helping others move east to Illinois in early 1839.

In February 1839 the Latter-day Saints began to flee Far West for Illinois and the community was vacated by April 20. The trip was about 150 miles and it is estimated that some 10 thousand people were involved in the exodus (Gentry). The move was orderly, but the suffering of individuals and families was extreme in many instances. Arza mentions his family's move in a few short lines in his journal:

> We were driven into Caldwell county, 63 miles to the main body of the saints but the mob raged and the governor Boggs willing to show the mob favor gave orders to drive all the saints out of the state. Killed about 22. And we all left the state. And myself and family left Far West on the 7th of March 1839 (Effie W. Adams, jounal 2, p. 2).

During this traumatic trip many Latter-day Saints died, including the wife of John E. Page. The fact that none of Arza's family died during their trip to Missouri, during their ordeal there, or during the retreat to Illinois shows Arza's strengths as a provider and Sabina's talents as a mother. Many other Latter-day Saint families involved in this ordeal left loved ones hastily buried in unmarked graves.

## Quincy, Illinois

Arza did not record how long it took them to travel east to Quincy but it must have involved ten days or more of cold and wet travel before they arrived at the banks of the Mississippi River across from Quincy. At the time, Quincy was the capital of Illinois. Ice in the river may have blocked for a time their crossing to Quincy. John P. Greene wrote the following about his experience on the banks of the Mississippi at about the same time:

> In the months of February and March (1839), there were at one time 130 families and upwards upon the west bank of the Mississippi, unable to cross on account of the running ice, many of them entirely destitute of food and only scantily supplied from the east side of the river by those who, with great difficulty, succeeded in conveying them provisions. Their only shelter was the bed clothing from which they could make tents, and many had not even this. In their miserable situations, many women gave birth to children (quoted in Gentry).

With the help of local residents, a committee of Latter-day Saints in Quincy helped the refugees find food and shelter. Only about a month after arriving in Quincy Sabina gave birth to a son on May 1, 1839. They named him Sidney Moses. The place of birth is recorded as near Quincy. Perhaps the boy was named after Sidney Rigdon, who had been in jail in Liberty, and Moses, who led the Jewish Exodus from Egypt. Arza and Sabina must have felt they had escaped from their pharaoh (Governor Boggs), crossed their Red Sea (the Mississippi), and hoped to find more tolerant surroundings in their new "promised land" (Illinois).

The conditions of the Latter-day Saints during this trek east was desperate and their church leadership depleted. Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Parley Pratt, and Ebenezer Robinson spent the winter in prison. One of the 12 apostles, David Patten, had been killed in the battle at Crooked River; other apostles including Luke and Lyman Johnson, John Boynton, Thomas Marsh, and William McLellin had apostatized. Orson Hyde and William Smith were suspended from exercising the functions of their office. Another apostle, Orson Pratt, was wavering and Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris, Book of Mormon witnesses, had abandoned the church.

The church, with the support of members such as Arza, was not wavering, however. On April 26, 1839, seven of the church leaders returned to deserted Far West from Illinois and joined Heber C. Kimball there. At the proposed temple site they held a conference in the middle of the night and laid the foundation stone for a temple. This they did to fulfill a prophecy made by Joseph Smith.

## Explanations for persecution

During their short stay in Missouri, Arza and Sabina must have often wondered why they and other Latter-day Saints were the objects of so much wrath and hatred. Clearly, if they had remained Methodists, they would have been welcomed in Missouri. On the surface, the Latter-day Saints who moved to Missouri arrived there in the same types of wagons as their gentile neighbors and then attempted to grow the same crops. They also tended the same types of livestock as their neighbors, spoke the same language, endured the same diseases, came from the same ethnic background, and professed to be Christians. Although much intolerance festered in America during the first three centuries of its settlement, no other state or national leader ever called for the extermination and expulsion of a group of people, as was done in Missouri against the Latter-day Saints. The

burning of witches and the persecution of Quakers and anti-Baptists in Massachusetts was never sanctioned by a government extermination order. Likewise, the widespread discrimination at various times and places against Jews, Catholics, blacks, Hispanics, or various immigrant groups in the U.S. was never codified by a governmental extermination and expulsion order.

In the more tolerant United States at the end of the second Millennium, it is difficult to understand fully the intense persecution that Latter-day Saints attracted in Missouri in the 1830s and which dogged them for the remainder of the century. Partial explanations include the following: most of the Latter-day Saints who immigrated to Missouri had roots in the northeastern part of the U.S. or Canada, while many of their neighbors in Missouri came from the south. Likewise, few Latter-day Saints supported slavery, while some of their neighbors wished to have a slave state. Also, Joseph Smith's followers tended to gather and vote as a block and other locals feared this would result in Latter-day Saints dominating local governments. In addition, Latter-day Saints were experimenting with communal economic and religious arrangements that were alien to others. Possibly most importantly, many Missourians, especially ministers, thought it was blasphemous for Latter-day Saint leaders to claim they communicated directly with God and assert that their Christianity was the only true form. Communication problems that led state officials to believe Latter-day Saints were establishing a theocracy that would not submit to secular law also contributed to the conflict.

At the same time, perhaps the greatest strength of the Latter-day Saints was their difference in beliefs from their neighbors in Missouri. Intolerance of these differences, however, attracted persecution that led to a sorting, sifting, and steeling of those who went through the refiner's fire. Some who passed through this fire, such as Arza, had their religious beliefs reinforced and strengthened by the

experience. Not all of the Latter-day Saint immigrants to Missouri were steeled by this harrowing encounter, however. Some, such as Ami Chipman, a relative of Arza's from Bastard Township, soon returned to Canada to escape the persecution heaped on the Latter-day Saints (Leavett, p. 124-125). Others, such as Sidney Rigdon, who were physically or emotionally broken by the rough treatment they received in Missouri eventually drifted away from the main body of the church. Although extremely painful for those who endured this dreadful experience, much of the strength and vitality exhibited by the Latter-day Saints later -- like the Jews on a grander scale -- is due to the tempering caused by this and subsequent persecution.

# Chapter 4

## Sojourn in Quincy and Second Mission

The field is white already to harvest.
--Doctrine and Covenants

After being driven from Missouri, Arza and his family crossed the Mississippi River and settled near Quincy, Illinois. Soon after arriving, Arza leased a farm for two years that included a wood lot and possibly a cabin. It was located about 4 miles east and north of town in Ellington Township and was owned by John Powell. As soon as weather allowed, Arza and his brother Barnabas planted crops and settled Arza's family on the farm.

Despite their desperate conditions, the spirits of the Latter-day Saints clustered around Quincy were buoyed by the return on April 22, 1839 of Joseph Smith and several other church leaders following their incarceration in Liberty Jail. Soon after, church activities took on a semblance of normalcy and a conference was held near Quincy in a Presbyterian camp on May 4-6. At this conference, a number of missionaries were called to seek converts who would help build a new Zion. This included Arza and a few others who were called to go on missions to upper Canada. At a meeting of the Seventies Council in Quincy on June 2, 1839, Arza and five other Seventies received recommends, apparently a step that was preparatory to being sent on their missions.

A hundred and sixty years later, one wonders how Arza and others who were called to serve missions so soon after being driven out of Missouri could muster the will to leave their destitute families to answer these calls. The fact that Arza was forced to borrow $25 from his brother Barnabas showed the extent to which his savings had been depleted by his travails during the proceeding 12 months.

Shortly before leaving on his mission, Arza signed a petition on June 1, 1839 seeking redress from the losses that Latter-day Saints suffered in Missouri. His bill of damages includes $300 for his costs of first moving into Missouri, $200 for being driven from De Witt, $250 in losses of property and time in the state, and finally $250 to cover costs of moving out of the state (Clark V. Johnson, pp. 121-122).

## Canadian Mission

Arza started his mission on July 11, 1839 and traveled mostly by water, the cheapest and quickest mode of transportation at the time. His route took him down the Mississippi River past St. Louis, up the Ohio River to Portsmouth, Ohio, up the Ohio Canal to Cleveland, across Lake Erie to Buffalo, New York, around Niagara Falls to Lewiston, New York, and then across Lake Ontario and down the St. Lawrence River. In less than three weeks he arrived in Brockville on July 30 and then passed overland to his parent's home near Perth, arriving there on August 2, 1839.

After being gone a year-and-a-half and experiencing many hardships and adventures, Arza had much to share with his parents. It may have been painful and perhaps embarrassing for him to recount the persecution his family suffered in Missouri and to describe their humble circumstances in Illinois. His mother and father may have wondered why Arza made the decisions he did. Arza first accepted a new faith on the spur-of-the-moment. He then moved to parts unknown in the distant west. He there encountered ferocious opposition to his new beliefs, was driven out of Missouri at gun point, and then returned to Canada to search for more converts to share in the hardships suffered by the Latter-day Saints. Whatever their feelings, Arza's parents provided him support and a place of rest during the time he did missionary work in Canada.

Arza stayed with his parents for several weeks and worked in his Father's mill before initiating his missionary work, possibly earning enough to sustain him on part of his mission. In several places in his journal he also mentions settling some business matters. This may have involved selling property or possibly receiving inheritance. The fact that Arza sustained himself on his mission, had new clothes made while there, and drove a team and wagon back to Illinois at the conclusion of his mission shows he left Canada in far better financial shape than when he arrived.

On August 21, 1839 Arza traveled northeast of Perth about 40 miles to Kemptville and gave a missionary sermon there on August 22 in a relative's home. At the time, Kemptville was a thriving hamlet and marketing center that was connected with Pescott on the St. Lawrence River by a 27 mile-long plank road (Mika). Several days later, Christopher Merkley and William Snow joined Arza in seeking converts in Kemptville. Over the next few months Arza off-and-on accompanied Merkley and Snow, and after Snow left for Vermont in December, Arza was Merkley's companion until mid-March (Merkley, p.12). Aside from his early work in Kemptville, much of Arza's missionary time was spent in areas between Perth and Brockville, and between Brockville and Cornwall, which is about 80 miles down river from Brockville. In his journal he mentions several times crossing the St. Lawrence to do missionary work on the American side of the river, especially around Ogdensburg. Every couple of months he returned to his parent's home and met with the small group of Latter-day Saints in Perth that included the Peter Nicoll family.

Arza recorded more detail in his journal about this period of his life than he did for any other. He made almost daily entries while on this mission, provided estimates of the distances he traveled, gave the names of people he contacted and stayed with, sometimes specified the topics of his sermons, and listed his converts. He often preached

before small groups who gathered in the homes of church members, or in homes of people who wished to learn more about his strange new religion. Each week or so he attempted to schedule meetings in schools or churches, where he often debated with local ministers. Arza locked horns in these debates with Methodist, Church of England, Lutheran, and Presbyterian ministers. He names 11 ministers or leaders of other faiths who joined him in debate, only one of whom, James Fells a Methodist, ended the debate on a civil and friendly note. At least one of Arza's debates lasted for six hours; physical endurance played a part in "winning." Without exception, Arza felt he won these debates. Given the limited exposure he had to Latter-day Saint's doctrine, it is remarkable he was able to explain and defend his beliefs, at least to his own satisfaction, and with sufficient conviction and vigor that he made numerous converts.

On a number of occasions he was denied use of a building or reservations for meetings were cancelled because of objections raised by local religious leaders who were angry because Latter-day Saints missionaries were eroding their congregations. Despite opposition, Arza mentions various meetings where he preached to several hundred people, many of these meetings being held in the dead of winter. On several occasions individuals threw things at him during his presentations, attempted to shout him down, or threatened to shoot him if he came near their homes. On other occasions, nonetheless, his audiences paid careful attention to Arza's message and responded positively.

Arza recorded the topics of many of his sermons. These topics provide insights on the Latter-day Saints' beliefs that were most effective at the time in making converts in upper Canada and perhaps also shed light on those beliefs that were most forceful in Arza's conversion. The several dozen topics and associated scriptures he listed include the following: first principles (Galations 1:8), priesthood (Hebrews

5:4), false teachers, coming of Christ, the restoration, baptism, signs and miracles, man as the head of family (Genesis 37:10), and fulfillment of prophecy. He based his sermons on both the Old and New Testaments including the following, apparently favorite scriptures: Genesis 6:16-19; Isaiah 60; Matthew 24:37; 2 Corinthians 5:20; Ephesians 5:9; and Revelations 6:1, 22:14-15. On only two occasions does he mention discussing the Book of Mormon. Once was a defense against the charge that Joseph Smith plagiarized the book from the writings of Solomon Spaulding.

If these topics and references are an indication of what convinced Arza and his family to become Latter-day Saints, they suggest that the Book of Mormon and miracles, factors that were important in other peoples' conversions, were not prominent in his conversion. Rather, Arza appears to have converted because he became convinced that the Latter-day Saints had restored basic principles not present in the Methodist faith. His beliefs appear to have been firmly grounded in the Latter-day Saints interpretations of the Bible. Aside from brief mentions of blessing someone for a toothache and safely crossing the ice-filled St. Lawrence River, miracles seldom appear in Arza's journals.

Although his journal entries during this period are brief, they do reveal features of his personality. He makes virtually no mention of being tired, hungry, or discouraged. Aside from two brief comments about rain, mud, and leaky boots, and on another occasion a snowy day, he does not dwell on the physical hardships of his mission. He was not one who spent time complaining; he only briefly mentions not feeling well a couple of times during his arduous mission. Instead, his thoughts were focused on convincing those he contacted that his message was true. It was not in Arza's nature to back down often or easily. He was feisty with those who challenged him, but warm toward those who felt the same power in the Latter-day Saints' beliefs as he did.

During his mission Arza encountered many generous people who often offered him lodging, meals, and transportation. He stayed numerous times with Mott families, the Caselmans, the Empeys, and the Whites. He lists many other families who put him up for a night or so.

Casually, Arza mentions stopping in Brockville on February 4, 1840 to pick up the 500 hymn booklets he had printed by a Mr. Buell. These booklets had the words for 20 Latter-day Saint hymns and cost Arza $20 dollars, a significant amount at the time for someone who was slogging through mud and snow with holes in his shoes. Arza gives the reasons for this purchase: "I was led to this (purchase) because I had not hymn book of our own and many were poor and could not well afford to purchase a large one and I thought the poor had as good a right to sing as the rich." Arza likely gave most of these hymn booklets away, possibly to converts and to families where he stayed, showing his generosity.

Arza also had a measure of religious tolerance, something that was uncommon at the time. He had a loving relationship with his parents who were fervent Methodists. He often stayed in Brockville with his wife's uncle John McEathron, who rejected Arza's religious beliefs but offered him shelter. On at least one occasion he was invited to stay the night in a Presbyterian minister's house. He also was often asked to stay the night by families who were not of his faith. He apparently met and mixed with people easily and was not overbearing in his missionary work.

Still, Arza was an effective missionary. He and Christopher Merkley baptized 72 people during their brief missions. About three dozen, possibly some not included in Merkley's count, were because of Arza's efforts alone. Curiously, Arza does not appear to have converted any of his close relatives or relatives of his wife (Adams, Chipmans,

McEathrons, or Clarks) while on this mission. Some of his converts, for example the Motts and Plunketts, later settled in American Fork.

Return to Quincy

On several occasions during his mission, Arza received letters from Sabina. In a letter that arrived on February 17, 1840 she asked him to return as soon as navigation opened for reasons Arza does not specify. A month later, however, he received another letter from his brother Barnabas saying they were able to deal with whatever problems they had and that Arza should complete his mission. Given these uncertainties about his family's situation, Arza must have been relieved to complete his missionary obligations in mid-April of 1840 and begin preparations to return to Quincy. He expresses satisfaction in his journal with his mission, noting he had baptized 33 converts, witnessed many others being baptized, and traveled three thousand miles since leaving his family in Quincy.

Arza said goodbye to his parents on May 6, 1840. One can only conjecture on why Arza chose to drive home with a team of horses and a wagon. It would have been quicker, cheaper and far easier for him to return via the water routes used in coming to Canada. Even if the horses and wagon were gifts, it would have been more economical for him to sell them in Canada, take cash with him to Illinois, and purchase similar goods there. His reasons for driving the wagon must have been some valuable goods, possibly furniture and other personal effects, he took with him in the wagon. It is unlikely that he and his wife were able to take all of their household goods with them when they left Canada several years earlier. In his journal Arza mentions that John Nicoll accompanied him on his trip. John was one of the sons of Peter Nicoll and Margaret McPhail who lived in Perth and who had earlier joined the Church of Jesus Christ of

Latter-day Saints, possibly at the same time Arza and Sabina joined. Years later, Alexander Nicoll, a brother of John, would marry Arza's oldest daughter, Sabina Ann, in American Fork.

Their route took them south from Perth to Kitley and then on to Brockville. From there they traveled over a rough road to Kingston where they took a steamer to Toronto. In Toronto Arza attended a sermon given by a Mr. Burwell on the second coming and concluded the message was from the devil. From Toronto they drove west through Hamilton, Brantford, and London before crossing into the U.S. at Detroit. They stopped several times along the way at friends houses or at homes of church members. Just east of Detroit, a Brother Brown asked Arza to preach there before leaving. On short notice, a large crowd gathered to hear him speak on the topic of "the gathering." After his sermon, several people came forward and asked to be baptized; the lack of water prevented Arza from complying with their requests.

After paying duty at the border on his horses and harnesses, Arza went through Detroit to Ypsilanti, and then traversed the route currently covered by U.S. 12 to north of South Bend, Indiana. His eagerness to return home is reflected in the 30 to 40 miles he traveled most days during his trip. They passed through La Porte, Indiana, and then Joliet, Illinois before they followed the Illinois River south to Peoria. From there they traveled southwest for several days before Arza arrived home near Quincy on June 5, 1840.

## Problems in Quincy

After being away for nearly 11 months and spending almost a month riding over rough roads on a wagon without springs, Arza was undoubtedly happy and relieved to be home. Only a cryptic comment in his journal saying "found my family all well and doing as well as I could expect" hints at the emotions he felt at the time. It must have taken him

several days to share his missionary experiences and all of the news about friends and relatives back in Canada with his family. Getting reacquainted with his children, especially the youngest Sidney Moses, must have also occupied Arza. Since his wife Sabina left no record of her emotion about the reunion, one can only speculate on how she felt in having again a husband in the house and the secure feelings that must have provided her.

Only a few days after returning home, however, Arza left to help his brother Barnabas raft timber down the Mississippi River to St. Louis. After selling the timber, Arza purchased goods for his family and returned to Quincy on a steamer. On the trip back he came down with what he described as influenza and was quite ill when he returned home. Within a few days he began to suffer with the fever and chills of malaria about every third day and this restricted his work the remainder of the summer of 1840.

Arza noted in his journal that when he felt well enough he traded and worked. What he had to trade, unless it was goods brought from St. Louis, is unclear. His work likely involved addressing his family's physical needs: planting crops, tending livestock, hoeing weeds, mending fences, chopping firewood, and repairing their dwelling.

These efforts occupied much of Arza' s time during the summer but church matters were also important to him. His family attended church meetings in Quincy, he gave at least one sermon there on the priesthood, and he also attended several religious debates in Quincy. Looking for places where he might locate his family permanently, Arza also visited Commerce (Nauvoo) during the summer, possibly to scout land to buy.

Several months after Arza's return, he and Sabina probably felt their lives were returning to a semblance of normalcy after two years of turmoil. Unexpectedly, in early

August, a double tragedy struck their family; their two youngest sons, Sidney Moses and George died on August 7 and 9 respectively. Arza wrote they were felled by "disintery of the worst kind." Although now a relatively easy illness to treat, cholera was a deadly disease in the 1830s and 1840s that killed many people. It was a recurrent problem in the area around Quincy where numerous deaths from cholera were recorded in 1833, 1839, and 1849 (The History of Adams County, Illinois). Untreated, death can occur only a few hours after the onset of cholera's symptoms. Its victims die of dehydration caused by the body's attempts to flush out the powerful toxins produced by cholera bacteria through massive diarrhea. The mortality rate is more than 50 percent in untreated cases. Given the sanitary conditions at the time, it is a wonder that more members of Arza's family did not die from this terrible malady.

An entry in Arza's journal hints at the sorrow they felt at the time:

> Thus two of my sons are gone and it appears strange but they have gone from the tribulations of the last days. And the rest are not in good health. Thus my family is reduced to five in all, 2 sons, and one girl, wife, and self and many of the brethren are sick and some have died lately and how great our tribulations will be I know not but the Lords will be done (Effie W. Adams, journal 3, p. 8).

The Adams County tax list for 1841 records Arza as owning a wagon valued at $25, animals and other assets worth $60, for a total taxed assets of $85 (Kay). On these assets he paid a tax of 63 cents.

Arza moved his family from Quincy to Nauvoo in March 1841. Before moving he was involved in a dispute with his landlord. John Powell took him to court. Arza lost the case and was forced to pay $100 for timber he and his family had cut for firewood.

# Chapter 5

## Settling Down in Nauvoo

The only thing we have to fear is fear itself
– nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror
which paralyzes needed efforts to convert
retreat into advance.
-- Franklin D. Roosevelt

With money in their pockets, Arza and Sabina likely thought their move to Nauvoo would provide a permanent and safe place to raise their family. They could buy land with the cash they had and expect the values of these properties to appreciate in a community that was experiencing a rapid influx of settlers. The skills that Arza had in the lumber business and construction were also wanted by the thousands of families who were building new homes and businesses in and around Nauvoo. It was also comforting for them to look forward to living among a large number of other settlers of the same faith.

Nauvoo is an attractive spot located on a bend in the Mississippi River, parallel to the Des Moines Rapids. From 1839 to 1846 it was the hub of the Latter-day Saint presence in western Illinois and eastern Iowa. Initially it was a wet, mosquito-infested thicket with a handful of shacks called Commerce, but by early 1841, Nauvoo had about 3,000 inhabitants. Most of the earliest settlers were refugees from Missouri who fled to western Illinois during early 1839. Later, converts from the United Kingdom and Scandinavia swelled the population. The earliest settlers were ravaged by malaria that was endemic, especially during the summer of 1840 when many of the inhabitants contracted malaria and when hundreds of them died from this and other maladies. By the time Arza and his family arrived in Nauvoo in 1841 the

malaria problem had subsided somewhat after the lower parts of the city were drained. Still, it was common for one or more family members to have the chills and fever of malaria.

When the lease on his farm near Quincy expired in March 1841, Arza and his family moved north to Nauvoo and built a cabin on a lot he may have received as compensation for losses in Missouri. He and his family likely lived in tents while constructing what was called a block house, a square-log cabin, on a standard 11 by 12 rod lot (approximately 180 feet by 200 feet). He mentions moving his family into the new cabin in early August. A skilled lumberman and builder such as Arza could erect a small log home in a month or so. He likely spent time, therefore, in other work during the spring and early summer of 1841; possibly cutting timber for his home and certainly developing land he purchased on the Montrose, Iowa side of the river. He mentions fencing his property in Iowa. This suggests he planted crops there, and perhaps pastured animals on his property. He also may have harvested timber there that was used in building his first home in Nauvoo. Some of these activities may have been joint efforts with Barnabas.

Arza purchased property in Iowa and in the Nauvoo area with money he obtained in Canada while on his second mission. Land records show he purchased three building lots in Nauvoo from Davidson (Davison) Hibbard on June 25, 1841. Two of these parcels were lot 1 of block 7 and lot 4 of block 4. These are likely the two lots later more carefully recorded as an acre lot in parcel 4 of Hibbard 1 at the intersection of Kimball and Barnett Streets, and a small lot in parcel 4 of Hibbard 1 at the intersection of Munson and Wells Streets. In addition, Arza owned or was in the process of buying several other parcels of land in and around Nauvoo. He is listed as owning 33 acres of farm land a mile-or-so east

of Nauvoo, another 120 acres five-or-six miles south east of Nauvoo, and still another parcel of land about 12 miles south of Nauvoo.[29]

## Working for Law and Foster

After completing his first home, working on his property in Montrose, and buying property in Nauvoo, Arza was employed in building the Law and Foster's store during the fall of 1841. In this job he used skills learned helping to construct his father's home and mills near Perth. William Law was an Irish-Canadian convert who quickly rose to prominence in Nauvoo (Cook). His brother Wilson was on the Nauvoo city council and also held a leadership position in the Nauvoo Legion. The two of them bought and sold various properties in and around Nauvoo, opened a store, and operated a steam-operated mill for grinding grain, sawing lumber, and furniture making (Givens, p. 93). By early June 1842 the Laws had also completed a large building that housed their steam mill (Wasp, June 11, 1842). Arza also may have worked on that building and possibly hauled lumber used in its construction. Shortly after Arza worked for the Laws, William Law was called to the First Presidency of the Latter-day Saint Church in early 1842, a position he held for three years.

The Laws played an important role in the development as well as the later disintegration of Nauvoo. They were skillful entrepreneurs who operated businesses located mostly on the brow of the hill east and south of the temple site. During the early 1840s, Nauvoo had two centers of commerce: one where the Laws located along Mulholland Street, and another on the flats around Main Street where Joseph Smith built his store and where most other church-

[29] These parcels were located in T7, R8, Section 32; T6, R8, Section 34; T6, R8, Section 34; and T5, R8, Section 32 E.2 SE/4.

related buildings were erected. Although initially a strong supporter of Joseph Smith, William Law found his interests increasingly conflicting with those of Smith. These included the competition between their stores, competition in selling land, and attempts by Smith to extend ecclesiastical control over other secular matters. Polygamy was perhaps the final straw that broke William's faith. He, his brother, the Fosters, and other opponents of polygamy began to criticize Joseph Smith openly in early 1844, and they were soon excommunicated. They then established a newspaper called the Nauvoo Expositor that printed only one issue in June 1844 before supporters of Joseph Smith wrecked the office of the paper. William Law and most of his friends then fled Nauvoo and preferred charges against Joseph Smith and others for the destruction of property. This soon led to the jailing of Joseph and his brother Hyrum in Carthage and their eventual assassination.

## Joining the Masons

During the time he was working for William Law in the fall of 1841 Arza joined the Masons. The Nauvoo lodge of the Masons was organized on October 15, 1841 with early morning meetings held once a week (Godfrey). John C. Bennett was the first secretary for the lodge. Later, most of the lodge meetings were held in the large room above Joseph Smith's store, and still later, the Masons built separate buildings for their activities in both Nauvoo and Montrose. Under the leadership of George Miller, Hyrum Smith, and Heber C. Kimball, the Masons rapidly expanded their membership in Nauvoo. During the five months after the lodge was founded, membership increased by about five each week. Soon, another lodge was organized in Montrose. By the first of 1843 more than 500 Latter-day Saint men were Masons in Nauvoo and surrounding areas, more than twice the total number of Masons in Illinois who were not Latter-day Saints (Godfrey, p, 89).

Since Arza mentions being a Mason only once in his journal, it appears he was not an active member for long. Why he joined is a mystery; perhaps he became a member because most other men in the community were joining. Organizations such as the Masons offer some members an opportunity to strengthen their business ties, but Arza does not appear to have been in the type of business that would have benefited from a fraternal association. Still others joined because of the fellowship and brotherhood that it provided. Arza may not have found those reasons to be sustaining or compelling because of his independent nature. Since the average daily wage in Nauvoo at the time was a dollar a day, the weekly dues of 50 cents may have also been a consideration in Arza's lack of sustained activity in the Masons.

About the time Arza joined the Masons, he was also called to serve a mission in Kingston, Canada. This call was issued at a church council meeting held in John Taylor's home in Nauvoo on October 7, 1841 where Arza and 14 other men were called to serve missions in the east. Arza did not fulfill that call immediately. He may have felt the need to better establish his family in Nauvoo before leaving again on a third mission.

## Lumbering

In his journal Arza mentions building a cabin on Madison Island in the Mississippi River where he moved for the winter of 1841-42 to harvest timber. He retained his affinity for lumbering from his earlier years in Canada, for he says he "hunted out a larger lot of timber" after exhausting the opportunities on the island. Some of these efforts may have been joined by Barnabas who made at least part of his living rafting timber down the river to St. Louis.[30] A notice in

[30] Barnabas also owned a four-acre parcel of land near the center of Nauvoo at the intersection of Joseph and Durphy Streets. It is unlikely he built a home there, however, since he did not marry until mid-1846.

the newspaper Times and Seasons, (Vol. 3, No. 6, p. 670) reported that Arza had an uncollected letter in the post office as of January 1, 1842. This suggests that he was not living in Nauvoo during the winter of 1841-42. He likely left his family in Nauvoo while he and Barnabas harvested timber that winter.

## Living in Nauvoo

In the spring of 1842 Arza returned to Nauvoo and built another home on one of his lots and disposed of his Iowa property: "I sold my place over the river to Hiram Mott and thus my time was taken up in labor, buying and selling." Sabina and her three children must have been happy and relieved to move into what they thought was a permanent home after living in wagons, in tents, in a rented cabin, or in a small log dwelling for four years. Just as the spring blossoms were coming out, Sabina had a baby named Elizabeth Nancy who was born on April 30, 1842 in Nauvoo.

In the Nauvoo census done in early 1842 Arza and his family were listed as living in the second political ward.[31] This was the northeast part of Nauvoo bounded by Wells and Mulholland Streets. A listing of the unclaimed mail in the Wasp July 16, 1842 issue has a letter addressed to A. or B. Adams. At the time it was customary for the recipient of the letter to pay the postage. This suggests that Arza, possibly with Barnabas, was working outside Nauvoo during the spring and summer of 1842, possibly cutting or rafting timber, or farming one of the parcels of land Arza owned outside Nauvoo.

Like most of the other Latter-day Saints in the area Arza also occasionally worked on the Nauvoo Temple and was involved in buying and selling land. Since he recorded

[31] Arza's second wife, Editha Morgan Anderson, also lived in that political ward with her mother.

problems with malaria in 1840 and later in 1844, he most likely suffered from periodic sick spells during this period that may have limited his activities.

During the summer of 1842 the local papers were filled with letters to the editor and articles discussing the dramatic apostasy of John C. Bennett (Andrew Smith).

Third mission

In the dead of winter on January 25, 1843, Arza left Nauvoo on his third mission. It was to St. Clair County, Michigan, the area around Port Huron. His journal contains a daily record of distance traveled, with whom he stayed, and the topics of his sermons. He traveled and served his entire mission without a companion and does not mention crossing paths with other missionaries. Arza likely took about the same route he traversed when he returned to Nauvoo in 1840 from his second mission to Canada. Along the way he stayed with church members where he could, paid to stay in several inns, and traded copies of the Book of Mormon for other lodgings.[32] Judging by the daily mileage, he apparently walked most of the way and covered 12 to 25 miles each day.

Surprisingly, he only mentions the weather on three occasions, although it could not have been a pleasant time of the year to walk long distances. In Joliet, Illinois he laid over a couple of days because it "stormed hard." He likewise stayed an extra day in La Porte, Indiana because it "rained hard." A few days later he recorded traveling 25 miles through deep snow and in severe cold. Two times he stayed with church members who washed his clothing, a favor that was most certainly much appreciated by Arza. He took time

[32] In retrospect, the cost of the lodging paid for with copies of the Book of Mormon – at the time selling for only about one dollar – eventually turned out to be extremely high. In the late 1990s first editions of that book were selling for more than 30 thousand dollars.

out to give one sermon and to write a letter on February 13 to Sabina. On February 21 he stayed with a Brother Hoagland and also visited near what is now Pontiac, Michigan with his cousin Ervin Adams whom he hadn't seen for many years.[33]

Arza's cryptic journal entries seldom record his feelings. An exception is an entry on February 24, a month after leaving Nauvoo, where he notes his emotions upon reaching the St. Clair River:

> . . . when I came in sight of the River the spirit of the Lord was upon me but I was tired and soon very much cast down and almost tempted to run away from the Lord, however, I went across the river on the ice and visited Mrs. Scott. . .." (Effie W. Adams, journal 4, p. 2)

His elation was likely caused by finally reaching his destination after an arduous journey. His subsequent depression may have resulted from the fatigue of slogging through mud and snow for a month, the embarrassment of taking hat-in-hand and soliciting meals and lodging, concerns about his family in Nauvoo, loneliness, and the uncertainties of finding people who would listen to his message.

Arza may have also reflected on the visit with his cousin Ervin and the sharp contrasts in their lives. The economic status of Arza and his family had deteriorated from one of comfort to one of living hand-to-mouth. Only because of their religion, they had endured insults, been forced to move three times, been denied due process of law, lived through an extermination order, lost two children, and ended up living in a crude cabin in a malaria infested spot on the banks of the Mississippi River. Ervin, in contrast, was well

[33] In the 1845 Michigan state census Erving Adams is listed as living in Oakland County, Bloomfield Township south of Pontiac, Michigan. He had 11 members in his household.

established in Michigan and drew no attention from others for his religious beliefs or lack thereof. Arza would have been only human if he occasionally wondered what he had gotten himself into by accepting the message of John E. Page. These occasional doubts were pushed aside by the testimony Arza had of his religion and its message of redemption and salvation.

During the four months that Arza did missionary work in St. Clair County, he kept up a frantic pace and preached about 100 times. No one could call him lazy. His tracting took him as far north as Lexington on the shore of Lake Huron, and as far south as Algonac located where the St. Clair River empties into Lake St. Clair. Arza does not mention finding any church members in the area where he worked so he was forced to make contacts from scratch. He used two methods in his preaching. The first was to set up an appointment to preach or to debate in a public building. The second was to follow up and hold meetings in homes of persons who showed interest in hearing more about what he had to say. As he made his rounds, he would revisit those families that were most friendly and eventually baptize some of them. On Sundays, he often preached twice, first in the morning and then again in the evening in those areas where he developed investigators. Friendly families also provided lodging and food and did his washing. Occasionally, these new friends also drove Arza to his next appointment, otherwise he walked.

The first few days of his tracting illustrate the pace of his work. On February 27 he traveled 12 miles to Palmer (now St. Clair) and preached twice, first in the county court house and later in an inn.[34] The next day he went north 12 miles to Port Huron and preached in the evening and stayed there to talk again the following day. The next day he returned the 12 miles to Palmer and gave another sermon.

[34] See Romig for the name changes of towns in Michigan.

In the three days that followed he traveled about 12 miles each day, preaching in each place he stopped. During the week, he covered about 70 miles, mostly on foot, and preached 8 times. Sometimes traveling further and giving more presentations during a week, he repeated this pattern of work for the rest of his mission. In some cases friendly families would refer him to others. Arza would then visit and preach to them and any neighbors who were interested. Some of his presentations were made to large crowds who were interested in hearing more about his strange new religion, while other meetings were with just a handful of investigators.

People liked Arza; he was invited to stay with a number of families, not all of whom later agreed to be baptized. In what is now called Marine City (earlier called Newport and Belle River) he often stayed with John and Nancy Broadbridge whom he baptized. He also stayed numerous times with several Campbell families (Marlin, Orson, and Silas) who lived north of Algonac and who joined the Church. Arza likewise stayed a number of times with Patrick Newell who lived near Pointe Aux Tremble north of Algonac. Many of Arza's converts were baptized near Newell's home, but Newell declined to become a member, although his wife was much interested in Arza's message. On one visit Mrs. Newell slipped Arza an English shilling to help with his expenses, the only cash donation he received during his mission. While tracting north of Port Huron, around Lexington, several Stevens families opened their homes to him, but apparently chose not to join the church. Arza does not indicate if these families were related to the Stevens who helped settle Bastard Township, Arza's birthplace. Aloney Rust in Newport hosted Arza several times, even though on one visit some of his children had the measles.

Perhaps the closest thing Arza had to a home while on his mission was with Captain Samuel Ward and his wife Elizabeth who lived in Palmer. Samuel was the first postmaster there as well as captain of a ship that operated out of Sackett's Harbor during the War of 1812. He also owned substantial amounts of land in eastern Michigan (Alice Miller). Arza may have had some connection with the Wards before staying with them many times on his mission. One possible connection is Samuel who was born in Wells, Rutland Country, Vermont on May 20, 1784, which is about 20 miles southwest of where Arza's father Joshua was born in 1780. Samuel and Joshua may have been friends. Another connection may have been through Arza's Chipman relatives who lived in Vermont near where Samuel Ward was born. In one place in his journal (May 13) Arza mentions stopping at the Wards and telling "Aunt Betsy that he was hungry." Since Elizabeth's name prior to marrying Samuel was Lambertson, and she was born in Manlius, New York (southeast of Syracuse) it is unlikely that she was a blood relative of Arza's. Although Samuel and Elizabeth often discussed religion with Arza, neither chose to be baptized. Whatever their connection was with him, their door was always open for him.

On several occasions Arza discussed the Book of Mormon in his talks, but mostly he used the Bible, principally the New Testament, as text. On several occasions he spent part of an evening defending Joseph Smith after giving a discourse on Galatians 1:8. Another of his favorite scriptures was Second Peter 1:20 that mentions prophecy and interpretation of scripture. Priesthood, the coming of Christ, the restoration, the resurrection, and first principles were other common topics in Arza's sermons. During the last few weeks of his mission, Arza often confronted Methodist ministers who attended his presentations and argued with him. These ministers strongly discouraged their members from listening to Arza preach. This indicates his message was attracting attention in the communities where he labored.

Since Arza had been raised a Methodist, he was able to contrast accurately the fundamental differences between Methodist and Latter-day Saint beliefs. A number of his sermons the latter part of his mission focused on what he called "the Methodist Discipline." In addition to the Methodists, Arza also crossed swords with Baptist ministers and with Millerites.

The success of Arza's mission can be measured in two terms. First by the large number of people who welcomed him into their homes and who listened to his message. The second is the sixteen or seventeen people he baptized and the two people he ordained to the priesthood.[35] The day before he left for Nauvoo, June 13, Arza held a church conference and organized a small branch near Newport called the St. Clair Branch with M. H. Smith appointed president and John Broadbridge ordained a deacon.

In addition to his religious calling, Arza had another motive for going to St. Clair County on his mission. He earlier purchased (or possibly was given) a parcel of 200 acres earlier owned by his father that was located in Canada about a mile from the St. Clair River and across from what is now Marine City, Michigan.[36] The parcel was located in Sombra Township, Lambton County, section A in concession eight. The first day Arza arrived at the banks of the St. Clair River he crossed on ice to see a Mrs. Scott, possibly about his

[35] In a letter to the editor published in the Times and Seasons (August 1, 1843), Arza mentions baptizing 17 individuals. He also urged any missionaries who passed through that area to visit the branch. The Palmyra mentioned in the letter is probably a misreading of Arza's handwriting and was likely Palmer, Michigan.

[36] Joshua Adams was granted these 200 acres by the Crown on February 25, 1836. The transfer of the land to Arza's name was registered on August 12, 1837, just a few months before Arza and Sabina were baptized.

land. On April 24, while in Newport (Marine City) he attempted to cross the river, possibly to see his land, but was stopped from doing so by dangerous ice in the river. On May 16 he and Marlin Campbell crossed the river and saw his land, which Arza called a "good lot." Shortly before returning to Nauvoo, on June 6, Arza crossed the river again to talk with a Mr. Cameron who wished to buy his land. A week later on June 12 Arza traveled to Algonac where he finalized the sale of his property.[37] A marginal note in the land records suggests he may have received $385 or 385 pounds for the land.

The land that Arza sold in 1841 was only one of several parcels his father received as grants from the Crown in Sombra Township in February 1836. Property records show these grants amounted to at least 700 acres. In addition to the parcel that Arza sold, the other lots owned by his father were located in lot A, number 1, in concession nine (100 acres); lot five in concession nine (100 acres); lot five in concession ten (100 acres); and lot 6 in concession ten (200 acres). Joshua sold most of this land to Bella Flint in August 1839.

Immediately after selling his land and holding a church conference, Arza purchased a horse from one of his converts, Silas Campbell, and left for Nauvoo on June 14. The 30 to 50 miles he rode daily show his eagerness to unite with his family. Again, he stayed with church members at some stops and in inns or with referrals on other occasions. He preached at one of his stops and had eggs thrown at his meeting place. After traveling 31 miles on June 27, less than two weeks after leaving St. Clair County, Arza rode into

[37] The sale to Cameron is not documented in Sombra Township land records. Instead, an entry dated November 2, 1849 records that Arza sold this land to John Millikin with the sale being registered on March 18, 1850. Perhaps the land passed through several hands before being officially recorded.

Nauvoo to find his family "nearly naked and almost out of provisions." Despite the diminished status of his family, Arza optimistically notes in his journal that he " had some money and that all is well." As was the case several years earlier when he returned from his second Canadian mission, transactions with his father allowed Arza and his family to better their financial conditions. It is unclear if these transactions involved his father paying Arza for properties left in Canada, or if they involved inheritances, or some combination of both.

## Police Force

A few months after returning from his third mission, Arza was appointed by the Nauvoo City Council to serve on the city's police force. In his journal, Joseph Smith mentions attending a city council meeting on December 29, 1843 where 42 men were given police powers. Arza's name was last on the list. Jonathan Dunham was appointed the chief of police with Charles C. Rich, Hosea Stout, and Shadrack Roundy as principal assistants. Davis McOlney, the father of one of Arza's future wives (Marillah Olney), was called to be a policeman at the same time.

The police force was formed, in part, to protect church leaders, especially Joseph Smith. They were also charged with "ferreting out all grog shops, gambling houses, brothels, and disorderly conduct." The council and mayor authorized them to cuff the ears of anyone who resisted arrest, to shoot to kill anyone who pointed a gun at them, to guard against horse theft, to enforce city ordinances, and to preserve the peace. For this service they were paid a dollar a day. Much of their service was rendered at night while they stood guard at various places.

It was a challenge to be a policeman at the time Arza was appointed to the job. Periodic threats from Missouri about again arresting Joseph Smith, charges by outsiders

that Nauvoo sheltered thieves and counterfeiters, agitation by a few prominent apostates, and the general unruliness often associated with new settlements created constant law-enforcement problems. The breakdown of cordiality between church members and their non-member neighbors increasingly brought charges and counter charges of theft and other malfeasance to the attention of the police.

Apparently Arza served on the police force for only a few months before renting a farm just north of Carthage in the spring of 1844. Occasional bouts of malaria may have made it difficult for him to do the night work involved in being a law officer.

## Carthage

In June 1844, when Joseph and Hyrum Smith were murdered in Carthage, Arza was living on a farm located one to two miles north of Carthage. One of his neighbors was Robert Plunkett and his family whom Arza had converted in Kitley, Canada. Several hours after the murders of the prophets, two men from Carthage, William and John Barnes, delivered two letters to Arza at about 9 p.m. on the evening of June 27 from Willard Richards and John Taylor.[38] The non-Mormon Barnes were afraid to deliver the letters to Nauvoo and asked Arza if he would do so. They found Arza sick in bed with the ague, but he agreed to take the letters to Nauvoo and left about 10 p.m. Understandably, he was leery of going by the main road to Nauvoo, so with the help of Benjamin Leyland he took a-round-about way that got them into town shortly after sunrise. The news of the Smiths'

[38] See Mark H. Taylor for more details on the Martyrdom. It appears that Arza was the third person who was asked to carry the message to Nauvoo about the murders. One of the two letters he carried may have been a copy of the other. In his journal Arza mentions that the letters were from Richards, Taylor, and a third person whose name is unclear, but may have been J. M. Bernhisel.

deaths had arrived in Nauvoo earlier, but the notes that Arza carried provided the first official news of the tragedy (Joseph Smith, Vol. 6, p. 622).[39]

One note was addressed to Governor Ford, Major-General Dunham, Col. Markham, and Emma Smith and was written by Willard Richards, although the severely wounded John Taylor also signed the letter. It was dated June 27, 1844, 8:05 p.m., Carthage Jail and contained the following short message:

> Joseph and Hyrum are dead. Taylor wounded, not very badly.[40] I am well. Our guard was forced, as we believe, by a band of Missourians from 100 to 200. The job was done in an instant, and the party fled towards Nauvoo instantly. This is as I believe it. The citizens here are afraid of the Mormons attacking them. I promise them no!
>
> W. Richards.
> John Taylor

A post script at the bottom of the note says the following: " The citizens promise us protection. Alarm guns have been fired."

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[39] George D. Grant was likely the first one to bring the tragic news to Nauvoo early in the morning of June 28. He had accompanied Governor Ford back to Cathage from Nauvoo late in the afternoon of June 27, where they learned that the Smith brothers had been assassinated.

[40]Richards understated the severity of Taylor's wounds, at Taylor's request, so as not to alarm the Taylor family (Samuel Taylor, pp. 144-145).

## Return to Nauvoo

During the next several months, Arza harvested what crops he could from his rented farm. In his journal he recorded that his crops were skimpy. The lapse of his lease, or possibly the increasing tension between Latter-day Saints and their neighbors, induced Arza to move his family back to the safety of Nauvoo on November 20, 1844. His continued problems with malaria may have also prompted his decision to abandon the Carthage area.

In his journal Arza mentions he was often sick with ague after returning to Nauvoo. He was well enough to continue with at least some of his church duties, however. In late 1844 or early 1845 he was appointed one of the seven presidents of the newly organized Fourteenth Quorum of Seventies. Most certainly, Arza attended the great conference of Seventies that was held in Nauvoo December 26-30, 1844 when the new Seventies Hall was dedicated. Of the 15 Quorums organized by that time, two quorums and their families alternately attended one of the day-long sessions, with Arza's quorum likely attending on the last day of the conference, December 30. In his minutes of the meetings, John D. Lee notes that most of the prominent church leaders spoke at the dedication. W. W. Phelps also composed a new hymn for the dedication titled, "A Voice From the Prophet: Come to Me."

A few months after returning to Nauvoo the Adams family was increased by one with the birth of Theothan Penderman on March 4, 1845. This increased Sabina's nursing responsibilities, since during the spring and early summer of 1845 Arza mentions in his journal that he was often sick with the three-day ague. He was given a blessing by church Patriarch John Smith on May 16, 1845, in which Smith rebuked the fever that preyed upon Arza. The next month Heber C. Kimball promised Arza that he would recover his health if he worked on the temple. Soon after, Arza says,

"I took my carpenter tools on my back and commenced working on the Temple. Although hard at first, I gained strength and worked on the public works until Fall."

Unfortunately, Arza failed to record his feelings about crawling out of a sick bed and then laboring to complete an edifice that was to be abandoned in a few months. The occasional assistance that was meted out by the church to needy people who labored on the temple may have been a minor reason for Arza's exertions. Responding to authority and seeking higher spiritual rewards perhaps played an even larger role in the heroic effort by Arza and others to complete the doomed temple. In part, the efforts expended on the temple were part of the tempering that prepared those who migrated west with Brigham Young for the discipline and sacrifice need to shuffle thousands of people from Nauvoo, through the mud of Iowa to the banks of the Missouri, across the forbidding plains, and then into the western desert. Only the lure of gold or the promise of lofty spiritual blessing induces such migrations. Completing the temple and then participating in sealings and endowments there allowed faithful members such as Arza and Sabina to have more assurance of those spiritual blessings.

Apparently restored to a measure of good health, on October 19, 1845 Arza attended a conference of the seventies where he and Joseph Young ordained Norton Jacob to be one of the seven presidents of the Fourteenth Quorum of the Seventies (Jacob, p.18). Jacob replaced Jonathan Dunham in the presidency after Dunham's death on July 28, 1845 under mysterious circumstances while on a mission in western Iowa.

## Preparations to Leave

As it became more apparent to church leaders that the Latter-day Saints would be forced out of Nauvoo, some of the resources directed at completing the temple were shifted to

making preparations to move west. This included building hundreds of wagons and assembling needed supplies. Because of Arza's skills with wood he was assigned to manage a wagon shop in the fall of 1845. At the same time he was assigned to Captain Davis' company in Montrose and was also designated Captain of 50, possibly including men who worked in the wagon shop for Arza.[41] Their work involved securing lumber that was boiled in salt water and then kiln dried. Teams were sent to various parts of the surrounding countryside to secure iron for wheel surfaces. During the latter phase of preparations, the wheelwrights, carpenters and blacksmiths worked around the clock to finish wagons used in evacuating the city.

His journal entries are too brief during this period to determine if Arza moved his family across the river to Montrose in the fall of 1845, possibly to live with or near Barnabas, or whether Arza worked in Montrose and left his family in Nauvoo. Since there was likely more timber on the Montrose side of the river, it made sense to construct many of the wagons there.

With many of the other church members, Arza and his wife were eager to complete their temple ordinances before leaving on their journey to unknown parts in the west. They were endowed in the temple on December 31, 1845. Later they were sealed in the mostly completed temple on February 3, 1846.

During 1846 Arza attempted to sell his property in and around Nauvoo, but like others who were fleeing, he probably realized only modest amounts from these sales. For example, on March 16, 1846 Arza "sold" 40 acres in the southeast quarter of the northeast quarter of section 34

[41] Arza's youngest son Daniel recalled his father describing himself as a wheelwright during this period in Nauvoo.

(about six miles southeast of Nauvoo) for "love and good will." What he realized from other sales of property is unknown, but it likely was not much.

Perhaps because he was located in Montrose making wagons, Arza and his family did not leave the Nauvoo area until after many Latter-day Saints had crossed the Mississippi River and started west for the banks of the Missouri. They apparently left sometime during the summer of 1846 with Arza driving one ox-drawn wagon and his oldest son Nathan, then 13, driving another.

## Reflection

As they trudged west through Iowa, Arza and Sabina must have reflected on their five-year sojourn in and around Nauvoo. Some of these memories were certainly pleasant. During this period they had improved their economic status from that of destitute refugees to that of solid middle-class citizens in a thriving city. They had been involved in building a unique religious community guarded by an impressive temple on the hill. They had enjoyed the pomp and ceremony associated with having their own military force. They had been spiritually strengthened by the sermons they heard from church leaders and through doing temple ordinances. They had participated in ceremonies that extended their marriage eternally. They had benefited from the spiritual synergism that results from close association with others of the same faith. They had enjoyed the warm glow that resulted from contributing to joint efforts aimed at achieving eternal exaltation and salvation. After a successful mission, Arza had received recognition by being called to a mid-level leadership position in the church, and Sabina had created a comfortable home, nursed Arza back to good health, and added two more children to their family.

Some of Arza and Sabina's memories, at the same time, must have been confused. They may have puzzled about why prominent leaders such as the Law brothers, John C. Bennett, Sidney Rigdon, and even the missionary who converted them, John E. Page, had left the fold. They might likewise have wondered about the controversy over church leadership that festered among Ridgon, James Jesse Strang, Emma Smith, and the Twelve Apostles led by Brigham Young. Arza and Sabina would have been less than normal if they were not also confused concerning the truth or falsity of rumors about spiritual wives and polygamy.

Their final memories of Nauvoo must have been extremely painful. They had lost their revered leader, Joseph Smith. They abandoned a mostly completed temple that had been built at much sacrifice. They had been forced to give away or leave behind their home and property. They had taken only those few items that would fit into two wagons. And, they endured the terror of being driven from their home at gunpoint.

One can only wonder if Arza and Sabina at least occasionally wondered why other U.S. citizens had forced them to leave, first Missouri, and more recently Illinois. The vigilantes who drove them from Nauvoo must have been particularly perplexing to Arza and others since the Latter-day Saints had been initially welcomed with open arms in the state seven years earlier. It is perhaps understandable if many of these refugees framed their troubles as a question of good versus evil. Some of them could have interpreted their travails as a sorting and sifting they were forced to suffer through before achieving a higher spiritual state.

The severe problems that Arza's family and others experienced in the early formation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were only one manifestation of general intolerance. The painful persecution experienced by

Arza and his companions was symptomatic of an intolerant society that castigates individuals and groups who were different from what was perceived to be the norm.

Little did Arza and Sabina know when they left Nauvoo in 1846 that they were in the leading edge of a massive migration west that would settle the western half of the United States in just a couple of decades.[42] They had no way of knowing that the temporary isolation provided by their settlement of the Intermountain West would provide the warp and woof of a church that would attain an international reach before the end of the millennium.

[42] See Bernard DeVoto's book 1846: Year of Decision for more details on this migration.

# Chapter 6

## The Exodus West

Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance. . .
– Exodus, Old Testament

The flight of Latter-day Saints from Nauvoo occurred in three phases. The first began in February 1846 when about 3,000 people fled Nauvoo, including a substantial part of the church leadership (Black and Hartley). The second phase began in the spring and extended into the summer and involved about 10,000 people. The final and most tragic phase saw about one thousand refugees, most of them poor, driven out of Nauvoo at gun point in the fall of 1846. The majority of those expelled from Nauvoo trudged west and later congregated on both sides of the Missouri River in the vicinity of what is now Omaha, Nebraska. Arza and his family were members of the second wave of refugees. In his journal, Arza mentions only that they departed during the summer of 1846. His delay in leaving may have been because of his work in the wagon-making shop. If Arza and his family were living in Montrose during the winter and spring of 1845-46, they may have been under less pressure to leave than were those living in Nauvoo.

Arza provided few details on their journey to western Iowa. He was likely too busy getting ready to leave, helping to build wagons for others, and disposing of his property to keep a journal. Like most of the other refugees from Nauvoo he realized little from property sales, possibly trading land and his house for a few animals. Being a wagon maker, he certainly supplied his family with transportation that was above average in quality. His son Nathan recorded years later that he drove one ox-drawn wagon west while Arza guided another. Joshua, who was then 13, followed along and herded their extra animals.

They must have started their journey with heavy hearts as they left behind their home, at least part of their furniture, their garden, and other properties that Arza owned in an around Nauvoo. It must have been frustrating to glance back at the solitary temple on the hill that had been erected at such sacrifice and then used for only a few meetings and a number of hasty temple ordinances. This was the fifth time Arza and Sabina had uprooted since they became Latter-day Saints in late 1836.

By leaving in the summer Arza and his family avoided the frigid weather that gnawed at the emigrants who left Nauvoo earlier. Unlike the first phase of migration in 1846 that was relatively well organized, those who left in the second phase mostly traveled at their own leisure. They followed established trails, used bridges that had been constructed earlier, and likely dealt with much less mud than did the pioneer group. One of the reasons that Iowa currently grows so much corn and soybeans is the reliable rain that often soaks the state during the spring and early summer. While good for crops, the rains presented Arza and his family with some mud and swollen streams and rivers on their 300-mile journey. Those who left in the first phase of the exodus took three to four months to complete their journey to the Winter Quarters area. Arza and his family likely made the trip in less than half that time and may have arrived in western Iowa only a few weeks after those in the first phase had begun to settle around Winter Quarters. Those in the second phase also had the luxury of stopping along the way in several settlements of Latter-day Saints. Arza may have traveled with Barnabas and his new bride Julia Ann Banker.[43]

[43] Barnabas married Julia Ann on June 23, 1846. A short life sketch written by their daughter, Amy H. A. Thomas, mentions they were married in Des Moines, which seems unlikely, unless Arza and Barnabas took the northern route that passed through what was later Des Moines. If they were instead married in the Montrose area, or along the Des Moines River, and if Arza and Barnabas traveled west together, then Arza likely did not leave the Nauvoo area until late June or early July, after Barnabas' marriage. If they traveled with few stops, they might have reached Miller's Hollow about August 1, 1846.

A few of the refugees from Nauvoo in the second phase went northwest along the Des Moines River to the point where Des Moines was later located and then traveled west until they reach Winter Quarters. Most of the spring and summer emigrants, however, followed the trail blazed earlier by Brigham Young through southern Iowa. Arza probably took this southern route that took them northwest from Montrose along the Des Moines River to Keosauqua where they crossed the river and headed west. Part way across Iowa they passed through Latter-day Saint settlements in Pleasant Grove, Garden Grove, and Mt. Pisgah. As they neared the Missouri River, they entered an area where the Pottawattamie Indians, originally from further east, had been resettled.

The trip from Nauvoo to western Iowa was a trial run, essentially a right of passage, that prepared the Latter-day Saints and their leaders for the even more challenging migration to the intermountain west that started a year later. Lessons learned struggling through the mud in Iowa were used to tighten and focus the organizational efforts into more of a military style for the final push west. With only a few exceptions, that final movement west would be better planned and administered than was the exit under duress from Nauvoo.

## Little Pigeon Creek

At the time Arza arrived in western Iowa Latter-day Saints were concentrating in two locations, one on each side of the Missouri River. Winter Quarters was located on the west side of the river, and Miller's Hollow was situated on the east side. The Miller settlement was named after Henry W. Miller, an initial settler there.[44] The name of Miller's Hollow was later changed to Kanesville in honor of Thomas L. Kane.

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[44] For further details on Henry Miller see Bryant.

From these two concentrations of refugees, the Latter-day Saints radiated out and formed dozens of other small communities, mostly in western Iowa.

Awhile before Arza arrived in Miller's Hollow, Captain James Allen arrived from Ft. Leavenworth to recruit 500 men for what was to become the Mormon Battalion. If they had arrived earlier, Arza or Barnabas might have been pressed into volunteering for the arduous trek that the Battalion later took. Instead, they both sought locations where they could secure land, build shelters for the winter, and also plant crops. Arza settled on land near what was known as Little Pigeon Creek, about six miles north of Miller's Hollow near where US 75 and US 305 crosses Little Pigeon Creek. Sustaining a trait he maintained most of his adult life, he chose to locate away from the crowd. Barnabas settled nearby in what became known as Farmersville, a small Latter-day Saint settlement immediately northeast of the settlement at Little Pigeon Creek (Brown and others, p. 75). Since the Latter-day Saint settlements on the Iowa side of the Missouri were interspersed with Indians, settling at some distance from concentrations of whites increased risks.

The rest of the summer of 1846, Arza and his two teen-age sons must have been busy planting a few late crops, putting up fences to corral their animals, possibly cutting wild hay, and building still another log cabin. The scarcity of timber in this part of Iowa made it difficult to find suitable logs for shelters. As a result, some of the settlers were forced to live in dugout or in small cabins with a layer of sod on the outside of irregular logs to provide insulation from the cold. Many of the cabins had a lumber roof covered with dirt that often leaked when it rained heavily. Most likely, Arza and Barnabas worked together in building their cabins.

The urgency of having shelter from winter storms was punctuated by the birth of a son on December 14, 1846. His birth meant there were eight people living in one small cabin. Arza and Sabina named him Joseph Smith Adams in honor of their martyred prophet.

After settling his family, Arza was given the responsibility with others of tending a large herd of animals, at least partly church owned, during the winter. Protecting about 30,000 animals, and finding feed for them was a major challenge for the Latter-day Saints, especially after 500 of their able-bodied men joined the army. The responsibility for some of these animals was given to Arza and Henry W. Miller, and they perhaps received compensation of a dollar or so a day each for their efforts.[45] Their herd wintered along the Missouri River bottoms some distance north of Winter Quarters. There, animals were able to subsist on the rushes, willows, and brush that grew along the flood plain. This assignment led Arza and Henry into difficulty.

## Brigham's Rebuke

As might be expected, planting 7,000 displaced white people on Indian lands was a recipe for friction. Brigham Young and his followers settled in the midst of several Indian tribes, who themselves had earlier been shoved west by whites. The lands on the east side of the Missouri River where Arza settled had been for nine years the domain of the Pottawattamie Tribe. The area on the west side, around what was then Winter Quarters was land dominated by the much depleted Omaha and Oto Tribes. Their bitter enemies, the Sioux, contested for control of the area immediately north of Winter Quarters.

Although Latter-day Saint leaders sought to live peacefully with the Indians, one can readily understand why the Indians might have mixed feelings about the Nauvoo refugees.[46] On the one hand, the Omahas and Otos were

[45] Arza probably knew Miller from the time they both lived near Quincy, Illinois. Their interests may have also overlapped later since they both did woodwork.

[46] See Bennett, 1987, pp. 91-111 for more details on problems with Indians.

pleased to have whites in their midst to protect them from the Sioux (Bennett, 1987). On the other hand, the Omahas and Otos felt these interlopers owed them a good deal for squatting on their lands, cutting their timber, and killing their wild game. The large herds of Latter-day Saint cattle were tempting meals for hungry Indians during the winter. Despite extensive precautions, cattle theft by Indians was a chronic problem. Losses suffered in the flight from Nauvoo, animal theft by Indians while they were camped on the banks of the Missouri River, and winter losses left the Latter-day Saints seriously short of draft animals for their final move to the Great Basin.

Arza was drawn into the friction between the whites and Indians. In early December 1846 the Sioux killed more than 70 Omahas in a village about 60 miles north of Winter Quarters. The Sioux caught the village asleep while many of their warriors were away hunting. Hosea Stout noted in a journal entry on December 12, 1846 that survivors fled to Winter Quarters with reports of the massacre (Brooks, Vol. 1, p. 217). On February 1, 1847 Stout noted that Omaha Indians had returned to the massacre site and found the village had been further looted after the Sioux removed their plunder (Brooks, Vol. 1, p. 233). The same day, Stout heard that Arza Adams and Henry W. Miller were accused of the looting. Arza and Henry were tending a herd of cattle in the vicinity of the ill-fated village about the time of the massacre.

> Henry W. Miller and Arza Adams, while leading a cattle-grazing company, had inadvertently stumbled on to the massacre site some days after the tragedy. The Sioux had stripped most of the dead of buffalo robes, moccasins, and leggings, while tents and lodges had also been carried off. But Miller, after nursing the wounds of one dying squaw, inappropriately took some tattered robes

> and forty beef hides he thought were stolen from the Mormons, as well as two stray Indian horses (Bennett, 1987, p. 97).

Immediately after the Omaha Indians complained to Stout he relayed the news to Brigham Young. Understandably, Young was upset about the report. Maintaining cordial relationships with the Indians and also with the Indian agent were critical factors in continued permission for the Nauvoo refugees to squat on Indian lands. Young wrote the following brusque note to the two herders:

> Camp of Israel, Omaha Nation, Winter Quarters
> February 1, 1847

To Major Henry W. Miller, Arza Adams, and any and all others who may have been concerned in the matters here in mentioned.

Brethren, it is currently reported in camp that Henry W. Miller and Arza Adams have been to the camp ground where the seventy-three Indians were slaughtered by the Sioux some weeks ago on the west bank of the Missouri River, and robbed the bodies and burial places, and camp ground of one or all of said Omahas, to a considerable extent of buffalo robes, moccasins, leggins, tents or lodges, blankets, etc., and conveyed the same to the east bank of the river or (to) their herdsman's camp.

Of the truth of this report, we do not wait for testimony. Such is the public feeling thereon, that it becomes our duty as watchmen in Israel to write you by a special messenger, that if any such circumstances have occurred on your part, or on any of the brethren, you must make every satisfaction possible without delay.

It is reported that the Omahas have threatened vengeance to the camp, if the perpetrators of this most irreligious and abominable act are not immediately given up

to them for judgement. We therefore say to you if you have committed any such overt act in any degree, give not sleep to your eyes or slumber to your eyelids, till you have replaced every article which has been removed; and report to us on your doings thereon without delay, with your willingness to offer as a sacrifice to the Omahas, fat beeves, or any other property you are in possession of, to appease the wrath of an ignorant, but insulted people, and thereby, if possible, save your lives. In the meantime, we will use all our influence with the Indians through their agents and interpreter to pacify their righteous anger until we can hear from you. Therefore be diligent.

If the report be totally false, it is wisdom that you give us immediate information, proof of facts and save trouble.

In behalf of the council,

Willard Richards, Clerk
Brigham Young, President

This chastisement and warning message was most certainly delivered to Arza and Henry as quickly as possible, with a similar message going to the local Indian Agent in an attempt to calm the troubled waters (Journal History, February 1, 1847).

No record exists of what Arza and Henry did in reaction to Young's letter, but it is certain they did not ignore his command. They must have loaded the loot they had gathered from the devastated village and brought it to Winter Quarters as quickly as possible. They may have stood in front of Young with their hats-in-hand, shifted from one foot to the other and defended their actions. They may have argued that the Sioux took most of the valuable loot from the site. They may have also pointed out that the Omahas had stolen cattle that were under Arza and Henry's care and that

some or all of the hides they retrieved from the village bore Latter-day Saint brands. They most certainly returned the stray horses they found, returned some of the hides, and possibly also gave the Omahas a few head of cattle, possibly from the church's herds, to resolve the dispute.

## Herding and Farming, 1847

While Arza was away herding cattle that winter, Sabina shouldered the duties of sheltering, nursing, and feeding six children, including the newborn Joseph. She also took Barnabas' wife, Julia Ann, under her wing, especially after he went west with the pioneer company in early 1847.[47] Large numbers of Latter-day Saints died during the winter of 1846-47 in Iowa settlements and in Winter Quarters. Including those who expired on the trail, Bennett estimates over 700 were buried during 1846 and early 1847 (1987, pp. 140-141). In Winter Quarters nearly one in ten people died, about half of those being children. Various fevers and chills, measles, dropsy, and canker were cited as causes of death. Scurvy was a widespread problem caused by diets that were low in critical vitamins and minerals. Illness and death are prominent features in journals kept by people who lived through this period. Despite the widespread health problems in many Latter-day Saint families, Sabina brought all of her family safely though the trip from Nauvoo and the winter of 1846-47. This was again a testimony to her skills as a homemaker and mother, as well as to the abilities of Arza to provide necessities under harsh circumstances. The Adams family was a hardy lot. The two children they lost to cholera in Quincy were the only two deaths in their family on the long and hazardous trip from Canada to their final settlement in American Fork. Many other families were not so fortunate.

[47] In a letter Barnabas wrote to Julia Ann a week or so after he started west with the pioneer camp, he reminded her to call on Arza if she had any concerns.

A substantial number of the animals that Arza and Henry Miller tended during the winter were taken west by the Latter-day Saints who migrated to the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. This meant that Arza's herding responsibilities ended in the spring. After this, Arza spent most of the rest of 1847 farming, improving his cabin, and further fencing the parcel of land on which he had squatted. His work may have also involved cultivating the nearby land his brother settled. Barnabas accompanied Brigham Young in the pioneer group that first reached Salt Lake Valley. Barnabas also accompanied Young on his return trip to Winter Quarters in late 1847. In a cryptic comment in his journal Arza mentions harvesting a good crop that year. That harvest included corn, wheat, buckwheat, potatoes, turnips, and other garden items.

Arza attended a series of meetings held January 16-20, 1848 in the log tabernacle in Miller's Hollow. Square and line dances, the major form of entertainment at the time, were enjoyed during these meetings. The gathering was convened by the Seventies and was called a Jubilee. Brigham Young, newly appointed president of the church, Heber C. Kimball, George A. Smith, and Wilford Woodruff were the principal speakers. Several items of secular concern were also discussed, such as the need for postal services. Arza signed a petition on January 20, 1848 for a local post office. It was later authorized in March with Evan M. Greene as Postmaster. A petition also was sent to the new state government requesting county status for the Pottawattamie lands. Henry W. Miller was selected as one of two to carry this petition to the state legislature.

The rules that were drawn up for the meeting shed light on concerns and customs at the time. The first rule prohibited liquor consumption at the gathering. The second restricted loud talking or whispering during the meetings. Rule three required respect for those who were old, infirm, sick, or cripples in seating preferences. The fourth rule restricted front seating in the tabernacle to those on the

program, councilors, or those providing music. Rule five limited participation in dances to church members in good standing, or to those who had been officially invited. Rule six stated that gentlemen could dance only twice until other men had had an opportunity to dance. The last rule stated meetings were to commence in the morning at the time appointed and last to 1 p.m. This was followed by refreshments and dancing.

Arza participated in the gradual evolution in the practices of the Latter-day Saint Church in the Winter Quarters period. This included the acceptance of Brigham Young as the second President of the Church and the custom of the senior member of the Quorum of the Twelve becoming the head of the church. Also, during the Winter Quarters period, the callings of bishops were expanded and refocused. Bishops were called to shepherd most of the small settlements of Latter-day Saints scattered around the Winter Quarters area. Because many wives and families were left alone by men who joined the Mormon Battalion, and because of the illness, death, and poverty that afflicted many church members in the area, the primary responsibilities of bishops were to minister to the welfare of their small flocks.

The custom of holding a series of church meetings for all to attend each Sunday did not emerge until later. Some small groups congregated each Sunday in someone's home for religious services. Occasional get-togethers such as the jubilee mentioned above and two semi-annual conferences in April and October were the main times members gathered for formal worship. About the time Arza and his family moved west, church leaders instituted bi-weekly gatherings for church members in selected parts of Pottawattamie County. The lack of buildings large enough to hold gatherings restricted these meetings largely to times when the weather would allow outside gatherings.

## Fort Childs and Fort Leavenworth, 1848

A comment in Arza's journal shows he initially planned to go to the Salt Lake Valley in 1848 when Barnabas made his return trip. Arza perhaps made the decision at the last minute to postpone his trip for a year because of an opportunity to work for the army. His name is listed erroneously on the roster of Brigham Young's First Division Camp, Third Company that arrived in Salt Lake Valley in the fall of 1848. This suggests that Arza signed up to travel with that group, but decided not to go at the last minute. In his journal he explains his decision to stay behind:

> I being short of means I went to work for the government at fort Childs on the Plat. River opposite Grand Island and the fore part of the winter following at Fort Levenworth (Effie W. Adams, journal 4, p. 30).

Ft. Childs, later renamed Ft. Kearny, was located almost 200 miles west of Winter Quarters, near what is now Kearney, Nebraska. It was built in 1848 to protect travelers using the Oregon Trail that traced its way up the Platte River. The commander of the post was Col. Bonneville whose name had been earlier given to the ancient lake that once covered a major part of Utah. Arza worked at Ft. Childs during most of the summer helping with construction. His carpenter skills and his experience with saw mills may have also been called upon during this assignment.

Captain Stansbury's description of the fort in mid-1849 indicates it was not a large or elegant place:

> The post at present consists of a number of long low buildings, constructed principally of adobe, or sun-dried bricks, with nearly flat roofs; a large hospital-tent; two or three workshops, enclosed by canvas walls; storehouses constructed in the same manner;

> one or two long adobe stables, with roofs of brush; and tents for the accommodation of the officers and men (p. 30).

Arza also may have hauled goods between Ft. Leavenworth and Ft. Childs, or perhaps he was hired only during the fall and early winter of 1848 to work around Ft. Leavenworth. At the time Arza worked there, the fort was a bustling place; it was a major supply depot supporting the Mexican-American War. The fort later played a major role in supplying western forts that were established to deal with Indian problems. It was known as the outfitting post for the Army of the West.

Arza's work with the army for about six months provided him with enough income to purchase several additional spans of oxen, and also tents and food for his family's journey west in 1849.[48] His income from army work may have been supplemented by some goods or cash he received when he possibly sold his cabin and land improvements on Little Pigeon Creek.

## Salt Rather Than Gold, 1849

The tidal wave of people who flocked to California in 1849 in search of gold made that a momentous year in U.S. history. Some gold seekers went by boat but most took the overland trails that started along the Missouri River and moved up along the Platte River. By mid-June 1849, nearly 7,500 wagon-loads of gold seekers had passed Fort Childs while others who were uncounted took the less traveled

[48] Postponing his trip west for a year allowed Arza to make the journey with more supplies, animals, and equipment. At the same time, delaying his trip for a year made it more difficult to find attractive farm land in Salt Lake Valley. Had he gone in 1848 with his brother Barnabas he may have settled in Salt Lake Valley, as Barnabas did, rather than looking for land in Utah Valley.

Mormon Trail on the north side of the river. The area around Winter Quarters was one of the major staging areas for this massive stampede west. Arza and his family joined this surge of migration, although their journey ended with the salt of the Great Basin rather than the gold of California. The mass of humanity and animals that rushed up both sides of the Platte River and then along the Oregon Trail through Wyoming, Idaho, and Nevada left few blades of grass in its wake and numerous hastily dug graves. The latter half of the trail was strewn with dead animals and discarded furniture, stoves, and implements.

The work Arza did for the army provided enough money for his family to leave Iowa with ample supplies and animals. Unfortunately, Arza does not provide details in his journal about this trip, other than to note when they left and when they arrived in Salt Lake. Fortunately, one of his companions, Reuben Miller, kept a detailed account of the journey. Other journals, especially the careful record kept by Captain Howard Stansbury whose trip to the Salt Lake Valley paralleled Arza's trip, provide vivid descriptions of the conditions encountered by the forty-niners. Arza and his family might be thought of as "half forty-niners" since their journey in 1849 terminated well short of California and the gold fields.

The wagon train in which Arza traveled was the first of five that left Winter Quarters in 1849 comprised mostly of Latter-day Saints. Each had about 100 wagons.[49] Arza's group also included a few gold seekers on their way to California, led by Captain Bloggett. As was the case with other Latter-day Saint groups going to Salt Lake, the wagon train was led by a captain of 100, two division captains of 50s, and a leader for each group of 10. On the trail, the two divisions traveled somewhat separately with about 60 wagons

[49] Many groups of gold seekers left much earlier, some reaching Ft. Laramie in Wyoming by the third week in May.

in the first division and 40 in the second division. Some of the wagons carried 40 to 50 tons of merchandise from St. Louis for Livingston and Kinkade Co. in Salt Lake. Sometimes the first division led, other times the second division led, and still other times the two divisions were intermingled for a time. During most of their trip Arza' group closely followed other groups ahead of them and created more ruts for other groups that followed closely behind. The mass of forty-niners who left earlier in the spring stripped most camping grounds bare of firewood, forced later travelers to look far-and-wide for grass, and fouled water sources.

Samuel Gulley, a former member of the Mormon Battalion, was the overall captain of Arza's group. William Hyde was the captain of the second division in which Arza traveled, and D. H. Redfield was the leader of Arza's group of ten. Reuben Miller was called to be the clerk for Hyde's second division, and he was also in Arza' group of ten.[50] Orson Spencer, who was returning to Salt Lake after heading the British Mission, was given the title of president of the entire camp. This was initially mainly a religious calling.

Members of Gulley's wagon train began to assemble on the west side of the Missouri River in late May and early June. George A. Smith, who later led a wagon train west, met with Gulley's group on June 4 and helped to assign leaders and set camp rules. The first division left the Winter Quarters area on June 5 for Elk Horn River where they were to build a raft, wait for the second division, and then complete the organization of the wagon train.[51] The second division,

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[50] Other family heads in Arza's group of ten were H. Alexander, J. H. Baxter, James A. Smith, William W. Smith, and William Young.

[51] In 1849 Joel Terrel and several other Latter-day Saints built and manned a raft that was used to ferry wagons and people across the Elk Horn River. Soon after, a large group of gold seekers named the Hawkeye Company arrived at the ferry, refused to pay the ferry fee, took the ferry at gun point, and then stole both raft and ropes (Frontier Guardian, September 19, 1849).

including Arza and his family, was comprised mostly of families who had lived on the Iowa side of the Missouri River. They left the Winter Quarters area on June 7.

Gulley's camp rules were similar to those used by earlier groups of Latter-day Saints who had migrated west. These rules reflected the challenges that pioneers faced and also the norms required for social cohesion. The first rule was that wagon positions on the trail would be rotated each day. The second was that all property lost and later found would be given to the group leader. The third rule was that dogs must be tied up at night. The fourth rule was that no men were to leave camp alone without telling the captain. Rule five involved having family prayer each morning. The sixth rule stated that the Captain would appoint camp and cattle guards each day. The seventh and eighth rules required everyone to arise at the sound of the horn each morning and be ready to leave by 7:30 a.m. The last few rules involved obeying commands and bringing horses and mules into camp by nightfall. Arza and other independent members of the group may have occasionally chafed at the rigidity of these rules. They probably did not completely recognize the importance of such rules in helping a group pull together and overcome obstacles. Other pioneering groups that were loosely organized, such as the ill-fated Donner-Reed party, learned this the hard way.

Moving a family west involved more than ma, pa, and the kids throwing their trunks in a wagon, hitching up their oxen, and moving on up the trail. It also involved herding a large number of animals, worrying about where to find water and feed for them, and trying to keep them from stampeding, getting lost, or being stolen. Some notion of the magnitude of this job is suggested by the inventory of animals in Arza's group of ten. The 45 adults and children in this group had 15 wagons, 59 oxen, 29 cows, and 25 sheep. A few pigs, chickens, cats, dogs, doves, geese, ducks, and a beehive completed the animal inventory. Gulley's entire command included 120 wagons, 352 individuals, nearly 500 oxen, and

about another 500 head of cattle, horses, mules and sheep (Frontier Guardian, September 19, 1849). The wagon train in which Arza traveled was more a cattle drive than it was a migration of settlers.

Arza's family, with eight members, had most of their assets tied up in two wagons, ten oxen, twelve cows and beef animals, four sheep, two pigs, one chicken, two geese, one cat, a dog, and a hive of bees. Sabina, Nathan, Joshua, and Sabina Ann must have been busy tending these animals and doing the other chores involved in camp life. Muddy roads and the large number of animals in their care resulted in Arza's group taking at least a month longer to reach the Great Basin than would have been the case with fewer animals and drier roads. The winter of 1848-49 was particularly severe, and ample snow fell in Iowa as well as along the Oregon Trail through the Rocky Mountains. This resulted in stream flows that were higher than normal, which made crossing streams and rivers more difficult for travelers that year than in earlier years.

One reason for traveling west as early as possible in the spring was to take advantage of the grass and water that were available then. The spring of 1849 was quite wet, so ample grass was available during the early part of the trip. Nothing is free on the plains, however; mud and high water in streams and rivers accompanied the thriving grass. High water in the Elk Horn River caused Gulley's wagon train to spend more than two days making their first major river crossing. Their labors were also complicated by the simultaneous crossing of 400 to 500 Pawnee Indians at the same spot. During the crossing, Captain Gulley was injured, but he continued the journey after receiving a blessing.

Reuben Miller mentions hard rain and disagreeable weather soon after they crossed the Elk Horn River on June 11. He also mentions hearing about a man in a nearby camp who died of cholera shortly before Gulley's wagon train

arrived on the north bank of the Platte River on June 12. The news sent shivers through those in Gulley's group who had lost loved ones earlier to this scourge.[52]

Cholera was introduced to the Platte River Valley by immigrants who had passed though New Orleans and then up the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Cholera was a problem on several ships carrying Latter-day Saints to New Orleans in early 1849 (The Zetland and the Buena Vista), and it was a disease that would occasionally erupt among immigrants for a number of years later. A few days before Gulley's group left Winter Quarters the Frontier Guardian reported cholera deaths among immigrants in the area. During that spring and summer this dreaded disease killed many emigrants and Indians along the Oregon Trail who drank infected water from polluted streams and shallow wells. Many others suffered the severe diarrhea of cholera but recovered.

Miller notes in his journal that on June 19 the night guard shot Arza Adams's dog somewhere on the east side of Plum Creek and west of Beaver River. This was in the vicinity of what is now Genoa, Nebraska. Apparently, the dog had not been securely tied and was out doing mischief. There were likely some tears shed by Sabina Ann, Elizabeth, and Theo over losing their pet.

The Gulley wagon train avoided some of the ravages of cholera by later taking the less-traveled trail on the north side of the Platte River where the streams had less chance of being polluted with cholera bacteria by someone who was a carrier. Several days before Arza's group crossed to the south side of the Loop River near what is now Fullerton, Nebraska, however, cholera felled Nelson McCarthy in the

[52] A month earlier, a rumor that someone at Ft. Leavenworth had cholera caused 40 teamsters and mechanics to quit their jobs and flee the post in a single night (Stansbury p. 14).

first division, a former member of the Mormon Battalion, who died on the June 21. Several additional cases of cholera erupted in the first division on June 26 with Amrose Kelly dying on June 28 and a gold seeker Moses Haile dying on June 29. Another gold seeker, Henry Vanderhoof, died of cholera on July 4 and Captain Samuel Gulley passed away on July 5 after a violent attack of cholera. His wife had earlier been stricken with the disease, but recovered.[53]

Cholera was not the only road hazard. Miller notes that several children were injured near Grand Island. One was run over by a wagon and the other injured an arm while jumping off a wagon. He also mentions that several wagons tipped over along the way and that several people were injured during cattle stampedes. Also, the material that had been purchased in Winter Quarters for wagon tops and tents turned out not to be water proof.[54] This forced the travelers to spend time drying bedding and other wet goods after storms.

After traveling in the rain for several days, they stopped for a Sunday meeting on July 15 at which Orson Spencer was selected to succeed Samuel Gulley as wagon train captain. As often as possible, the group would rest on Sundays, and meetings would be held in the morning. Religious sermons were the main feature of most meetings, but organizational issues and even chastisements were

[53] A column in the Frontier Guardian (May 16, 1849) outlines what was thought at the time about the causes of cholera. Readers were urged to "keep free of fear, as this is a powerful auxiliary to help on the disease. Be temperate in your labour, moderate in exercise, calm in your feelings, and guard against exposure. It you are troubled by diarrhea, check it as soon as you can, for this almost invariably precedes the more powerful attack." Much better advice would have been to boil all drinking water and avoid eating food contaminated by those who had cholera.

[54] A message sent back for publishing in the Frontier Guardian (September 19, 1849) advised future travelers to purchase more water-resistant material.

featured in other gatherings. In one of the early Sunday meetings, heads of family were urged to treat their animals with more kindness.

Crossing rivers and streams was a recurring problem. High water in the Platte River forced Gulley's group to wait several days before they could cross to the north side on June 26 at a point several days drive down river from Fort Childs. The next day hunters killed two antelope, the first wild game killed by members of the wagon train.

Rough roads were also a problem in some areas. Teamsters were forced to double and triple their teams to traverse difficult terrain. Still more rain and lost cattle were other irritating factors in an around Grand Island where the group camped on July 4. Since Arza had worked at nearby Fort Childs the previous year, he may have informed his companions about the area. Several of Arza's colleagues exploited a small deposit of coal that provided campfire fuel for several days. Several of them hunted on Grand Island for deer and elk, instead they found a stray ox.

Several days after leaving Grand Island, Arza's group had its first hot day on July 9. A few days later they saw and killed their first buffalo. During the next week or so they were often in sight of buffalo and enjoyed the fresh meat a few kills provided them.

Arza is again featured in Reuben Miller's journal in an entry dated July 20. "At Crooked Creek Arza Adams broke a King Bolt in crossing his team over the creek and (this) forced the group to stop there for the night" (p. 32). This was at a spot located a few miles north of what is now Ogallala, Nebraska. One of the wagons carrying freight also tipped over at this crossing. What might have been serious problems ended up being minor difficulties because of the cooperative efforts and skills of the men who traveled with Arza. It was common during the trip for groups of ten to fall behind for a time to look for stray cattle, to deal with a

member's accident, or to minister to someone who was ill. Arza's skills as a wheelwright and carpenter were most certainly drawn upon in dealing with wagon repairs along the way.

Miller reports only one case of difficulties with Indians on their trip. The news about cholera in the Platte River Basin increasingly caused Indians in the area to avoid whites that summer. On July 22 hunters from the group killed several buffalo but Indians blocked the hunters from taking their kills back to camp. It was as difficult for the Indians to understand why they should share their "beef" herds with the whites as it was for the whites to understand the morality of Indians occasionally feasting on some of the emigrants' cattle.

On July 27 Spencer's group camped near famous Chimney Rock and then two days later, crossed to the south side of the Platte River. On July 30 there was a hard frost during the night, a harbinger of the extremely hard and early winter that was to follow soon. Arza's group paused at Scott's Bluff for several days. Camped nearby were 500 to 1,000 Sioux Indians with large herds of horses. On July 31 a troop of cavalry arrived from Ft. Laramie to settle a dispute with the Indians. The Indians were angry about the white man bringing cholera into their lands. They claimed the disease had recently killed 600 Sioux.[55] Their anger resulted in the murder of at least one white man.

While at Scott's Bluff Arza's group returned to their owner, a French Trader, 21 oxen they had earlier found. A hard frost on July 31 again reminded those in Spencer's group that winter was coming and that they were still a long way from their destination. Rounding up 40 strays also consumed time while they were recruiting at Scott's Bluff. Finding someone else's stray cattle and losing some in turn was part of the experience of migrating west.

[55] Stansbury mentions seeing several Indian villages that had been abandoned because of cholera.

Not all of the travelers that summer along the Platte River were headed west. Cholera and the hardships of travel caused many eager but ill-prepared emigrants going west to turn around and go back. An item in the Frontier Guardian (June 27, 1849) reported that a substantial number of "emigrants in the Southern route, having seen the elephant at various points on the Plains" were returning east that spring. At the time, "seeing the elephant" was an expression used to depict the hardships that dissolved emigrants' resolve to continue west. Seeing the elephant was a euphemism for being a quitter. Captain Stansbury was in the vicinity of Ft. Childs about the time Arza's group passed through the area. Stansbury noted that so many people were turning back and selling what they could that teams, wagons and supplies could be purchased at the fort for a fraction of their original cost.

Apparently, none of the members of Orson Spencer's camp ever saw the elephant; certainly, Arza never did.

On August 3 Spencer's group camped near Ft. Laramie. For the first time, Miller mentions that they gathered for dances on two succeeding days, possibly celebrating the arrival at Ft. Laramie, or possibly relaxing before tackling the most arduous portion of their trip: passing over the spine of the Rocky Mountains. It would be nearly 400 miles over difficult terrain before they encountered another modicum of civilization at Ft. Bridger.

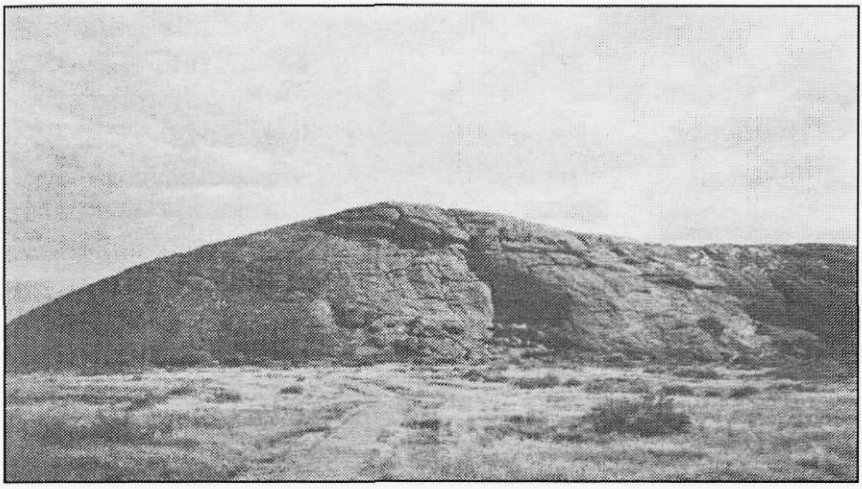
Leaving Ft. Laramie two weeks before Arza's group, Captain Stansbury provides detailed descriptions of the litter and abandoned dreams along the trail only one day after leaving the Fort:

> We passed to-day the nearly consumed fragments of about a dozen wagons that had been broken up and burned by their owners; and near them was piled up, in one heap,

> from six to eight hundred weight of bacon, thrown away for want of means to transport it farther. Boxes, bonnets, trunks, wagon-wheels, whole wagon-bodies, cooking utensils, and, in fact, almost every article of household furniture, were found from place to place along the prairie, abandoned for the same reason (p. 55).

A few days later, even before reaching Independence Rock and the most difficult portions of the trail, Stansbury recorded seeing even larger amounts of discarded goods:

> (This morning) we passed eleven wagons that had been broken up, the spokes of the wheels taken to make pack-saddles, and the rest burned or otherwise destroyed. The road has been literally strewn with articles that have been thrown away. Bar-iron and steel, large blacksmiths' anvils and bellows, crow-bars, drills, augers, gold-washers, chisels, axes, lead, trunks, spades, ploughs, large grindstones, baking-ovens, cooking-stoves without number, kegs, barrels, harness, clothing, bacon and beans, were found along the road in pretty much the order in which they have been here enumerated. The carcasses of eight oxen, lying in one heap by the roadside, this morning, explained a part of the trouble. . . . At the noon halt, an excellent rifle was found in the river, thrown there by some desperate emigrant who had been unable to carry it any farther. In the course of the day the relics of seventeen wagons and the carcasses of twenty-seven dead oxen have been seen (p.62).



*Independence Rock in Wyoming, 1998*

Difficult terrain and the wear-and-tear on oxen challenged all travelers over the portion of the trail between Ft. Laramie and Independence Rock. The increasing climb and scant forage made the trip from Independence Rock to the summit of South Pass even more difficult. Only the lower reaches of the Sweetwater River provided much meadow for pasture. Thousands and thousands of wagons with their even more numerous animals surged up this small river valley that summer and left few blades of grass or sticks of firewood in their wake. The wind-blown, stunted sage brush expanses beyond the small meadows along the stream provided even less sustenance for animals.

Four men going east from Salt Lake, including A. W. Babbit, stayed the night of August 11 with Arza's division midway between Ft. Laramie and Independence Rock. Miller mentions that his colleagues were cheered by the good news that Babbitt and his companions shared about recent events in the valley. After an extremely difficult year in 1848 when settlers learned how to manage irrigated agriculture and crickets consumed much of what was grown, crops in the valley were much better in 1849.

On August 13 Miller notes that their cattle were much fatigued because of lack of feed. The wear and tear of the journey and the increasing lack of fodder began to tell on the draft animals during the time Arza's group crossed the North Platte River and then started up the Sweetwater River. The lack of grass may have been a factor in the increasing problem Arza's group had with lost cattle. Hungry cattle were prone to wander off looking for feed during storms or overnight. On August 19, Arza's group of ten lost ten to fifteen cattle during the night and spent half a day rounding up these strays. Two days later, while in the vicinity of Independence Rock, a number of animals owned by Arza's group scattered and time was again spent chasing strays. While waiting to find lost cattle, members of Arza's group repaired a broken wagon wheel and killed a bear and a buffalo. When not occupied with camp chores, Nathan and Joshua, like thousands of other earlier travelers, perhaps climbed Independence Rock and scratched their names on it.

Spencer's camp spent several days in the Independence Rock and Devil's Gate area recruiting their animals before starting the haul up the Sweetwater and over South Pass. The ten days to two weeks that it took them to cover the next 100 plus miles were some of the most difficult of the entire journey. The occasional cryptic entries in Miller's journal for this period hint at the efforts that went into getting up to and over South Pass. One entry on August 25 states their teams were much fatigued. An entry the next day records there was much sickness in camp and that several of the groups of ten had fallen behind the main group as a result. After a heavy snow storm, they spent a half day rounding up strays on August 29 near South Pass. The group also briefly mourned the death of one of Brother Young's children who was run over by a wagon.

Arza and Sabina may have taken little notice of snow-covered South Pass. It is a broad and long area with few features that mark it as a distinct pass. One can only tell that

the pass has been crossed when the small streams in the area begin to run to the west rather than to the east. Soon after September 1, Arza's group moved through the pass and then camped at Pacific Springs. They may have noted a newly marked grave near the spring that Stansbury mentions in his account:

> I witnessed at the Pacific Springs an instance of no little ingenuity on the part of some emigrant. Immediately alongside of the road was what purported to be a grave, prepared with more than usual care, having a headboard on which was painted the name and age of the deceased, the time of his death, and the part of the country from which he came. I afterward ascertained that this was only a ruse to conceal the fact that the grave, instead of containing the mortal remains of a human being, had been made a safe receptacle for divers casks of brandy, which the owner could carry no farther. He afterward sold his liquor to some traders farther on, who, by his description of its locality, found it without difficulty (p. 71).

## On to Fort Bridger

The trail from South Pass was mostly downhill to Ft. Bridger but Arza's group continued to experience difficulties. Miller noted that several of their wagons tipped over on the trail near Pacific Springs, and they also moved across areas with lots of alkali. As they proceeded down the Little Sandy Creek, then down the Big Sandy Creek to the Green River, and then on to Black's Fork, Miller records the loss of an ox every day or so. The lack of proper feed, the exertion of the trip, and too much alkali felled many of their draft animals. Some oxen died and some, too weak to continue, were left

behind. On several occasions, however, Miller mentions they found oxen that had been left behind by earlier groups of emigrants.

On September 7 and 8 Spencer's camp crossed the Green River and camped on the west side. There they met a group from the valley that had come to help them with the remainder of their journey. This relief group likely brought replacement draft animals as well as several wagons to lighten the loads of those transporting goods for merchants in the valley. A week later, on September 13,' the camp reached Fort Bridger. The arrival was a mixed blessing since representatives of the army claimed as government property 15 oxen that members of Spencer's camp had found at the last crossing of the Platte near what is now Casper, Wyoming. Miller does not record any reward paid for finding and caring for these government animals. Perhaps the government representatives rationalized that the finders using the animals to pull their wagons over South Pass was sufficient reward.

Stansbury's description of Ft. Bridger indicates it was not an imposing place:

> It is built in the usual form of pickets, with the lodging apartments and offices opening into a hollow square, protected from attack from without by a strong gate of timber. On the north, and continuous with the walls, is a strong high picket-fence, enclosing a large yard, into which the animals belonging to the establishment are driven for protection from both wild beasts and Indians (p. 74).

While at Ft. Bridger, Arza saw the tall, snow-covered mountains to the south and may have wondered if his new home would be surrounded by such lofty ridges. After resting

at Ft. Bridger for several days, Arza's group resumed their trip on September 16. At least part of their group of ten apparently set off alone, as there was less need for a large group to protect against Indian attack, and much of the remaining journey was down hill. Leaving an exhausted ox behind on the Bear River, and looking for strays, were among the few entries made by Miller on this last stretch of their journey. He makes no mention of the extremely difficult descent of Big Mountain and the trip on into the valley that had taken the ill-fated Donner-Reed Party nearly a month to traverse only three years earlier.

## Arriving in Salt Lake

Arza did not record the emotions he and Sabina experienced as they entered the Salt Lake Valley on September 25, 1849. They arrived three days after other members of the Spencer camp entered the valley. A reporter accompanying a group of gold seekers to California vividly describes the appearance of the valley several months before Arza's group arrived (New York Tribune, October 9, 1849):

> . . . after some twelve hundred miles of travel through an uncultivated desert, and the last one hundred miles of the distance through and among lofty mountains and narrow and difficult ravines, we found ourselves suddenly, and almost unexpectedly, in a comparative paradise.

Said another way, the valley was a sight for sore eyes and an oasis for the wearied traveler.

The reporter goes on to comment on the large number of cattle, horses, and sheep that could be seen in every direction as they drove from Emigration Canyon into the city. He noted the broad and fenced streets, the numerous wooden or adobe homes, the ripening fields of wheat and

oats, and the thriving vegetable gardens. He also commented on the lack of commercial business signs and the fact that everyone was involved in farming or in making or repairing something. His observations that "the Mormons are not dead, nor is their spirit broken" may have captured the feelings of Arza and others when they first saw the beehive of activities in the valley.

The Adams family arrived in the valley on a Saturday, and they may have attended church services the next morning. These services were held in the Bowery, an open-air structure with shade that could accommodate upwards of 3,000 people. Despite still living in a tent and wagons, they undoubtedly rejoiced in finally being beyond the reach of those in Missouri and Illinois who denied them the opportunity to worship in their own manner. Within a few days, they located on the lower reaches of Mill Creek in the vicinity of what is now South Salt Lake, where they stayed for almost a year.

# Chapter 7

## Journey's End

> Most of the work in the world is not done by geniuses. It is done by ordinary people who have learned to apply their talents and abilities to accomplish those responsibilities which they have accepted.
>
> -- Anonymous

Soon after entering the valley Arza and his family settled in one of the small communities outside of Salt Lake City that absorbed the increasing number of immigrants. These small settlements were clustered along the streams that flowed out of the mountains to the east, one of which was Mill Creek, where Arza settled temporarily. Hyrum Smith's widow, Washburn Chipman, and Arza's friend Reuben Miller were some of the other families who located along Mill Creek. Later, Miller would serve as the Bishop of Mill Creek Ward for three decades.

### Mill Creek

Soon after arriving Arza was employed by a Brother Giles to do mill work. Arza does not say, however, if he worked in a grist mill or in a saw mill and it is unclear who Brother Giles was and where his mill was located.[56] No

[56] Barnabas was living in a cabin near the mouth of Little Cottonwood Canyon, just south and east of where Arza likely located in 1849. Since Barnabas was early involved in taking timber out of the east canyons, the mill where Arza worked may have been in or near Little Cottonwood Canyon. About 1851, Barnabas moved to an adobe home located on the corner of Seventh East and Eight South in Salt Lake City. He later cut timber around where the Bingham Copper Mine was later developed and owned a ranch there. One of the canyons in the area still bears his name: Barney's Canyon.

historical record lists a Giles as operating a mill on Mill Creek where Arza probably settled his family. The first grist mill along Mill Creek was built and operated by John Neff in 1848. In 1849, Archibald and Robert Gardner were given rights to build a saw mill near the forks of Mill Creek, about where the creek now crosses State Street. Another saw mill was also constructed on Mill Creek about the same time and perhaps this is where Arza worked. Wherever it was, Arza perhaps worked for Giles during most of the winter of 1849-50. Soon after Arza settled on Mill Creek, Sabina's last child, Orpha Elzetta, was born on October 23, 1849. For the third time, Sabina gave birth soon after completing an arduous journey.

Arza received only part of the pay he was due from Giles, and some of the pay he did receive may have been in the form of flour or timber. He notes in his journal that some of his wages, amounting to $40, was never paid, suggesting the milling efforts were transitory and possibly not successful economically. He also mentions that some of his livestock perished during the especially severe winter of 1849-50. Unfortunately, he said nothing about how or where he sheltered his family that winter. He may have found a cabin to rent, or he may have hurriedly erected still another small cabin to shelter the nine members in his family. He probably took the wheels off his two wagons, placed the wagon beds close to his cabin, and used them as supplemental living and storage space.

After the unsatisfactory experience of working for others, Arza obtained the use of a small farm along Mill Creek in the spring of 1850 and planted crops there. A cousin, Washburn Chipman, also farmed nearby. The land may have been only marginally appropriate for farming, the critical irrigation system was rudimentary, and Arza was a novice irrigator. Whatever the reasons, he harvested a skimpy crop that year and was prompted to look elsewhere for better opportunities.

One can only wonder how Arza provided for his family during 1850 after losing some of his livestock, failing to collect all his wages, and then having a skimpy crop. He likely did some odd jobs for wages during this period that he does not mention in his journal, and possibly earned income from hauling goods to Fort Utah in Utah Valley. He may have also done some joint work with his brother.

Since Arza helped with the survey of the American Fork area that started on July 20, 1850, he might have assisted Captain Stansbury and his crew with their survey work in Utah Valley and Salt Lake Valley and gained some familiarity with surveying. Lt. Gunnison was a member of that crew and was in charge of establishing a base line that ran through Salt Lake Valley to the south end of Utah Lake in late 1849. One of the main challenges in setting the line was securing timber to build the numerous tripod stations along the route. Stansbury describes their timber problems:

> (Our) principal difficulty was the scarcity of timber. Wood grows nowhere on the plains; all the wood used for cooking in camp, and all the timber, both for posts on the base line and for the construction of the stations, had to be hauled from the mountains, in many cases fifteen or twenty miles distant, over a rough country without roads. Almost every stick used for this purpose cost from twenty to thirty miles' travel of a six-mule team (p. 121).

Perhaps Arza and Barnabas were involved in providing some of the timber used by Stansbury's crew or in possibly cutting some of the timber used in building Fort Utah.[57]

[57] Barnabas later provided timber used in building the tabernacle, the theater and other buildings in Salt Lake City.

While hauling goods between Salt Lake and Provo, Arza, his son Nathan, and two Chipman relatives camped one evening along the banks of American Fork Creek. Shelley reports the stop:

> In the early summer of 1850, Stephen Chipman and his son, William Henry, then a lad of fourteen years, with Arza Adams and his son, Nathan, were desirous of doing some trading in Fort Provo. On their way south, night overtook them and they camped on American Fork creek, among the cottonwoods that grew along its banks. While the fathers were engaged in preparing supper the two boys scouted around the vicinity and upon their return, Nathan Adams exclaimed, "I think I would like to live there" (p. 17).

It was a long way from Bastard Township in upper Canada, but the Adams and the Chipmans had again found a place where they could be neighbors.

## Utah Valley

When the pioneers arrived in Salt Lake Valley, it was a semi-neutral area between the Utes to the south and the Shoshones who were scattered through the valleys to the north. Choosing to settle first in this neutral zone allowed the pioneers to avoid contention with Indians for several years. Utah Lake, the three major streams that flowed into it, and substantial amounts of attractive agricultural land and pasture soon drew the attention of the increasing numbers of settlers in Salt Lake Valley. Timpanogots Utes traditionally made their home in the shadows of majestic Mt. Timpanogos. They spent the fall, winter and spring fishing in Utah Lake and then migrated to the east and southeast where hunting was better during the summers (Holzapfel). Church leaders had earlier

scouted the valley, but the presence of numerous Indians discouraged settlement. A small fort, established in 1849, just west of what is now Provo, was the lone white outpost in Utah Valley at the time Arza and others began looking to the valley for settlement.

If it had not been for Indian problems, Utah Valley was the most desirable place for settlement in Utah. It had Utah Lake, the largest freshwater body in the state, numerous springs on the east side of the valley, and a temperate climate. It was also surrounded by picturesque mountains with several canyons that provided timber. The heavy snows that fell on the mountains to the east provided a dependable water supply for irrigation and drinking in the summer by way of the three streams that flow into the valley from the east: Spanish Fork River, Provo River, and American Fork River. While these streams are not large compared to rivers in other parts of the United States, they are streams that provide sufficient water to convert a narrow strip of the vast western desert into a pleasant place to live.

Utah Valley could only be settled after the rights of Indians who lived there were extinguished. The earlier experiences of the Timpanogot Utes with whites had been transitory and mostly friendly, first with the Dominguez-Escalante expedition in 1776 and later with various trappers and explorers who passed through the valley (Warner). Understandably, the Utes who had lived in the environs of Utah Lake for centuries strongly objected to the whites crowding uninvited into their midst by building a fort on the Provo River and then stocking it with thirty families who were obviously going to be more than traders or brief visitors. Indian concerns were heightened by the California-bound gold seekers who traveled through their once-isolated valley in 1849. This was immediately followed by a crew of army surveyors who built strange looking towers through the length of Utah Valley.

Initially, the Indians in Utah Valley were viewed as pests, rather than as threats. Stansbury expresses this view in his short description of the interaction between Indians and surveyors in Utah Valley during late 1849:

> . . . we were no little annoyed by numbers of the (Ute) tribe, who hung around the camp, crowding around the cook-fires, more like hungry dogs than human beings, eagerly watching for the least scrap that might be thrown away, which they devoured with avidity and without the least preparation. The herdsmen also complained that their cattle were frequently scattered, and that notwithstanding their utmost vigilance, several of them had unaccountably disappeared and were lost. One morning, a fine fat ox came into camp with an arrow buried in his side, which perfectly accounted for the disappearance of the others (p. 148).

White incursions into Utah Valley in 1849 increasingly led to friction with the Indians. In the fall of 1849 a fight between whites and Indians at the mouth of Battle Creek, in what is now Pleasant Grove, resulted in several Indians being killed. This inflamed the natives, who then laid siege to the fort in Provo during the next several months. At least one additional Indian was killed, and his body dumped in the Provo River. Conditions were so serious by early February 1850 that a militia from Salt Lake Valley came to the relief of Provo (Marinus Jensen, p. 47). Several pitched battles between whites and Indians followed in which a few dozen Utes were killed. These battles cowed the Indians in Utah Valley and allowed Arza and others to pour into the scenic valley during the remainder of 1850. During that year, eight new communities, including Lake City where Arza settled, were started in the valley from Lehi in the north to Payson in the south, (Holzapfel, p. 62-65).

Over the next several years additional communities were established on all of the significant streams in the valley.

Initially, Utah Valley was thought to be an excellent place for cattle, especially after the Indian threat was diminished. In addition to pasture, especially in the low wet areas around Utah Lake, the pioneers planted rye, oats, corn, barley, and beans. For many years, however, wheat, potatoes and wild hay were the major crops of the valley. Later, church officials saw the valley as a place to grow sugar beets that would diminish the reliance on outside sources of expensive sugar. Because of the periodic problems with Indians for a few years, Utah Valley communities were compact units with people living in town, sometimes behind fort walls.

## Lake City

The custom at the time was for Brigham Young to authorize the settlement of new communities. When Arza and Stephen Chipman returned from their trip to Utah Valley, they sought permission from President Young to settle the area along American Fork Creek (Shelley, p. 18). Ira and John Eldredge joined in the request. Heber C. Kimball was present at the meeting and asked Arza and associates if, while surveying a tract for themselves, they would also survey an adjoining tract for him.

Soon after receiving permission from Brigham Young, Arza and his associates made arrangements to survey their concession. Shelley lists the names of seven individuals who were involved in the survey: Grandfather Eldredge, Ira Eldredge, John Eldredge, Arza Adams, Barnabas Adams, Stephen Chipman, and Washburn Chipman.[58] While on their

[58] There is no record of Barnabas living in American Fork, except for a short time during the temporary exodus in early 1858. Perhaps he only ran cattle there, or possibly Shelley incorrectly remembered Barnabas when it was Nathan Adams who helped with the survey.

way to do the survey, the group met two surveyors, Mr. Fox and Mr. Lemmon, at the point of the mountain, near Porter Rockwell's establishment. The two men had just completed surveys of the Lehi area, and this provided a baseline for the Lake City survey that was started several days later on July 20, 1850. Under the direction of Mr. Fox, Ira Eldredge did the survey of Lake City with Arza and others running the measuring chains.

Shelley describes the boundaries of the survey as follows:

> The survey commenced at the northwest corner located on Spring Creek and extended east along what is now Second South Street, to what is now Second East Street, thence south to the shore of Utah Lake, thence north to the place of beginning. At the time Spring Creek did not run almost due south, as it does now, but ran in a southeasterly direction and emptied into the Lake near where American Fork Creek emptied. This was known as the "Big Survey" and at first the interested parties made a joint stock company of their land claims, but soon afterwards the land was individually divided among the settlers (p. 18).

The "Big Survey" was about two miles square with about two thousand acres. The Kimball parcel to the north included about 500 acres. Kimball's tract was a half-mile-wide strip that ran from east to west along the north edge of the Big Survey. That fall Leonard E. Harrington moved to Lake City to manage Kimball's land and cattle in the area.

The first dwelling in the community, initially called McArthursville and later Lake City, was a cabin and adjacent shanty built by Matthew Caldwell, a member of the Mormon Battalion, who temporarily pastured cattle in the area (Jones,

p. 38). Caldwell soon left and settled in Spanish Fork. Arza and Washburn Chipman built the next cabins in Lake City. The Chipman cabin was built near the grove of trees on the creek. Arza's cabin was across the road. In the fall of 1850 Arza and Washburn came to Lake City to cut grass hay for their livestock. Between cutting hay, the two also cut and trimmed a number of cottonwood logs that they later used to build two small cabins during the winter. Soon after completing a cabin, Arza moved his family to Lake City, where they finally reached the end of their long journey from Canada. The Chipmans moved into their cabin the next spring. Arza and family were, therefore, the first permanent settlers in American Fork.

The Adams cabin was built on what is now Center Street in American Fork at about where a residence numbered 299 South was located in the late 1990s. The Chipman cabin was across the street about where the residence numbered 280 South was located in the late 1990s. Washburn Chipman later built a more substantial home on this lot. A cabin that some claimed was the original Adams dwelling, was moved from its original location to what was known as the nearby Fitzen Gardens in the 1980s.

The initial organization of resources in the "Big Survey" was a joint stock company where all land, water, and timber was held jointly by the original settlers. Cattle raising was the primary objective of this effort initially. This arrangement only persisted for a short time while the settlers had ample pasture and water for their herds. As the number of inhabitants increased and more improvements were made to the settlement, the communal arrangements became untenable. Settlers wanted to build their homes on their own lots, till their own land, and control the number of animals that grazed on their pasture. Neither Arza nor Bishop Harrington mentions in their journals how the transition from joint to private ownership was made, but it was probably something that was fought out over a period of several years. Some of the allocations may have been done by lots, some by who

was there first, and some common area for pasture and timber may have been maintained for a few years before being converted to private lands.

In his life sketch Washburn Chipman mentions that about a dozen men worked cooperatively to harvest grain the first several years in Lake City. Four men would do the cradling, seven would do the binding and shocking, and one stood on the lookout for Indians. After drying, the grain was then flailed by hand or animals tromped the grain.

By the spring of 1851, enough people had settled in Lake City to justify organizing a church branch. On May 25, 1851 the American Fork Branch was organized with Leonard E. Harrington called as bishop. His counselors were Arza Adams and James Guyman. Arza served in this position for two-and-a-half years until he resigned in December 1853. John Mercer replaced him as counselor.

As part of a spiritual rededication, many pioneers were rebaptized after they moved to the intermountain west. The American Fork Ward records show that Sabina, her daughter Sabina Ann, and her son Joshua were all rebaptized on February 1, 1852. Sabina's daughter Elizabeth was also baptized for the first time on this date. Perhaps Sabina's religious feelings were intensified by the death of her son Theothen on January 23, 1852. A controversy between Arza and the Bishop over property rights may have been the reason for Arza's rebaptism being delayed until October 17, 1852. The fact that Sabina would encourage and accompany her children into the waters of baptism before Arza provides insights on her religious convictions.

During 1853 people in Lake City moved to a central location and some began to build a wall around their new community. Apparently, Arza was not convinced that the Indian threat associated with the Walker War was credible in Lake City and therefore located his home and mill outside the

north wall of the fort. The other 60 families in the community followed instruction and transferred their homes to locations within the proposed fort. During this time, Arza joined a company of militia that was organized to defend the community during the Walker War that flared in 1853-54. There is no indication that Arza and his company took the field, however, in pursuit of any Indians. However, his two sons, Nathan and Joshua, along with his son-in-law Alexander Nicoll, participated in some of the skirmishes during this war.

After building a home in the new location and starting the rebuilding of his mill, Arza married his second wife, Editha Morgan Anderson on December 7, 1853 (Brooks, p. 498). Since Sabina was eight years younger than Editha, Sabina may have viewed the ceremony as a ordinance that aided Editha's salvation and did not intrude into Sabina's relationship with Arza. The death of Sabina's second daughter, Elizabeth, on November 30, 1853 certainly compounded the mixed feelings Sabina must have felt about Arza's second marriage.

Arza continued to be active in the Fourteenth Seventies Quorum. A notice in the Deseret News dated May 25, 1854 lists Arza as one of the seven presidents of the Quorum. Most of the other members of the Quorum, however, lived in Salt Lake City.

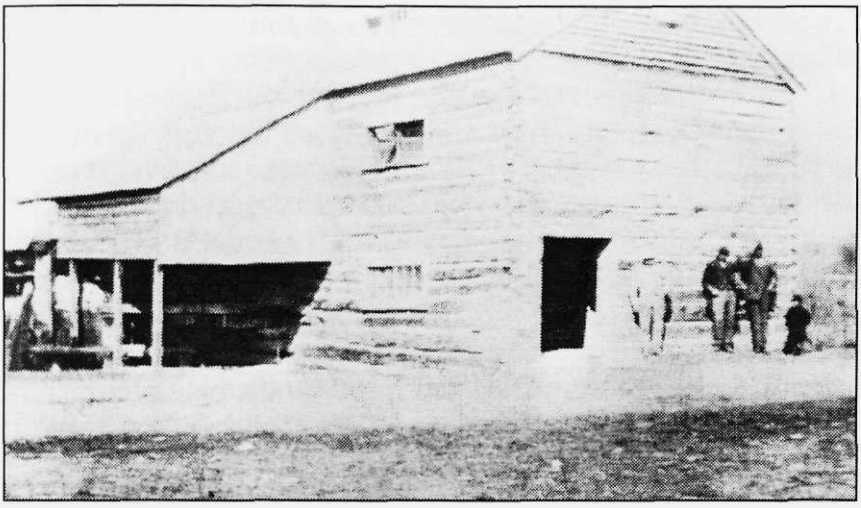
## Milling Activities

When Arza first came to Utah he listed his occupation as a carpenter. Later, he called himself a miller, although he was also involved in farming most of the time he lived in American Fork. He constructed and operated three grist mills. The first was just north of his first cabin on Center Street and about Second South. In 1853 when the residents in the settlement were concentrated inside the new fort, Arza moved his mill to the north side of the fort in the vicinity of what is now Second North and Center Street. This mill he

later sold to Samuel Mulliner. In the late 1860s, he built an improved mill on the creek about a mile north of town. This was on a 40 acre parcel that Arza purchased. A report in the Deseret News dated February 22, 1867 mentions that Arza Adams had recently built a first-class grist mill in American Fork. It goes on to make the tongue-in-cheek comment that Brother Adams did not believe in making money by advertising. Later, Arza sold his third mill to William D. Robinson who operated it for a time until it burned down. A set of grinding stones from one of his mills was relocated from the Old Pioneer Cemetery to the Adams' family burial plot in American Fork Cemetery in 1998.

Washburn Chipman noted that since flour was one of the few things that was not homemade, gristmills were needed. He relates the following about Arza's first two mills:

> In the early pioneer days flour was ground from wheat by means of the "French Burrs." At this period there was but one grade, it being whole wheat flour. Immediately after . . . ( I ) . . . settled at American Fork Arza Adams started the first flour mill. Considering it from the standpoint of our present mills it . . (was) . . . a crude affair. It nevertheless served its purpose. The method used in this mill for grading the flour was, after it was ground it was placed in a cylindrical shaped drum covered with coarse woven silk, the coarser (grindings) coming to the end of bottom of the cylinder and was segregated as bran. This mill employed . . . "bolting flour" so as to get more than one grade (p. 3).



*Arza's third grist mill in American Fork*

## Bishop Harrington

Leonard E. Harrington had an important influence on Arza's life. From 1851 until his death at the age of 68 in 1883, Harrington was the Bishop of the American Fork Ward (Harrington). Although Arza was Harrington's counselor for two years, friction between the two men drove them apart for a time and temporarily forced Arza out of the church.

Harrington joined the Latter-day Saint Church in 1840, lived near Nauvoo for a time, and then came to Utah in 1847. He had a farm in the Mill Creek area and was one of the early settlers in Lake City. He was sent to Utah Valley to manage the land and cattle that Heber C. Kimball had in the area. Judging from his journal, Harrington wrote extremely well, including penning poetry. He was occasionally a teacher. Later he helped establish a facility in American Fork that was the first public school in Utah.

Bishop Harrington was a member of the State Legislature, Mayor of American Fork, justice of the peace, a trustee of Brigham Young Academy in Provo, and also

president of the local cooperative store for many years. He was typical of those strong secondary church leaders who helped organize, motivate, and regulate the dozens of Latter-day Saint communities that sprouted up throughout the intermountain west. Church leaders often stayed in Harrington's home. He regularly gave talks or prayers at regional church meetings, and on various occasions he accompanied church leaders on journeys. He was a faithful Latter-day Saint and practiced polygamy. He was also the most prominent and dominant person in American Fork during its first three decades. Importantly, his ties to Heber C. Kimball gave him direct access to the highest levels of church and government leadership in the Territory.

In early Latter-day Saint communities, ecclesiastical functions and the operations of local government were essentially merged. In addition to their religious duties, bishops were expected to settle such things as land and water disputes. Ecclesiastical sanctions rather than civil court penalties were widely employed to enforce conformity. A strong and sustained disagreement between a member and his bishop often led to excommunication of the member. In these small, tightly woven communities, excommunication not only meant loss of church privileges, but it also resulted in diminished social interactions and decreased business opportunities for individuals who were excommunicated.

On the one hand, this union of church and state was an inexpensive way to organize and operate fledgling communities. Costly judges, lawyers, and police officers were unnecessary to resolve disputes. Bishops and bishops' courts were early substitutes for these forms of local government. On the other hand, the mixing of church and state meant that secular disputes could turn into a trial for one's church membership.

Since bishops were the lightening rods and essentially the final judge in these disputes, it should not be surprising that those who lost their cases should feel badly used by the

judge, and perhaps by association, badly used by church authorities. These problems were exacerbated when there were personality conflicts between bishops and members who were involved in disputes brought to church authorities for resolution. One might not like a decision made by a judge, but where church and state are joined the loser must deal with the same judge-bishop each Sunday, if not more often. If you do not like or respect your bishop, it may be difficult to sustain enthusiasm about church activities, especially if he is in office for 32 years.

## The Dispute

Unfortunately, we have only Arza's side of his dispute with Bishop Harrington and other church authorities. Harrington says nothing about problems with Arza in his journal, aside from the oblique mention that John Mercer became his new counselor in late 1853. Harrington apparently was not a vindictive person, or at least he did not record negative feelings in his journal. From what Arza mentions in his journal, a handful of people in Lake City were dissatisfied with the way joint properties were being used and converted to private ownership. Several Lake City residents were also unhappy with the way Brigham Young divided the water coming out of American Fork Canyon and the Alpine area between Lehi and American Fork. Branch records list John Wheeler Sr., Hyrum Oaks, David Wood, Robert Plunkett, and Arza as being among those who were upset by land and water decisions.

When the dispute began is unclear, but it appears to have come to a head about the time Arza resigned as Harrington's counselor in late 1853. It later festered for more than a year before it culminated in a Bishop's court in early 1855. Arza mentions four complaints in his journal: land rights, water rights, timber rights, and failure to erect fences.

Arza's first complaint was over land and water use during 1853. He apparently felt that a certain part of the initial "Big Survey" was his property, while other members of the community argued the land was still communal. Arza noted that a number of his neighbors trespassed on his property and did considerable damage. He names the culprits as Bishop Harrington, his counselor James Guyman, Hyrum Mott, Stephen Mott, Israel Hyrum, Squire Mott, John Singleton, and a non-Mormon by the name of Howard.[59] Arza describes the damage as the following:

> ...the damage done was digging down the falls spoiling one of the best fisheries in these valleys and by this act turning the water off from the meadow ground at a loss of about 50 tons of hay per year (Effie W. Adams, journal 4, p. 33).

This disputed diversion of water occurred on Spring Creek on the west side of town. Those who diverted the water not only destroyed the fishery that Arza may have felt he owned, but they also reduced the amount of water he had to irrigate the contested pasture and hay fields. In addition, Arza complained that Harrington failed to fulfill his agreement to build part of a fence between Kimball's claim and the Big Survey where Arza claimed property. Apparently, Arza had partially fenced a parcel he claimed in the Big Survey and felt that others, particularly Harrington, had not fenced their part. On "his" parcel, Arza planted corn, potatoes, beets and other crops on about ten acres. Some of these crops were destroyed by animals that were owned by the ward and by Arza's neighbors. John Mercer argued with Arza that no one should have built fences in the area and planted crops because it was communal land. Arza was also angered when Harrington and others cut down some of the trees in a stand of timber that Arza felt he owned.

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[59] Several of the Motts were converted by Arza during his Canadian Mission in 1840.

## The Fort

Increasing Indian problems in 1853 resulted in General Daniel H. Wells advising communities to concentrate their settlements and to build fort walls around them. In a few small communities the forts were built out of rock or timber. In other cases the walls were made of combinations of rock, clay, or adobe.

Because of Indian threats that were intensified by the Walker War, most of the cabins around Lake City were dismantled and moved during the months of July and August 1853 to the area designated for the fort (Shelley, p. 23). This area encompassed about 37 acres on both sides of American Fork Creek. The northern boundary of the fort was about ten rods north of what is now First North, and the eastern boundary was a few rods east of what is now First East. The original plans called for adobe and clay walls that would be twelve feet high and six feet wide at their base. The walls were to be constructed by each family whose property was adjacent to the wall. A stockade for animals was placed in the center of the fort.

During this relocation, Arza moved his cabin and mill to a lot on the creek immediately north and outside of the proposed fort wall, between what is now First and Second North and between Center Street and First East.[60] On the one hand, he may have felt the Indian threat was not credible in Lake City and that rebuilding his home and mill were more important than building what he thought was a useless wall. On the other hand, his increasing dissatisfaction with local

[60] On July 16, 1853 Arza filed a claim with the government for damages amounting to $775. The claim was for costs incurred in moving his buildings in Lake City to a new location because of Indian threats. He listed $500 to move his grist mill, $100 for an adobe warehouse, $125 for a double log home, and $50 for crops and gardens (manuscript number 729 on file in the Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah).

leaders and his pugnacious nature most certainly resulted in his ignoring Bishop Harrington's orders. Branch records cite Arza for not building his share of the fort wall that was planned to surround the settlement, an argument that eventually landed in Brigham Young's lap for arbitration.[61] Only parts of the wall were ever completed to the height of six or eight feet, so many others in the community must have passively ignored the orders that Arza resisted more aggressively.

## Disfellowship and Rebaptism

The conflict between Harrington and Arza came to a head on May 1, 1854 at a Bishop's court held in Lake City. Because Bishop Harrington was a party to the dispute, a traveling Bishop, Alfred Cordon, presided over the court.[62] At the trial, ward teachers John Bourne, William Parsons, and John Currie reported on their recent visit with Arza. They quoted him as saying Bishop Harrington was dishonest and a liar. They also quoted Arza as saying the Bishop had extracted tithing unrighteously, that he had sought to destroy Arza for several years, and that Harrington had authorized others to cut down and steal Arza's timber.

In his defense, Harrington stated his tithing transactions were proper, and hinted that his employer, Heber C. Kimball, had rights to the timber and land claimed

[61] In a Seventies meeting in Lake City on February 11, 1854, Bishop Harrington reported on a conversation he had with Brigham Young about Arza. Harrington quotes Young as saying that "he (Arza Adams) was under obligation to build his portion (of the wall), independent of his fooling around his mill." Young apparently told Harrington to pass this pointed message to Arza.

[62] Cardon had recently returned from a mission to England and was later a long-term Bishop of the Willard Ward in Box Elder County.

by Arza.[63] Harrington then went on to state that it was not their intention to damage the grove of trees that Arza claimed, but only thin them out a bit in order to complete a fence along Spring Creek. The clerk who took notes for the court quoted Harrington as saying: "I can conscientiously say that I never used an influence against Bro. Adams, but that Bro. Adams and others are taking a course against the authorities of the Ward and the heads of the Church and the building of the Kingdom." He went on to say that "Brother Adams had a lack of respect for God and had said things against the priesthood."

John McNeil testified in support of the Bishop. He said Harrington was a good man and that Arza and his party were operating against the spirit of the Kingdom and were going after too much land. McNeil reported asking Arza during a Seventies meeting "if a Bishop had not a perfect control over every member of the Ward." He went on to quote Arza as agreeing, "if prophecy is true." Another participant in the court testified that the city council had passed a law authorizing the use of timber claimed by Arza to build a bridge across Spring Creek. He went on and bore his testimony about the good character of Bishop Harrington.

In his defense, Arza reiterated his complaints about Harrington and stated that the Bishop was behind the cutting of Arza's timber through a decision made by the city council. He went on to say that he had never criticized church leaders, except in the case where President Young had decided in

[63] Harrington and the town council apparently passed a law that authorized use of some of Arza's timber through a form of involuntary tithing.

Lehi's favor in a water dispute.[64] He then called on his friend Robert Plunkett who testified that the Bishop was behind council decisions that harmed Arza.[65]

After hearing all of the bickering, Bishop Cardon rendered a judgement. He started by saying he understood the spirit of the case: Arza and his supporters did not submit to Bishop Harrington's control, even though Harrington had a right to control them. Cardon went on to state that Arza and his allies should have been cut off from the church immediately after they started complaining about the decisions that Harrington and the city council made regarding land, water, timber, and tithing.[66] He went on to render a judgement that if Arza and his supporters did not back down immediately, it was the duty of Bishop Harrington to disfellowship them as soon as possible. He concluded by saying that Bishops had a right to say what a man's tithing ought to be and that members should not criticize their bishops: bishops were responsible to higher authority.

Bishop Harrington then took over the meeting and released the teachers from their assignment with Arza. Harrington told Arza and several of his supporters to appear the next Sunday at a public meeting of the ward. The Bishop urged the accused brethren to repent and cease the course they had been pursuing.

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[64] Brigham Young earlier had authorized Lehi to take one-third of the water flow from American Fork Canyon.

[65] Robert Plunkett was one of the converts Arza made on his 1840 Mission in Canada. Aside from Mary Plunkett, who married Arza's son Nathan, all of the Plunketts later moved to California.

[66] At least some of the tithing at the time was an assessment by the Bishop rather than a voluntary contribution.

At a church meeting held on May 7, 1854 at 2 p.m. in the new school house, Bishop Cordon briefly summarized the case against Arza and his colleagues. In doing so, Cordon stated that they were a curse against the authority of the ward. Bishop Harrington's counselor, John Mercer, then moved that Arza and two others be cut off from the branch until they made restitution.

Apparently, Arza was the only one of the accused who attended the meeting. The clerk who kept minutes recorded that "(Arza) confessed his faults in speaking against those placed over him and wished to be forgiven." Mercer then moved that: "Bro. Adams be forgiven and (be) received into full fellowship which was voted by all present."

Despite the contrition that Arza showed at this meeting, his problems with Bishop Harrington continued to fester. Seven months later on January 23, 1855 Arza and his friend Robert Plunkett were discussed in another bishop's court that was held in the school house. John Bourne testified that: "Arza Adams and Robert Plunket was against the authorities of the church and that they partake of the spirit of apostasy." A week earlier, the Seventies Quorum voted to withdraw fellowship from Arza and Robert. The Bishop assigned John Mercer and Thomas Higley the responsibility of drawing up the charges against Arza and Robert. These charges were presented in a ward meeting on January 28, 1855.

In submitting the charges, Bishop Harrington stated that Arza had refused to build his share of the fort wall and had refused to send one of his sons east on an assignment to help immigrants. He then gave the accused an opportunity to speak in their defense. Arza argued he had transgressed no law of the church, that he objected to paying the wall tax because it was illegal, and he felt the action of the Seventies in withdrawing fellowship from him was improper. Plunkett

was even more abrupt in stating that the proceedings were like the Spanish Inquisition. Following this, a vote was taken in which Arza and Robert were cut off from the Church.

Arza was only a non-member for about five weeks. A high-level council involving Joseph Young, Orrin Porter Rockwell, Joseph Gates, and Daniel Wells held a meeting with Arza on March 6, 1855 in which Arza repented and was soon rebaptized by Horace Eldridge. His sons Nathan and Joshua were also rebaptized and reconfirmed at the same time.

The hard feelings associated with Arza's conflict with the Bishop soon were papered over. On December 2, 1855 the ward voted to build a new meeting house that was to be 30 feet by 50 feet in size. Harrington was assigned to be the superintendent of the job with Arza as the foreman of wood work. This indicates they were willing to work on a building together.

Only two months later, Arza was called to help man Fort Supply in southwestern Wyoming. His church membership restored, he responded to the mission positively. The serious problems with grasshoppers in Lake City during the previous year may have prompted him to explore greener pastures, at least pastures with fewer grasshoppers.

## Fort Supply

On February 24, 1856 Arza and several dozen other men were called to missions in Green River to reinforce and augment the efforts of several other groups of settlers who had been assigned earlier to build Fort Supply (Deseret News, Vol. 5, No. 412). The site of the fort was about 15 miles south of Fort Bridger up Smith's Fork, near the present community of Robertson, Wyoming (Gowans and Campbell).

The purpose of the fort was to help in pacifying the Indians and to establish a permanent Latter-day Saint presence in southwestern Wyoming.

Three groups of missionaries were called earlier to settle the area. The first group of about three dozen men, led by John Nebeker, left Salt Lake Valley in early November 1853. The second group of about 50 men, led by Isaac Bullock, departed a week or so later. These men hurriedly erected a block house and several cabins to shelter them from the fierce winters. Trying to keep warm, studying the Shoshone language, and protecting their animals occupied the men during the winter. The severe conditions of their assignment led a number of these missionaries to abandon their assignment during the winter and spring. Temperatures that registered as low as ten degrees on May 31, 1854 convinced at least some of them that they could not successfully farm in this area. Although a few crops were planted, most of the men abandoned the post by mid-July and returned to their homes.

Despite the collapse of the first effort to establish Ft. Supply, a third group of missionaries was called in April 1855 to man the fort and to seek Indian converts. Isaac Bullock led the group and was accompanied by 18 other men. In addition to baptizing a handful of Indians, the men planted about 70 acres of wheat, corn and potatoes. Early frosts that fall, however, severely damaged most of their crops before they were mature. The fort was at an altitude of 7,200 feet, three thousand feet higher than Salt Lake Valley and too high for most farming other than wild hay and pasture.

Still a fourth group was called in 1856 to reinforce the fort with families and the development of a small community. Arza was a member of this group, and he may have been called because of his experience with both grist and saw milling. He notes in his journal that he hired George Wiseman to work for him at Ft. Supply for $10 per month.

Wiseman then took 13 head of Arza's stock and began the trip to Fort Supply on April 29. Arza left Lake City on May 1 with a team of horses and a wagon loaded with supplies. He tarried in Salt Lake for about a week before starting east in the company of his old missionary companion, William Snow, and other colonists. They arrived at Ft. Supply on May 17. Arza immediately began to build another cabin. It was 16 by 24 feet in size with a stable about the same size and a corral. He also planted a garden with potatoes, peas, and beets.

While at the fort, Arza helped survey an area to the north for a location that might be more appropriate for a permanent settlement. One of the criteria used in selecting the site for Supply City was that it be located where there was water to run a mill. Arza thought that water could be diverted from Smith's Fork or from Black's Fork to run a mill that could be used to exploit the abundant timber in the area. He was unduly optimistic about the possibilities of raising wheat and small fruits there, however. Being there during the summer, he did not fully appreciate how late in the spring and early in the fall frost occurred in the area.

Arza worked quickly and stayed in Fort Supply only about a month before he departed for Lake City on June 24. He left Wiseman in charge of his cabin and cattle. Arza returned to Lake City by horseback. He arrived home on June 28. He mentions in his journal that he had a pleasant return trip in the company of William Snow, who would a few years later be the commander of the militia force in central Utah that fought the Indians during the Black Hawk War in Utah (Peterson).

Comments in his journal indicate that Arza may have considered selling his mill and farm in Lake City and relocating to Supply City. On July 29, 1856 he met with Brigham Young, Bishop Edward Hunter, and Jedediah Grant. They counseled him not to sell his property in Lake City. They did, however, urge him to build a "flouring" mill in Supply City.


*Supply City monument near Robertson, Wyoming, 1983*

Armed with this encouragement, Arza left again, likely on horseback, for Ft. Supply. He passed through Ft. Bridger on August 15. He missed by a day the Indians breaking into Ft. Bridger and helping themselves to a liberal supply of whiskey. The primary reason for Arza's return to Ft. Supply was to harvest grass hay that Wiseman used later to feed Arza's animals during the winter. After completing the collections of hay, Arza hitched his horses to his wagon, loaded it with 600 pounds of goods owned by Gunish and Gilbert and on September 5 left for home. He was paid $18 for hauling the goods.

## The Reformation

During the years 1856-57 Arza and many others were caught up in what was called the Reformation. This was sparked by Jedediah M. Grant who canvassed the Latter-day Saint settlements urging church members to renew their religious commitments. Arza attended the semi-annual church conference in Salt Lake on October 6, 1856 where this theme was emphasized. In his journal, Arza notes that during the conference "the church (was) reproved sharply for their neglect of duty." During the reformation, many Latter-day Saints were rebaptized and rededicated themselves to building God's Kingdom. The Lake City Ward minutes also indicate that plural marriage was a common topic in sermons before and during this period.

In Lake City Arza attended a special conference that began on October 18 and lasted for two days. On October 20 a similar conference was held in nearby Pleasant Grove. John Young, Joseph Young, Lorenzo Young, Joseph Huny, D. D. Hunt, and Bishop J. V. Long were church officials who attended these reformation conferences. Much religious fervor was stimulated during these meetings. In perhaps the most spiritual entry in his journal, Arza recorded how the meetings touched him:

> . . . (this was) the greatest manifestation of the power of god that we had ever witnessed. Nearly everyone was baptised and the Holy Ghost was upon us to a great degree. The gift of tongues and the interpretation and the gift of prophecy and visions were common -- the best time we ever saw. Surely the lord is preparing us for great events (Effie W. Adams, journal 5, p. 7).

The morning of October 21, 1856 Arza, Sabina, Nathan, and Joshua Adams, along with others, were rebaptized near Arza's mill. Showing that bygones were bygones, John Mercer, who in early 1855 had called Arza a cunning fox and said that Arza was opposed to every church authority, confirmed Arza after baptism. For Arza, this was his fourth Latter-day Saint baptism.[67] At a fast and testimony meeting several weeks later Arza spoke of the duties of mothers and fathers in teaching their children about church principles and the Holy Ghost.

Three momentous events occurred in the Territory of Deseret during and shortly after the Reformation. The first was the handcart tragedy in the fall of 1856 in which several hundred emigrants perished on their ascent to South Pass. The second was the march of Johnston's Army on the Salt Lake Valley that was reported in Utah in July 1857. The third was the Mountain Meadow Massacre near what is now Enterprise, Utah that involved whites and Indians killing about 120 California-bound travelers in September 1857.

Arza and his family were most affected by the first two of these events. In late November 1856, Arza, along with many others, was asked to contribute food for the Willie and

[67] Records for American Fork Ward show that Arza was rebaptized a fifth time on October 9, 1884 by Thomas Shelley. His wife Marillah was also rebaptized on November 29, 1884.

Martin handcart companies. Arza was asked to donate 200 pounds of flour, and his sons Nathan and Joshua were each asked for another 50 pounds. Nathan and Sabina Ann's husband, Alexander Nicholl, were also conscripted to be part of the rescue party. None of the Adams family knew at the time that two of the women rescued in these efforts would later marry Arza: Catherine Cunningham and Elisabeth Gaskell.

On March 7, 1857 Arza was sealed to Catherine Cunningham and to Marillah Olney. Marillah had been living with her father Davis Olney (McOlney) in Mountainville (Alpine) where Arza often went to preach. Catherine and her family were survivors of the Willie Handcart Company that had arrived in Salt Lake Valley only four months earlier. They moved to American Fork shortly thereafter. Arza notes in his journal that Sabina participated in the sealing ceremonies and gave him these two additional plural wives. At the time, Arza was 53 years old, Sabina was 44, Marillah was 23, and Catherine was 18. One can only conjecture about the mixed feeling that Sabina must have experienced during and after that ceremony. On the one hand, she was helping her husband respond to church instructions. On the other hand, her child-bearing days were over and she was accepting into her family two plural wives who were younger than her oldest son and not much older than her oldest daughter.

Shortly after Arza added two more wives to his family, his dispute over land in Lake City was resolved through the conversion of additional communal land to private holdings. On March 8, 1857 Arza met with Presiding Bishop Edward Hunter in Salt Lake to discuss the land ownership problems in Lake City. Following that meeting, Hunter sent his two counselors, Jessie Little and Brother Hardy, to hold a ward meeting in Lake City on March 17. Arza recorded the following about this meeting:

> The Bishop L. E. Harrington and many others confessed that they had trespassed on the Big Claim and the difficulty was settled. Thus for several years I have been insulted in this place and the spirit by which I have been judged was sharply rebuked by Litle and Hardy and I think we shall have better times in this ward (Effie W. Adams, journal 5, p 12).

In his journal Arza notes that on April 17 "we made a temporal division of the Big Claim. A good spirit prevailed. My portion is No. 3 from the east side of one share and a fourth about 500 acres divided into 7 shares." These lots of land were likely the two 80-acre parcels that Arza officially registered in county land records in 1870.

Johnston's Army

Not knowing about the approach of Johnston's Army, Arza left for Ft. Supply in late April, 1857, with the intention of putting down additional roots there. He took four yoke of oxen, four cows, two horses, two wagons, a hired man, his son Nathan, and Nathan's wife and child. Arza's wife of only two months, Catherine, also went along and retraced a tear-stained trail she had trod west on only a few months earlier. They arrived in Fort Supply on May 9 and immediately began cutting timber and setting up a saw mill. To assure winter feed, they also fenced ten acres of grass land and planted crops.

On June 22 Arza and others began to survey the new town of Supply City that was to be located about six miles south of Fort Bridger. Arza and Nathan drew two of the lots in the new community, lots number 1 and 2 in Block 12, and took some preliminary steps to build one or more cabins there. After experiencing a hard freeze on June 25, Arza must have recognized that little besides timber and pasture

could be reliably harvested in that area. When Arza left for home on July 4 he may have thought that Nathan would live in Supply City, run the saw mill, and tend the Adams' cattle. He may have also planned for Catherine to settle there, which would give him a home in Supply City as well as homes in Lake City with Sabina and Marillah. On his way home, he reported seeing lots of Indians, a large party of whom had visited Supply City a few days earlier.

Arza was only in Lake City for about a month before leaving again for Supply City. He stopped briefly in Salt Lake City on his way and was sealed to his fifth and final wife, Elisabeth Gaskell on August 11. She was about 41 at the time and had arrived in the Salt Lake Valley the previous December with the survivors of the Willie and Martin handcart companies. Although little is known about Elisabeth, she may have been living in Lake City at the time Arza was sealed to her. She is never again mentioned in Arza's journal, and no information is available about what happened to her after 1859.

Soon after Arza arrived in Supply City, Brigham Young sent a message that the settlement was to be abandoned immediately. The threat of Johnston's Army caused Brigham Young to recall many of the Latter-day Saints in late 1857 that he had earlier sent to settle outlying areas. This included abandoning Ft. Supply and Ft. Bridger, which had been purchased earlier by the church. Both forts were soon burned to deny the army their use. Arza hints at the bitter disappointment he and Nathan felt as they gathered up their cattle and equipment and left for Salt Lake Valley:

> . . . I started with all my effects for Lake City on the 25th (August) leaving my house and all my labor to go to waste. This is the 4th time I have been driven from my home for my religion. Arrived home on the 23 of Sept. 1857 (Effie W. Adams, journal 5, p. 14).

The Latter-day Saints soon mobilized to meet the threat of Johnston's force. In late September, Arza's son-in-law, Alexander Nicoll joined one militia unit that immediately left to block and harass the army. Arza's son Joshua and his hired man, John Hyatt, also soon joined military units. Unfortunately, Arza did not make further entries in his journal after returning from Supply City. It would have been interesting to know about his involvement in the turmoil that gripped the Latter-day Saints until the federal government finally agreed to a truce and Johnston's army was ensconced on its Indian-like reservation in Cedar Valley in 1858. There is no record of the extent to which Arza prepared his family to abandon their home and flee south to still another location during the fateful spring of 1858. Since much of Salt Lake Valley was abandoned for a time, Barnabas and his families lived with Arza for a while before returning home after the threat was over.

Both Marillah and Catherine had sons in 1859, but both infants soon died. During the next ten years Marillah would have seven additional children and Catherine would have ten more during the next 16 years. Taking care of his rapidly growing second and third families took up an increasing part of Arza's time, while he continued to help members of his first family establish themselves in and around Lake City. The name of the community was changed to American Fork in 1860.

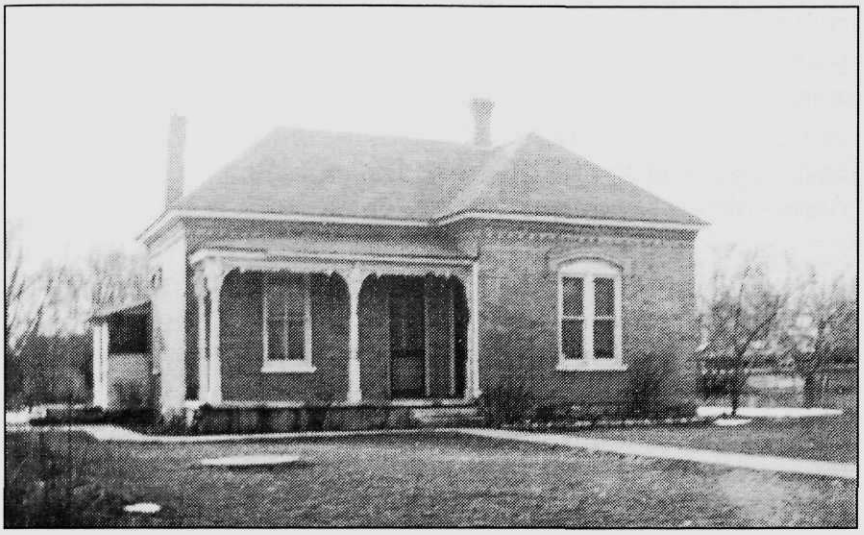
## The 1860s

During the 1860s Arza's life settled into the routine experienced by others who lived in fledgling Latter-day Saint communities. He probably enjoyed discarding the buckskins that many of the men first wore and replacing them with clothing made of wool and cotton. He perhaps employed a travelling shoemaker occasionally to make footwear for the adults and for children's use during the winter. Like others, most of the Adams' furniture was homemade, their

mattresses were filled with straw, and ropes served as bed springs. Rag rugs, handmade quilts, and knitted or crocheted items were their household luxuries.

As did their neighbors, Arza's families depended on a few fruit trees, ample gardens, a variety of farm animals, and several milk cows to provide most of their groceries. Their social lives were comprised of going to church meetings, attending occasional dances, and visiting with friends and relatives. Later, light theater and an occasional lecture or debate in the new joint meeting and school house comprised their cultural outings. Infrequent trips to Salt Lake City to attend April or October church conferences were their main vacations.

In addition to operating his mill, Arza also farmed and pastured several parcels of land southwest of American Fork. Similar to most of his neighbors, he had cattle and a few sheep. He even experimented with goats for a time. He collected grass hay and planted a few other crops such as wheat, corn, and potatoes. As did others in the territory, he lost most of his potato crop during 1861. On several occasions, Arza improved the home where he and Catherine lived after his faithful companion Sabina died in 1861 at the age of only 49. Arza built Marillah a separate home about a block away.



*Arza and Catherine's home in American Fork, 1948*

*Arza's rock barn in American Fork, 1947*

In about 1862, Arza sold the mill near his home to Samuel Mulliner who promised to pay in several installments. Mulliner, however, had difficulty meeting his commitments and Arza took him to a bishop's court on March 10, 1863. The skimpy records of that court suggest Mulliner defaulted

on at least two installments of $2,000 and $1,000. The two were again in bishop's court on March 26, 1865 to argue about a dam below Mulliner's mill. Arza may not have received full payment from Mulliner and may have taken back some or all of the property in dispute. Several years later, Arza built a new mill further north of town.

Arza may have purchased some bargains in Fairfield when most government property was auctioned after the army left to join in the Civil War. The departure of the army also lessened for a few years the intrusions of federal authorities into Latter-day Saint law. The army's departure, nonetheless, also lessened the market for Arza's flour and other farm products. The irritation caused by the presence of the army was replaced in 1865 by the fear caused by Black Hawk and his band of warriors who terrorized many parts of the Territory from Spanish Fork south for several years (Peterson).

During the 1860s Arza filled some civic offices, including justice of the peace. Harrington mentions in his journal that Arza was elected an alderman in the city elections held February 13, 1865 (Harrington, p.41). Three years later in October 1869, the community founded a cooperative store with Bishop Harrington as president and five directors, one of whom was Arza.

At the autumn church conference in 1868 a large number of men, including Arza, his son Nathan, his son-in-law Alexander Nicoll, and Barnabas were called to settle in southern Utah (Journal History, October 8, 1868). Probably because of his age, and the fact he had earlier responded to four other mission calls, Arza chose not to go south with Nathan and Alexander. Their travels took them first to Washington near St. George and then on to Kanab for Nathan, and to the upper reaches of the Little Colorado River in Arizona for Sabina Ann and her husband Alexander.

Arza also may have been less inclined to move south because he had recently opened his new mill and business may have been flourishing. The discovery of valuable mineral deposits at the head of the North Fork of American Fork Canyon stimulated the demand for flour and other Utah Valley products. The sudden death of his brother Barnabas on June 1, 1868 may have been an additional factor that discouraged Arza from answering this mission call.[68]

## The 1870s and 1880s

On several occasions in American Fork during the early 1870s, the United Order was discussed. Perhaps because of the hard feelings engendered by earlier experiences with communal ownership, there was little enthusiasm for the notion. Certainly, given Arza's independent nature he would not have led the charge for the United Order.

In 1872 the rail line from Salt Lake City was completed to American Fork and then extended on to Provo the next year. Each day the train made a round trip from Salt Lake to Provo with a stop in American Fork. About the same time, a narrow-gage rail line was built up American Fork Canyon as far as Tibble Flat to haul ore from the thriving mines in the area. Arza and members of his family probably enjoyed riding the train to Salt Lake and the comforts it provided over riding a wagon without springs.

On his occasional trips to Salt Lake City, Arza may have stopped by to see what progress had been made on the granite temple that was not completed until many years later. He also likely attended some of the lectures given by Joseph Smith's sons, Joseph Jr. and David, as they canvassed the territory looking for converts to the Reorganized Church that

[68] Barnabas died suddenly at the age of 57 leaving three wives, one of whom gave birth to his final child the day after his funeral.

was headed by Joseph Jr. Being well settled and comfortable with polygamy, Arza was not tempted to accept the Smiths' message and return to the mid-west.

Although still hale and hearty, Arza semi-retired in about 1873 after he sold several of his parcels of land north of First North and between First East and Center Street to the American Fork Cooperative for $4,500. The sale of his third mill to Robinson reinforced his retirement.

Arza started a family relatively late in life. His first child Nathan was born when Arza was 27 years old. Forty-four years later at the age of 72, Arza had his final child, Daniel, in 1876. A year later, Brigham Young passed away, and Arza may have attended the funeral in Salt Lake.

In his mid-70s Arza was still active in civic affairs. On May 28, 1879 he was appointed by the city council to a committee to settle a water dispute between American Fork and Pleasant Grove. Arza's son Josuha was the watermaster at the time. Joshua reported to the council that Pleasant Grove was drawing more water from American Fork Canyon than he thought was authorized by earlier agreements.

During the early 1880s federal marshals intensified efforts to stamp out polygamy in the Territory. Many men with multiple wives spent six months to two years in the State Penitentiary for this religious practice. Arza's son Joshua was one of those jailed for polygamy. There is no record of the marshals bothering Arza, however. They may have thought him too old -- being in his mid-70s -- to be a cohab. Having sired a son only a few years earlier, Arza may have taken some umbrage at this slight.

## Arza's Death

When Arza died, he did not leave a will. His remaining land, however, was informally divided about equally between Catherine and Marillah. Eventually, the Utah Sugar Company bought both parcels of land. Arza's youngest son Daniel was still trying to help clear title to some of the land purchased from Arza's heirs more than 60 years after his father passed away.

Anecdotal remembrances of two of Arza's children in 1959 shed light on him. Mary Adams Andersen, fifth child of Arza and Catherine Cunningham Adams, and Daniel Adams, eleventh child of Arza and Catherine, reminisced about their father's physical appearance, disposition, home life, church, and business associations.[69]

"Pa was quite a fancy man. He always had good clothes and we always had good clothes such as they was in those days," Dan recalled. "Pa was a good sized man, (a) raw boned fellow. He always wore a beard. I guess it was black when he was young. He was about 6 foot. He was a well-proportioned man."

Mary said Arza was a "wonderful father: kind, and loving." They both said that he was a "good provider. We always had plenty to eat." Arza was also a generous man to people outside the family. "Whenever they would ask for supplies for emigrants, he always gave: two or three loads sometimes."

Dan recalled that "Pa didn't go to church much in his last years. I guess he just lost interest; got too old." Mary recalled that her mother and Marillah continued to attend church: "Aunt Lucy's mother [Marillah] used to call for mother [Catherine], and they'd go to church together." Mary also

[69] These talks were taped by Dan's son Kenneth.

said that her father had not accepted his last mission call because "he was old and in poor health, and had his mill and all his property to look after."

Dan also recalled his father being a director in the American Fork Co-op store:

> When they brought in Bishop Bromley from Springville to be bishop in American Fork, the bishop was president of the co-op store, and it was the custom that every boy that went on a mission had a job in the co-op store. Bishop Bromley told Pa he didn't think it fit for a man to be a director in the store who didn't pay tithing. Pa was an old man. He'd quit paying tithing. He wasn't making anything. I don't remember this incident, but I remember hearing the old fellers talking about it. The following Sunday Bishop Bromley went on the stand and Pa went up also. I guess Pa was one of the speakers. When there was an opportunity to speak, Pa stood up and turned to Bishop Bromley, with his back to the audience, and he said, among other things, "I've paid more tithing than you'll ever pay if you pay every cent you'll earn the rest of your life." So that settled the affair.

An obituary written by E. W. Robinson provides the following information about Arza's life:

> After living on this earth over 85 years the last 52 of which have been spent in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Brother Arza Adams on the 15th day of April 1889 in full faith, went the way of all the world.

Brother Adams was widely known in consequence of his noble and heroic deeds in defense of his religion in times of persecution. He has ever been found between his hearth and enemies. He carried a letter from John Taylor at Carthage to Nauvoo containing information concerning the Martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. During the persecutions in Missouri he was many times fired upon by the mobs.

Many of (his) years have been spent in the service of the church, and by all who knew him, he was pronounced on as one of the most useful members and true pioneers of Utah. Together with his brother Barney and five others he carried the first surveyors chain over the land along American Fork Creek. Of that party of seven, Washburn Chipman is the only one now living.

Father Adams built the first grist mill known to have been run by the waters of American Fork.

For the last year or so his health has been very poor, but it was common to see him at the age of 83 assuming the physical responsibilities of a man in the prime of life.

Arza Adams was born Jan. 22, 1804 and baptized into the church by J. E. Page on Dec. 25, 1836.

He leaves a large family and many grandchildren. Just previous to his death he said he was ready to die and would go perfectly satisfied with his religious belief, Mormonism had in no way disappointed him.

The funeral services were held in the American Fork meeting house on Tuesday, April 16, 1889 (Deseret News, April 19, 1889). Arza was buried in the American Fork Cemetery near his second wife, Editha.

# Chapter 8

## Arza's Wives

"Women are the sacrifice area of Mormonism.
They were expected to sacrifice and they did.
--Wallace Stegner

As was common among Latter-day Saints who were leaders or men of means, Arza entered into the practice of plural marriage. Three of his marriages (to Sabina, Catherine, and Marillah) resulted in offspring. Two other marriages (to Editha Morgan Anderson and Elisabeth Gaskell) were probably never consummated. Contrary to some polygamous families where wives lived in the same house, only Marillah and Catherine lived in the same house for awhile until Arza provided them separate homes.

None of Arza's wives kept a journal or left copies of their letters so little is known about their day-to-day lives or inner feelings. Aside from what she did in company with Arza, little is known, unfortunately, about the personality of his first wife Sabina. Recorded remembrances of Marillah and Catherine's children supply a bit more information about these two women. Even less first-hand information is available on Editha Anderson and Elisabeth Gaskell.

All of Arza's wives endured substantial hardships before and after arriving in Utah. Two of them, Catherine and Elisabeth, survived the terrible handcart disasters of 1856. Editha and Elisabeth endured moving to Utah without family support and then suffered the isolation of being spinsters-in-fact. Marillah, Sabina, and Editha endured the persecution in Nauvoo and the hardships of Winter Quarters. Sabina, most of all, labored faithfully in Arza's historical shadows.

## Sabina Clark[70]

At the age of 26 Arza married his first wife, Sabina Clark, on March 23, 1831 in Augusta, Ontario, Canada. She was 18 years old at time and was the daughter of Nathan Clark and Nancy McEathron. Sabina was born on September 1 or 12, 1812, in Augusta Township, Grenville County, Ontario, Canada.[71] Augusta was one of the earliest townships settled in the area. It was established in 1787 and largely settled by loyalists (Mika). Sabina and her family perhaps thought Arza was a good match since he was a mature man whose family was well established and who had a fine reputation.

The newlyweds settled in Adamsville during the first years of their marriage so Arza could continue to work in his father's enterprises. Arza's knack with an axe, saw, and hammer probably provided them a comfortable home that was built out of sawed lumber or stone and which was well stocked with furniture. It was a pleasant place for Sabina to live since Arza was home most of the time, she had a helpful mother-in-law nearby, and she was close enough to parents and other relatives to occasionally visit them.

Over the next six years Sabina bore four children: Nathan (February 2, 1832), Joshua (September 26, 1833), George (February 16, 1835), and Sabina Ann (February 17, 1837). Unlike many women at the time, Sabina lost no children in their infancy, a testimony to her mothering skills and good luck.

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[70] This section draws from a life sketch prepared by Beulah Twede for the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.

[71] Arza gives Sabina's birthdate as September 12, 1812 in his journal but the date September 1, 1812 is listed in the Nauvoo Endowment Records and also in a life history of Sabina's first son, Nathan.

Like anyone with four young children, Sabina was undoubtedly occupied with their care and keeping house. Even with this, her life in Adamsville must have been secure and satisfying. Little did she know how this would change after she and Arza heard John E. Page preach in early December 1836 about a new religion. His discourses on a gold bible, revelations from God, a restoration of the Gospel, miracles, modern-day prophets, and gatherings of saints probably shocked Sabina at first hearing. Whatever they first thought, Sabina and Arza were obviously open to new religious insights since they accepted Page's baptismal challenge quickly, only a couple of weeks after they first heard him speak. She was baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on December 26, 1836, a day after Arza's baptism. Sabina left no record of her feelings about being baptized in a hole in the ice when the temperature was below zero and she was seven months pregnant.

Not long after being baptized, Arza left to do missionary work off and on during 1837 in areas not too far from their home. This gave Sabina her first taste of being a missionary widow.

In the spring of 1838, she and Arza began preparing to join other Latter-day Saints who were gathering in Missouri. This involved disposing of property, deciding what would fit into a wagon, and preparing to leave friends and relatives behind, all with four young children in tow. Sabina must have had numerous anxious moments as she prepared to live out of a covered wagon. The family apparently left Adamsville in late May or early June.

One of the reasons that women may enjoy camping less than men do is that they are expected to continue doing many of the things they regularly do: take care of children, prepare meals, do laundry, and minister to their husbands. In camping they must do this without many of the things that make homes convenient. Sabina left no record of how she

dealt with raising and tearing down a tent every day, preparing meals, doing laundry, finding drinking water, gathering fire wood, keeping four little kids from getting under the wagon wheels, or handling sickness. Since she and Arza traveled alone much of the way to Missouri, one wonders how Sabina dealt with loneliness, homesickness, and lack of female companionship. The dust, heat, mud, bad roads, flies, and mosquitoes along the way may have caused her to occasionally wish they had remained in Canada.

She may have looked forward to arriving in Kirtland, Ohio where they might rest awhile, buy supplies, and enjoy the companionship of other church members. She must have had mixed feelings when they pulled into town in early July and admired the attractive community that surrounded the sparkling new temple, yet also saw a large proportion of the Latter-day Saints preparing to abandon the town. She would have been only normal to wonder what they had gotten themselves into by accepting a new religion. She undoubtedly had some interesting conversations around the campfires as they mingled with other Latter-day Saints who were also on the move to Missouri.

After living out of a wagon for nearly four months, Sabina undoubtedly looked forward to arriving in De Witt, Missouri and having a roof over her head, even though it might be a small log cabin with a dirt floor. The vigilantes who surrounded De Witt and who soon drove the Latter-day Saints from the village must have terrified her. One can only wonder how she and her family all survived the next six months in the vicinity of Far West in temporary shelter during a severe winter and on extremely short rations. She was pregnant at the time, an added hardship. Their misery continued in early March as they were driven out of Far West and forced to haul their few belongings east to the banks of the Mississippi and across the river to Quincy, Illinois. Soon after arriving, she gave birth to her fifth child, Sidney Moses, on May 1, 1839.

She may have thought the worst was over as she settled into a small home on a rented parcel of land. In a few weeks, however, Arza was called on a mission to Canada. He left in early July 1839 and did not return until almost a year later. Sabina left no written record of the pain she endured in saying goodbye to Arza when he left. It must have been a lonely and stressful time for her. She had five young children in her care, a farm to tend, and little money. Help from her brother-in-law, Barnabas, may have lightened her load somewhat, but her responsibilities must have seemed, nonetheless, overwhelming. The several letters that she and Arza exchanged during his mission, unfortunately, did not survive the many moves that soon followed.

Some of Sabina's burdens were lifted when Arza returned from his mission in early June 1840 with additional resources. They both may have felt their lives were returning to normal until still another disaster struck in early August when cholera suddenly felled two of their sons, Sidney Moses and George.

During the next several years Sabina and family moved to Nauvoo, where they built and lived in several homes. Her sixth child, Elizabeth Nancy, was born there on April 30, 1842. Just as their lives were becoming settled, Arza left on a six-month mission in early 1843. He notes in his journal writing several letters to Sabina while away. He mentions only receiving one letter from her. She probably was too busy keeping the wolf from the door to write more.

Even after Arza returned from his third mission, Sabina's burden increased as she nursed him through the chills and fever of malaria for extended periods over the next several years. Since many of the Nauvoo residents had bouts with malaria, Sabina must have done her household duties many times while ill. Two additional moves in 1844 added to Sabina's woes. In early 1844 the family settled on a rented farm just north of Carthage, but after the harvest

they moved back to Nauvoo for safety reasons. There, she gave birth to Theothan Penderman, her seventh child, on March 4, 1845.

Sabina was not a prominent woman in Nauvoo. By temperament, or because of various moves and family obligations, the limelight did not fall on her. She participated in church activities as fully as time permitted. She also supported Arza's work on the temple. She received her temple endowment on December 31, 1845 and was sealed on February 3, 1846, just prior to the start of the exodus from Nauvoo.

The spring of 1846 again saw Sabina and family preparing to uproot still one more time, stuffing their few belongings into two wagons, and fleeing the vigilantes that were driving the remaining Latter-day Saints from Nauvoo. Their travels across Iowa may have been less traumatic than some previous moves because of several Latter-day Saint settlements along the trail west. Still, Sabina had five children to tend and was expecting still another. It must have been disheartening for her to live out of a tent and wagon while Arza constructed still another small crude cabin on Little Pigeon Creek in an area surrounded by Pottawattamie Indians. There, Sabina gave birth to her eighth child, Joseph Smith Adams, on December 14, 1846.

During the next several years, Sabina was often left alone to deal with children, Indians, and the farm while Arza was herding cattle or working for the army. If Sabina had left a journal, it would perhaps read much like other journals written by women who lived in the Winter Quarters and Kanesville area during 1848-1849 (Smart, Ward). Their lives were filled with fixing meals, doing laundry, sewing, taking care of gardens, tending the sick, wishing their husbands were home, and suffering hot or cold weather. They also tolerated flies and mosquitoes, cleaned their cabins, dealt with bedbugs and lice, suffered smoky fireplaces and leaky

roofs, longed for female companionship, attended church meetings, and shooed stray animals from their gardens. The occasional Indians who passed by asking for handouts or threatening depredations added to the uncertainties of women.

The seemingly endless series of moves in Sabina's life continued in 1849 when she again placed their humble belongings in several wagons and moved to the Great Basin. She must have thought occasionally that moving and being pregnant were synonymous. Her ninth and last child, Orpha Elzetta, was born on October 23, 1849, only a month or so after they arrived in the valley. Only a year later, Sabina again loaded her family's belongings into wagons and helped build still another home on American Fork Creek in Utah Valley, the place where she spent the remainder of her life.

Sabina's experiences in American Fork mirrored those of hundreds of other pioneer women who helped to settle dozens of frontier communities under Brigham Young's direction. She certainly enjoyed having a permanent home and a productive garden, seeing her children settled and happy, and having a husband who was a good provider. Sabina's heartbreaks were not over, however, for in early 1852 six-year old Theothan died and in late 1853 eleven-year old Elizabeth Nancy died, leaving her with only five surviving children.

While she approached middle age, Sabina derived satisfaction from the accomplishments of her children. In February 1856 two of her sons, Nathan and Joshua, and her son in law Alexander Nicholl, joined the militia to pacify the Indians. Later, in November 1856, Nathan and Alexander Nicholl helped to deliver supplies and transport to the hundreds of Latter-day Saints who were trapped in central Wyoming by early winter storms. Later, Nathan and Sabina Ann, with their families, would respond faithfully to difficult mission assignments in southern Utah.

One can only speculate about how polygamy affected Sabina. She may have interpreted Arza's first plural marriage to Editha Anderson in late 1853 as a sacramental ordinance that extended the eternal benefits of marriage to someone without drawing on Arza's emotional support. It must have been a much more stressful emotional experience for her when Arza married two younger women, Marillah and Catherine, in 1857. Although Sabina gave her formal consent, these marriages likely hurt her. After shouldering tremendous burdens during their movements west, often without Arza' presence, Sabina was now forced to share Arza's life with other wives. Whatever her feelings, she did not taint her children's views toward polygamy or the church. Of Arza's three families, Sabina's children were more active in church than were those of Marillah and Catherine.

Based on the habits of her daughters, Sabina Ann and Orpha, Sabina was an excellent homemaker. Her daughters were known for keeping a tidy house, providing good food, and being loving mothers. These skills were undoubtedly learned from their mother.

Shortly after her 49th birthday on October 24, 1861, Sabina passed from this life and was buried in the Old Pioneer Cemetery in American Fork. Even in death she was denied a place of rest beside her husband. In her short 49 years she lived the entire Pioneer experience that exemplified toughness, long suffering, resilience, and courage.

## Editha Morgan Anderson

Arza married his second wife, Editha Morgan Anderson, on December 7, 1853 in Lake City (Brooks). They were sealed at the same time, and were resealed four years later in the Old Endowment House in Salt Lake City on May 2, 1856.

Relatively little is known about Editha's early life. Her patriarchal blessing in Nauvoo shows she was born in Franklin County, Massachusetts on March 15, 1803, probably in the village of Montague (Vol. 9, p. 322).[72] Her father's name was Ezra Anderson, and her mother's maiden name was Tryphena Morgan.[73] They were married in Montague on October 12, 1793 (Essex Institute, p. 52). Editha had at least two sisters who died as adults in Montague: an older sister Charlotte, who died in 1819, and Elvira who was a year older than Editha and who died in 1834 (Essex Institute, p. 125). Tryphena became a young widow when Ezra died on March 14, 1813 in a local epidemic. Ezra's gravestone gives him the title of Lieutenant, a position he may have earned in the War of 1812.

Edith and Tryphena joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in June 1836, probably in Montague.[74] A February 1842 census of Nauvoo shows they were living in the Second Ward (p. 63). This was the same Ward where Arza and Sabina lived at the time. The Andersons do not appear among the lists of those who lived previously in Missouri or Quincy, Illinois, so they may have moved directly from Montague to Nauvoo in about 1841. The story of a women 70-plus years old and her spinster daughter in her late thirties accepting a new religion and moving without family support to a fledgling community on the banks of the Mississippi would make interesting reading.

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[72] Other Endowment House records in Salt Lake list her birth year as 1805.

[73] Editha's mother had two patriarchal blessings in Nauvoo. They show Tryphena was born in Northfield Massachusetts on September 7, 1769 or 1770. Her father was Reuben Morgan, and her mother was also named Tryphena (Patriarchal Blessings in Nauvoo Vol. 41, page 210; Vol. 9, page 321).

[74] See Index Card to Endowment House No. 1687, Book B, page 73.

Nauvoo property records show Editha probably did not own land in the city, so she and her mother must have rented housing. Later in American Fork, Editha earned a living by teaching. The existing records, however, do not list her as a teacher in Nauvoo. In 1843 she was one of several hundred signers of a petition sent to the U.S. Congress for redress of injuries and damage done to Latter-day Saints in Missouri. Since this list was signed by virtually everyone living in Nauvoo, many of whom had not endured the Missouri trauma, it does not prove the Andersons lived in Missouri. A brief entry shows that Editha contributed goods or services to building the Nauvoo Temple. Other than these scraps of information, little else is know about the Andersons' stay in Nauvoo.

Likewise, there is no information on when the Andersons left Nauvoo for Winter Quarters. The death of Editha's mother's was not recorded in Nauvoo, and she is not listed as migrating to Utah, suggesting she died on the way to, or in, Winter Quarters. Editha and her mother may have been among the poor who were left behind by the earlier surges of migration out of Nauvoo in 1846. Editha and her mother may have been the beneficiaries of Brigham Young's efforts to assure that all people who wished to leave Nauvoo and join the migration west could do so through church efforts. If so, then they perhaps left Nauvoo in the late summer of 1846.

Editha took an orphan under her wing in Nauvoo by the name of Warren L. Ball in 1845. He was about ten at the time. Warren's father and mother died in Nauvoo.[75] Warren continued to live with Editha until he became independent in American Fork. One of the documents filed in the probate of

[75] Jonah R. Ball died in Nauvoo of consumption on April 5, 1845. His wife Sophronia died earlier on October 25, 1844, apparently during child birth. Two of their children, Teresa and an infant, died in Nauvoo on January 8, 1844 and October 25, 1844 respectively.

her estate mentions that Warren's father left property in Editha's care for Warren worth $200. After she became elderly, Warren supported her and paid her burial expenses.

Editha spent about two years in the Winter Quarters area sharing the travails experienced by the thousands of other refugees who squatted there. Her stay left no tracks on recorded history or in well-known diaries about that period. One has to wonder how she sustained herself and Warren and who provided her shelter and comforted her when she was ill. Without the support and encouragement provided by the church and its members, it is unlikely that single individuals such as Editha could have made the trek west. Without the church it is almost certain that Editha would not have chosen to make that trek.

A Deseret News article listed Editha's arrival in Salt Lake Valley on September 21, 1848 in Brigham Young's Division. She was in Captain Alvin Nichols' group. Warren accompanied her on the trip. Two years later, she was listed in the 1850 Census of Utah as living in Salt Lake City with another person in the household, probably Warren. The Bishops' Report of 1852 lists Editha living in the Mill Creek Ward. Sometime between then and late 1853 she moved to American Fork where she married Arza. In his journal, Hosea Stout records the ceremony in unkind words:

> . . . while at American Creek I had the satisfaction to witness the triumph of Mormonism over the traditions of our fathers for George A. (Smith) sealed Arza Adams to an old maid aged 48 as withered and forbidding as 4 doz. years of celibacy might naturally be supposed to indicate. She joyfully took his hand and consented to be part of himself as number two. Thus entering into a respectable state of matrimony under auspicious circumstances

> when nothing except the privileges of Mormonism would have permitted" (Brooks, Vol. 2, p. 498).

Stout's flippant and unflattering comments about Editha are narrow minded and unfair. They tell us nothing about her character, compassion, intelligence, and internal fortitude. No common single woman would have accepted a new religion and then migrated from Massachusetts, to Nauvoo, then to Winter Quarters, and finally to Utah. No common woman without family support would have cared for and taken along on this adventure an aged mother and then taken an orphan under her care. No common woman would have scratched out an existence along the way in a society that depended so heavily on families and husbands. Without strong belief in her religion, no common woman would have accepted a marriage that promised little in the way of material support, public recognition, or emotional reinforcement. Whatever else she was, Editha, like many other mature, single Latter-day Saint women, had internal strength and a strong belief in their religion sufficient to tolerate an environment that was hostile to mature single women, as exemplified by Stout's comments.

As was the case with earlier phases of her life, Editha left only a few historical marks in American Fork. During the religious revival of 1856-57 she was touched by the fervor. She is mentioned in American Fork Ward records as being rebaptized on April 20, 1856 by William Parsons. Interestingly, her name is here listed as Editha M. Adams, one of the few places where her married name is recorded.

Shelley mentions that Editha was one of the first teachers in American Fork:

> Editha Anderson for a number of years maintained a school in a small log room connected with her home, which was attended by many of the boys and girls of pioneer days (p. 75).

Like other private pioneer teachers, Editha had little in the way of teaching embellishments. Her students used rough primitive furniture, scribbled on slates for writing exercises, and did most of their schooling during the winter. Many of her older students skipped school during the fall and spring to do farm chores. Editha probably stressed the three Rs in her teaching, directed spelling matches, and had few books to support her efforts. She also applied the rod to unruly students, including whacks across the hands to focus their attention. Until 1868, American Fork had no publicly supported school. Before then, parents paid tuition to private teachers such as Editha, with payment often made in kind or services.

Washburn Chipman, although an adult at the time, recorded he attended an early school in Lake City, possibly taught by Editha.

> The commonest of subjects were taught, those having utilitarian value being stressed most. The teacher was paid in produce of the farms, which was most sought after at that time. Many were the trials of a teacher in those days. Fathers and sons in many cases attended the same classes, being graded from the lowest to the highest. Many were the times when the rod was the power of the teacher. Books were few and far between. The work to be done, the method to be followed and the course of study was solely the product of the teacher.
>
> The furniture of the school room was of home make. Long benches with no backs were the accepted seats, and lucky were the pupils when the day came that backs were placed on them and a table or long board placed so that it could be used for writing on.

> The one picturesque part of the room was the large fireplace with the teacher's battered desk or table near by containing all the available books which could be used for texts in the school. Some of those books were the Bible, Book of Mormon, and old fashioned readers, arithmetics, and spellers. The work for the most part consisted of memorizing due to the scarcity of books (Washburn Chipman, p.2).

Editha is not listed as a public school teacher, so she may have retired about the time the tax-supported school started in American Fork in 1868.

Property records show her home was in block 24, lot 6 near what is now First North and First West in American Fork. It was about three-quarters of an acre in size. Arza's son, Joshua, also owned several lots in the same block. Editha and Warren built a small log cabin on the lot in 1854 that later was the place where Editha taught school. Later they built a small, but somewhat larger adobe home on the same lot.

Nothing indicates that Editha was more than Arza's spiritual wife. She was usual referred to as Editha Anderson until she died, and nothing indicates that Arza ever assumed responsibility for her support.

The 1870 Federal Census shows Editha was still living in American Fork. She lived there another seven years before her death on April 1, 1877. Bishop Harrington recorded in his journal that he and several others spoke at her well-attended funeral service (p. 52). He also recorded her last name as Anderson, rather than Adams. Further suggesting that Arza assumed little or no responsibility for

Editha, Harrington also notes he went to Provo to file documents about Editha's estate a few month later (Harrington, p. 53).[76]

Charlotte Ball purchased Editha's house and lot when it was sold at a private auction in 1881 to settle her estate.[77] The sale price was $400, and amount that about covered the debts that Editha had with Warren Ball and Bishop Harrington.

In recognition of her spiritual marriage, she was buried in an unmarked grave in the American Fork Cemetery in the plot where Arza and two of his other wives were later buried. In the burial records, her name is listed as Editha Adams. Her marriage and sealing records, her rebaptismal information, her burial record, and her unmarked place of burial are the only historical tracks of her marriage to Arza. She left no posterity to mark her grave or to reflect on her history.

## Marillah Olney[78]

Marillah Olney, daughter of Davis Olney (McOlney) and Lucy Downey was born on June 18, 1833 in Burgess, Canada. Her father was born in Vermont but spent most of his childhood in New York State. In about 1820 he moved to Canada where on April 3, 1826 he married Lucy S. Downey. The McOlneys owned a farm in Bastard Township near where Arza's grandparents earlier settled, but the McOlneys

[76] See Probate Record Number 17, Fourth District Court, Utah County, Utah for additional details on the settling of her estate.

[77] Charlotte may have been Warren's wife. When she sold in 1921 the property that Editha had owned, Charlotte listed her name as Charlotte Shelley Ball Bench.

[78] This section draws on a life sketch prepared by Lucy Ambrose for the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.

soon sought greener pastures and moved to Burgess, Canada. In 1835 Davis and his wife joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. They left Canada with their seven children about 1841 and moved to Nauvoo, Illinois where they lived and prospered for a time.

During their last two years in Nauvoo, however, tragedy struck the family. Lucy and four of her children died in 1845-46. The widower Davis later took their three remaining children, Marillah, Lucy, and Moroni to Council Bluff, Iowa where they lived for about six years. He and his children immigrated to Utah in 1852 in the 14th Company led by Captain John B. Walker. They made their home first in Mill Creek in Salt Lake Valley and later moved to Alpine in Utah County. Davis died July 3, 1867 and was buried in Salt Lake City Cemetery.

At age 23 Marillah married Arza on March 7, 1857 in the old Endowment House in Salt Lake City. She bore him five boys and two girls. Three boys and one girl grew to adulthood. They are John Olney, Alvah Barnabas, Alvin Francis, and Lucy Ann. She had a difficult time raising infants because she was unable to nurse them, which grieved her deeply. In those days they did not have the means of keeping milk, nor did they have prepared baby foods.

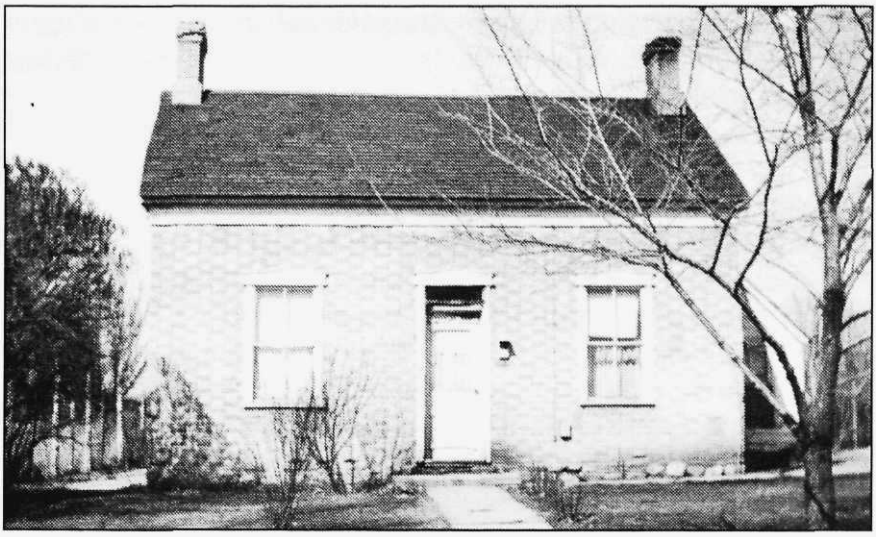
On several occasions Marillah related to her children a thrilling story about her uncle Nedebiah. When quite young he was going to New York State with his father and others when they were captured by Indians. Most of them were tortured and killed. Nedebiah and another young companion were taken to the Ohio River and then adopted by the wife of an Indian chief. Nedebiah lived with the Indians for several years, then escaped and made his way through the wilderness back home.

Her children remember her as a private, quiet, and unassuming woman who loved her home. She attended church meetings regularly, had faith in the great hereafter,

and was a kind and loving mother. Her children liked to come to her home as she made tasty hominy, vinegar pie, salt rising bread, and doughnuts.

Marillah did not enjoy the best of health, and in her declining years it was necessary for someone to be with her constantly. Her sons and their wives would have been willing to accept this responsibility, but her daughter Lucy thought it was her place to care for her mother. Marillah spent her last eight years with Lucy's family. They were pleased to care for her.

*Marilla Olney Adams*



*Marilla's home in American Fork, about 1948*

She died January 6, 1899 in American Fork, Utah and was buried in American Fork Cemetery in the family plot next to her husband.

Catherine Cunningham

Catherine Cunningham was born in the village of Borland, near Dysart, Fifeshire, Scotland on August 17, 1838. She was the daughter of James Cunningham and Elizabeth Nicholson and was one of five children: Robert, George, Elizabeth (Betsy), Margaret, and Catherine. The family was one of the earliest in the area to accept the Latter-day Saints' message. They were baptized in 1842. Later, about half of the families in the village became Latter-day Saints, some 20 to 30 families (Shipp, p. 1).

The Cunningham home in Scotland was a welcome resting spot for missionaries who labored there. Catherine's mother many times borrowed money to help them in their labors (Shipp, p. 1). Some of the Cunningham family worked in the coal pits, and Catherine worked in the mills and factories from the age of twelve until she left Scotland with her family.

In the spring of 1856, the family sold their meager belongings. They then took a train to Glasgow and then a steamer to Liverpool (Shipp, p. 2). There they boarded the ship Thornton on May 4 with 700 other passengers, most of whom were Latter-day Saints.[79] Five hundred of these people expected to reach the Salt Lake Valley that season. Their ocean voyage lasted six weeks before they landed in New York City. They traveled by steam boat to Albany, New York, and then to Iowa City, Iowa on the Chicago Rock Island and Davenport Railway. They arrived in Iowa City in late June 1856 (Shipp, p. 3). On the day of their arrival they endured a terrific storm without shelter.

The unexpectedly large number of converts who arrived late in Iowa City overwhelmed the preparations made for their transport west. Too few handcarts were finished, too few supplies were available, and too few wagons and animals were available to support properly the crush of emigrants. Local church authorities were between a rock and a hard place. The mass of emigrants could neither go back to their home, nor stay where they were. Given the fact that they had arrived so late and in such large numbers, local leaders had no choice but to harness the skills of the emigrants in helping to build additional handcarts and then send them on their way. Community efforts could cope temporarily with the basic needs of these converts in Salt Lake Valley, an option not available in skimpy church facilities in either Iowa or Nebraska.

Catherine's family remained in Iowa City for five or six weeks and then joined the first of two handcart companies that trudged west to Florence, Nebraska where they took on more supplies. Most of the 500 members in the James G. Willie Company had been passengers on the Thornton, while most of the 570 members in the following handcart company

[79] For a day-by-day description of the travels of the group that Catherine was in see Lynne Slater Turner, pp. 1-78.

led by Edward Martin had been passengers on the Horizon. Both Willie and Martin were returning missionaries from the United Kingdom.

The Willie Company included about 300 converts from England, about 100 from Denmark, and about 100 from Scotland (Hafen and Hafen, p. 93). While at Florence the question arose about whether they should continue their journey or stay there for the winter. A majority was in favor of continuing their journey. They hoped to reach the valley before the chilling blasts of winter overtook them. This was a fatal wish. That year winter came early and was most severe.

In the Willie Company, the Cunninghams left Florence on August 19. The fore part of the journey passed pleasantly enough, except for cart break downs and the anxiety caused by Indian threats. Notwithstanding all the difficulties and dangers in their path, they pressed on with all possible speed. Catherine's brother recorded later in life that they saw many buffalo along their route. In the early part of their journey, they made favorable daily progress, but as they continued, and the roads became rougher and cart repairs were increasingly necessary, their progress slowed. Short rations took their toll on both the people and the few animals that accompanied the handcarts.

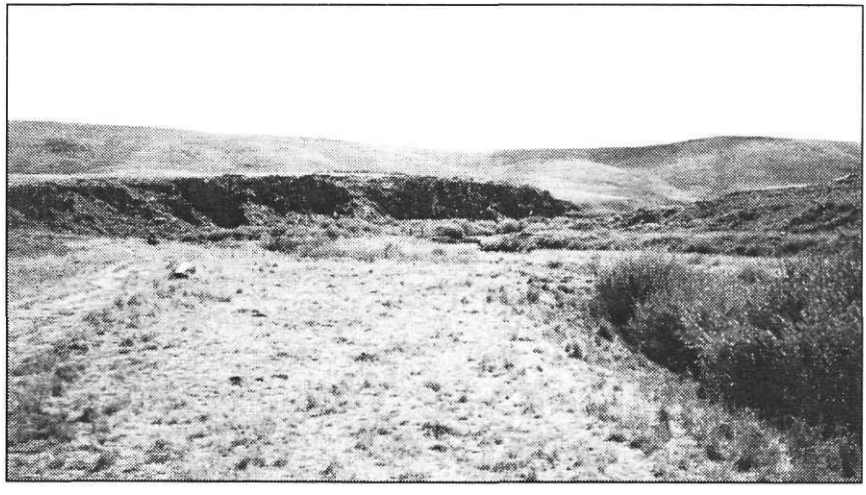
While on the Platte River in the middle of September, well short of their destination, the company awoke to the first frost of the season. On September 30, they arrived at Fort Laramie, five hundred miles east of their destination and the last civilized place before they reached the Salt Lake Valley. At this point they were instructed to lighten their loads. Since they were only allowed to carry 17 pounds each from the start, this meant leaving behind clothing and bedding that might have made the difference between life and death later. Emma Batchelor, a future wife of John D. Lee, was a member of the Willie Company who refused to dispose of a

cherished pot to lighten the load and was left behind at Ft. Laramie. She worked there for a week or so before she joined the trailing Martin Company.

From this point on they encountered the hardest part of their travel, and winter soon swirled around them. Their rations grew short and daily allowances were reduced to an amount insufficient to sustain the energy needed to overcome the weather and the terrain. Improperly clad and with only flimsy tents for shelter, they were exposed to the piercing winds and bitter cold of several early winter storms. A few weeks earlier Franklin D. Richards and other missionaries returning to Utah told Captain Willie they would have a relief team meet them at South Pass and then assist them to make their way into the valley. Fatigue, hunger, and a sever winter storm, however, forced the Willie Company to stop a few miles short of South Pass.

On October 18 the group staggered to a halt and sought shelter from the blizzard howling across the barren Wyoming plain in a slightly sheltered cove on Rock Creek, a small tributary of the Sweetwater River. The cove is located about eight miles east of what is now Atlantic City and a dozen miles from the crest of South Pass. This spot on the Oregon Trail was later called St. Mary's Station. Catherine and her brother George certainly spent time soon after arriving in the cove setting up the family tent and collecting skimpy sage brush and willows to fuel fires that radiated little heat and demanded steady refueling. Bogged down in 18 inches of snow and essentially out of food, the group had no choice but to wait for relief. The terrible storm dropped wind chills to far below zero (Christy). Catherine's brother George recorded later that, as a last resort, they were forced to boil and eat hides at this camp (Shipp, p. 5). Within a couple of days, 13 individuals died from exhaustion, hunger, and the cold. They were buried in a common grave dug in the frozen and rocky terrain. Recognizing that many additional members of his group would soon die without help, Captain

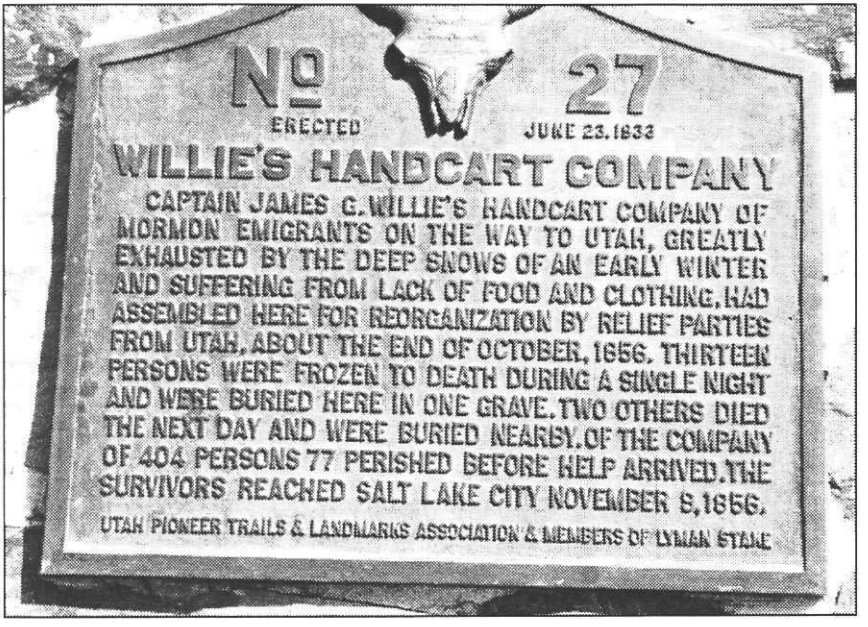
Willie and a companion took a mule and left to seek help (Cornwall and Arrington, pp. 12-16). The rescue team from the valley, lead by George D. Grant, had waited out the storms on the west side of South Pass at Willow Creek, about one day's normal journey from where the Willie company collapsed. Nearly frozen, Willie stumbled into Grant's camp two days later, a day after a team from Grant's camp independently located Willie's group. The rescuers reported finding what looked like an Eskimo village with people walking around looking like scarecrows. Others were unable to stir from their tents. Some of the members of the camp had frozen hands and feet and most had been without food for several days. The fires built by the rescuers and the food that was soon provided by the relief trains partially revived many members of the company.



*Willie Company camp site on Rock Creek near Atlantic City, Wyoming, 1998*

With the assistance of their valiant rescuers, the partially recovered Willie group resumed its journey west on October 25. Some of the weakest members were loaded on wagons, but space limitations forced many of them to continue pulling handcarts. It was not until they reached Ft. Bridger that all of the members of the company left their

handcarts behind and rode in wagons.[80] Leaving more than 60 of their companions hastily buried in frigid shallow graves along the way, most of the beleaguered company pulled into the Salt Lake Valley on November 9. The trailing Martin Handcart company fared even worse. They lost about 150 of their members to the grim reaper.




*Willie Handcart Company Plaque near Atlantic City, Wyoming, 1998*

All of the Cunningham family survived the ordeal that felled many others. They accomplished this even though the father, James, was sick much of the trip and required support from other family members to complete the journey.

On reaching Salt Lake City, they were kindly cared for. After a few days rest, Catherine with her parents, brother and sisters were sent to Lake City to live. Only four months

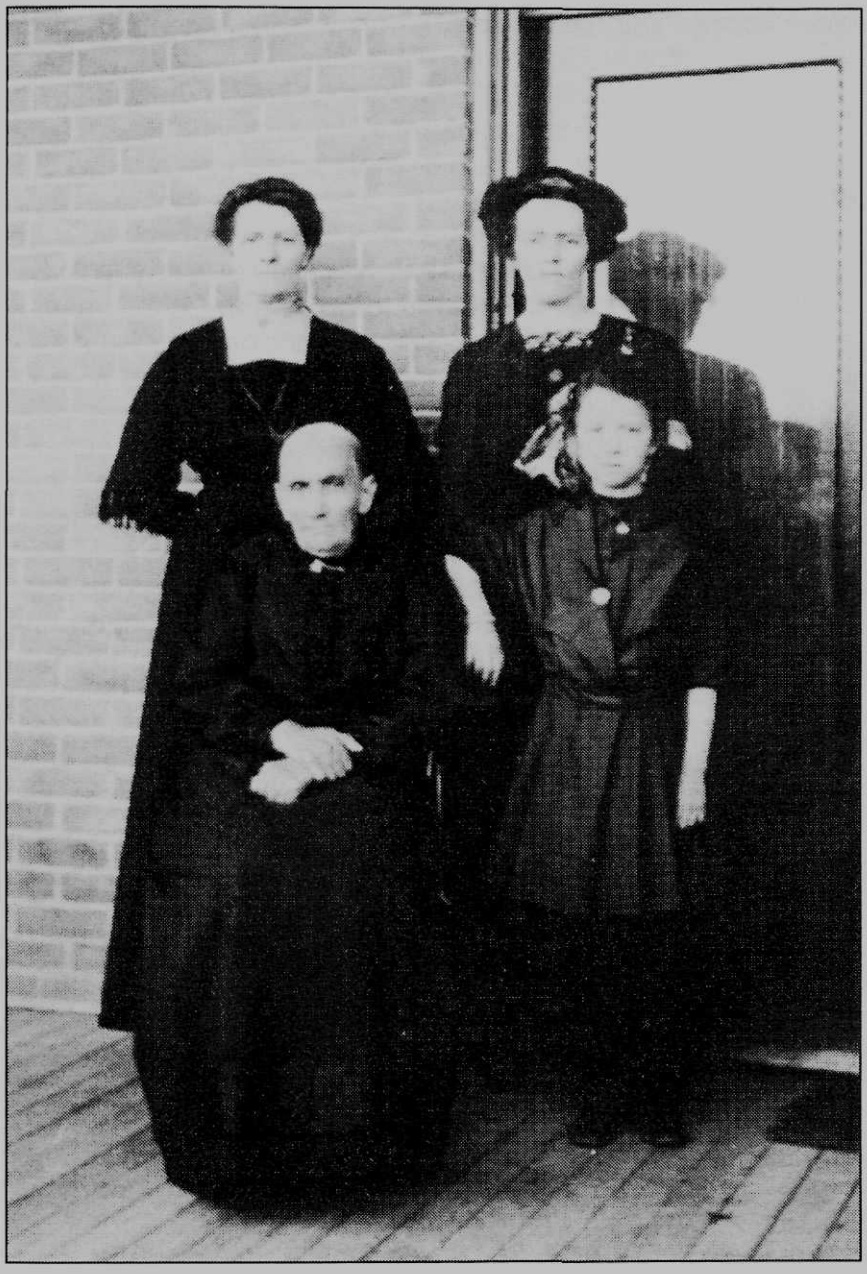
[80] Arza's oldest son Nathan was one of the members of the handcart rescue mission. The hardships endured by the rescuers matched that of the rescued (Jones; Cornwall and Arrington).

later, on March 7, 1857, when she was nineteen years old, Catherine married Arza and became his fourth wife. On the same day, Marillah Olney also married Arza in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City.

In late April, Catherine accompanied Arza to Fort Supply when he returned there to fulfill a mission assignment. One wonders about Catherine's thoughts as they retraced some of the trail of tears she and her family had so recently traversed. Arza does not state whether Catherine remained at the fort when he returned to Lake City in July, but she probably did. Nathan and his wife and child also probably stayed in Ft. Supply. The Fort Supply mission was later abandoned because of the approach of Johnston's army. Arza returned for his goods and family and hauled them back to Lake City in September.

Catherine had eleven children. Three of them, a girl and two boys, died while infants. Two other daughters died when they were young mothers. Catherine and her unmarried daughter, Phoebe, raised the children left by these deaths.

Arza and Catherine had been married 32 years when he died in 1889. She was a widow for 23 more years. Arza built her a substantial home on First East In American Fork. Marillah lived a block away in her own well-built home. The two women were loving and congenial companions.



*Catherine Cunningham Adams, Betsy Adams Robinson, Ella Robinson Clay and Fae Clay Woodeaux*

Catherine's son Dan left the following description of his mother:

> She was a large woman and always quite stern and silent. In her older years it seemed to me that she had a very strong will. She was an expert knitter, and was able to knit a pair of socks easily in a day. She used to knit things to sell, and also do all the knitting of socks and mittens for the family during the winter. She was employed as a knitter in Scotland before she left there as a young woman.

Catherine was a large woman with a Scotsman's taciturn disposition. Her children remembered her as a private person who often sat silently in her rocking chair doing handwork. She was charitable; she gave to relatives and friends from the abundant store of flour and meal from the Adams gristmill and from the pork and beef that they raised. Nothing records that she spoke about the Willie Handcart company disaster with her children, a nightmare that she dealt with privately. Catherine died December 10, 1912 and was buried in the American Fork City Cemetery next to her husband.

Elisabeth Gaskell

On August 10, 1857, Arza left American Fork for Fort Supply, a journey that took him seven days. En route he stopped in Salt Lake City and was sealed in the Endowment House to his fifth and last wife Elisabeth Gaskell on August 11. Arza mentions the sealing in a single sentence in his journal. Her name is never mentioned again in his journal or in family tradition.[81] Elisabeth's sealing to Arza appears to have been more a "spiritual adoption" than a marriage, as was his earlier marriage to Editha Anderson.

[81] No Gaskell is listed in early censuses of Utah, and Elisabeth's name is not listed in any of the early burial records for Salt Lake or American Fork.

Although little is known about Elisabeth, her life story, if written, would be interesting.[82] She came to Utah as a member of the John A. Hunt Wagon company that arrived in Salt Lake Valley in early December 1856.[83] Only her age, 40, and where she came from, England, are recorded in the company's journal.[84] Most of her companions were converts from the United Kingdom or Scandinavia, and Elisabeth was the only Gaskell in the group. In two places in the journal, Elisabeth's name is listed immediately after Ruth Billington's which suggests they traveled together.[85] Ruth, 64 at the time, was apparently a single woman of means since she purchased a wagon and two span of oxen for the trip. Elisabeth listed no assets.[86] Elisabeth may have worked for Ruth, or was at least was her traveling companion. The fact that no other member of the company had the surname of Billington and Ruth's age suggest she required assistance in making the arduous trip from England to the Rocky Mountains.

Mature, single women who were converts and early emigrants to Utah have received short shrift in Latter-day Saint history. It was extraordinary for two single women to

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[82] In Endowment House sealing records Elisabeth listed her date of birth as September 30, 1827 (film number 183395). In a patriarchal blessing record dated February 16, 1859 that was given in Lake City by John Young, Elisabeth lists her birthplace as Pennybridge, Lancaster, England (Patriarchal Blessings, Vol. 27, page 436). Her parents are listed as William and Ann Gaskell in the blessing record. Since Elizabeth listed her age as 40 in the record of her emigrating camp in 1856, her birth year may have been about 1817, rather than 1827.

[83] For a day-to-day description of the travel of the group that Elisabeth was in see Lynne Slater Turner, pp. 167-209.

[84] Dan Jones's Emigrating Company, Journal, M.S. 1066 in the Historical Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[85] The list of names for the company appears to be grouped by family members or people traveling together.

[86] In the 1860 Census of Utah, Ruth gave her age as 65.

accept a new religion in England, and then to depart for the Rocky Mountains, without the help of relatives, at a time in their lives when security, not adventure, might have been of prime concern. Their journey was far more arduous and dangerous than they possibly could have anticipated. Death took a heavy toll of immigrants to Salt Lake Valley in 1856, primarily because so many of them started the journey late in the year. Although the ill-fated handcart companies of 1856 suffered far more deaths, several wagon companies that were bringing up the rear, including the one in which Elisabeth traveled, were also caught in the early winter on the windswept and barren highlands of central Wyoming.

Elisabeth and Ruth came to the U.S. on the sailing ship Thornton that left Liverpool on May 4, 1856 and later docked in New York. It was one of eight ships that year that carried a total of almost 4,400 Latter-day Saints converts from England to the U.S. (Hafen and Hafen, p. 46). There were 764 passengers on the Thornton with about two-thirds of them drawing on the Perpetual Emigration Fund for their expenses. Because of the large number of converts who wished to migrate to the U.S. and the difficulties in contracting shipping to accommodate them, the Thornton and several other ships carrying converts were a couple of months behind schedule in arriving in the U.S. The unexpectedly large number of immigrants who flooded in the mid-1856 into Iowa City -- the end of the railroad west at the time -- severely strained the arrangements that had been made for their transport to the Great Basin. In 1856 church leaders asked the converts drawing on the Perpetual Emigration Fund to economize on their transportation costs by pulling handcarts. The last two handcart groups were supported by two trailing wagon trains, Hodgett's and Hunt's, comprised of some converts who could afford wagons and draft animals and also by teamsters who were transporting merchandise to Salt Lake from the east (Turner).

Elisabeth and Ruth were in the John A. Hunt Wagon Company of about 50 wagons that was organized in Iowa City, Iowa on July 13, 1856, but did not leave for several weeks. Converts were expected to pull a handcart or accompany wagon trains from there to the Salt Lake Valley, a distance of about 1,200 miles. With freeways and modern cars, this trip can be made comfortably in two days, stopping every few hundred miles for food and gasoline. In the 1850s it was a formidable journey that, under the best of circumstances and with seasoned teamsters took three months or more to complete. Finding forage along the way for draft animals was often a major problem for travelers, particularly late in the year.

Elisabeth's companions had no frontier experience, and their late arrival in Iowa caused them to start their journey several months after the prime time for trekking west. In contrast to much of the romanticism attached to the American West in England, Elisabeth and her fellow converts endured a difficult journey. They did not leave Iowa City until about August 1, 1856 and proceeded slowly for several weeks. During this time they undoubtedly learned what gee and haw meant. They took nearly a month to travel the relatively short distance to Florence, Nebraska, where they took on provisions and received encouragement from church leaders. Another reason for their slow movements was to delay their departure until the two handcart companies they were to accompany caught up with them.

A record of the group's travel, along with life stories by members of the wagon train, describes the increasing hardships that Elisabeth and her companions endured as they moved up the Platte River across Nebraska and into Wyoming.[87] This included brief stops for births, reports of

[87] See Mary Goble Pay, "Autobiography," Our Pioneer Heritage, compiled by Kate B. Carter, Vol. 13 (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1970). She was a member of the Hunt Company that merged with the Hodgett Company in central Wyoming.

Indian attacks on other travelers, various difficult river crossings, wagon wheels falling off, wagons turning over, and the first death on September 21. Buffalo meat provided only occasional relief from the tedium of dry foods. Most of their calories came from a ration of a pound a day of flour. A very cold morning on September 18 found them still in western Nebraska -- not half way -- and signaled the arrival of an early winter, although the group probably missed the full import of this signal at the time.

Every few days someone died, animals wandered off and oxen expired. They occasionally passed eastbound groups. Elisabeth and others must have been crestfallen when members of one group heading east told them that the people in Utah were poverty stricken. On several other occasions returning church missionaries and leaders passed them on their way to Salt Lake and urged them to hurry. Elisabeth's wagon train finally rolled into Ft. Laramie in Eastern Wyoming on October 9 with the most difficult part of the journey still ahead. A couple of days after leaving the fort several of the families in the group returned to Ft. Laramie because of wagon problems, shortages of provisions, and exhaustion. River crossings, the increasing slope, and wear-and-tear on wagons, beasts of burden, and travelers forced other families to merge their loads.

By the time Elisabeth's wagon train reached Devil's Gate and Independence Rock hundreds of freezing and starving Latter-day Saints were huddled there. Here the two wagon trains were combined and much of the merchandise in the wagons was stored in several cabins. The weakest of the handcart people were loaded into the wagons, and the remainder of the Martin Handcart company sought shelter in a nearby cove (Christy, Jones). The plight of those pulling handcarts caused the camp recorder to note that "it was enough to draw forth one's sympathy."

Still far from crossing over South Pass, Elisabeth's companions awoke on October 22 to find the ground covered with eight inches of snow and many of their cattle lost in the storm. The increasingly cryptic entries in the camp's journal paralleled the declining energy of the group as they struggled up the Sweetwater River to bleak South Pass. Shortly before going over the pass Elisabeth's wagon train passed the site where the Willie Handcart Company had earlier endure their most desperate days.

The camp journalist recorded little about the last month of their travel. He was undoubtedly too busy trying to keep from freezing to record at night their travails. Elisabeth's group finally staggered into Ft. Bridger on December 4 and the last members of the combined wagon trains did not arrive in Salt Lake Valley until December 15, many of them with frozen toes or fingers that later required amputation. Survivors of the Willie and Martin Handcart companies, along with those in the combined wagon train, were squeezed into cramped quarters with earlier settlers until friends or relatives helped them find other shelter.

Little is known about Elisabeth's life after she married Arza. She was still living in Lake City in early 1859 when she received a patriarchal blessing there. Five years later on March 19, 1864 Endowment House Records indicate she was sealed to a widower by the name of John Hyatt (also spelled Hyott and Hiott).[88] This may have been the John Hyatt who worked for Arza during 1857 and who joined the militia to face Johnson's army. These records also show that Elisabeth was born in 1826 in Penny Bridge, Lancashire, England to William and Hannah Gaskell and that she was baptized August 7, 1854. John was from the same area in England. Curiously, there is no record that Elisabeth's sealing to Arza was ever officially cancelled.

[88] Film number 183-395, Book D, page 309. Thanks to Beulah Tweede for calling our attention to this information.

## Other Adams Women

By custom, the histories of families in the United States follow paternal lines. We inherit the family names of our fathers and the family names of our maternal ancestors are often ignored. It is important to remember, however, that the progeny of George Adams, including Arza Adams, have a gene pool that is mostly comprised of contributions from the women their paternal ancestors married. In addition to the genes added by Arza's wives who bore children, namely the Clarks, Cunninghams, and Olneys, other women contributed to the genetic makeup, personalities, temperaments, and foibles of the Adams family. Families that contributed to Arza's gene pool include the Taylors, the Phelps, the Shepards, the Saxtons, the Matsons, and the Chipmans. If you are one of Arza's relatives you may owe your colorblindness, diabetes, modest height, timidity, sparkling personality, political acumen, tactfulness, or baldness to one or more of the long-suffering women who cast their lot with one of our Adams ancestors.

# Chapter 9

## Arza's Children

Thy name shall be had in honorable
remembrance through thy posterity, which shall
be exceeding numerous to all generations.
(Arza's Patriarchal Blessing, Nauvoo, May 16, 1845)

The births of Arza's 27 natural children spanned 44 years from 1832 when Nathan was born in Canada, to 1876 when his last child Daniel was born in American Fork.[89] Sabina bore nine children over 17 years, Marillah had seven of Arza's children over about 12 years, and Catherine had eleven offspring over 17 years.[90] Seventeen of his children grew to adulthood. Several of Arza's oldest children had substantial families of their own and had moved to southern Utah before Arza's last child was born. By the time of their father's death Arza's children were scattered from east central Arizona to Idaho.

### 1. Nathan William Adams[91] (Sabina)

Nathan was Arza and Sabina's first child. He was born in Adamsville near Perth, Ontario Canada on February 2, 1832. Some of his earliest memories were of the family's

[89] Marillah's oldest son Davis was born and died before she married Arza. Davis was informally adopted by Arza.

[90] One set of Adams family records lists Quincy Adams and Martin Ambrose Adams as sons of Marillah and Arza. No dates of birth or death are given for these two names, so the reliability of this information could not be confirmed.

[91] Largely based on a life sketch prepared by Challis Adams Snarr for the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.

move from Adamsville to Missouri that he recorded in a brief life history written in 1896. He recalled hearing the Prophet Joseph Smith speak many times, hauling drinking water to his father and others as they worked on the Nauvoo Temple, and helping his father move to a farm north of Carthage and then back to Nauvoo.

As did his father, Nathan began doing a man's work early in life. When his family left Nauvoo for Council Bluffs in the summer of 1846, Nathan drove one of their two ox-drawn wagons. Three years later, he drove a large family wagon drawn by six yoke of oxen to the Salt Lake Valley in a trip that took nearly four months.

After helping his family settle in American Fork, Nathan struck out on his own at the age of 20 in the spring of 1852 and drove four yoke of oxen to Carson Valley, Nevada for William Cleaver. While there, he passed over the Sierra Nevada and worked in the gold fields for a couple of years in El Dorado County, California before returning to American Fork in 1854 with a wedding ring, gold necklace, and earrings that he had made out of his mining. The next year, on February 15, 1855, he married Mary Malinda Plunkett. Arza had earlier converted Mary's family on his second Canadian mission in 1840. Their marriage produced eleven children, with five boys and three girls reaching adulthood.[92] Nathan was a faithful church member, but he did not enter polygamy, perhaps because his wife objected to the practice.

Nathan and others were called on a church assignment to settle southern Utah. He first moved his family to Washington in 1869, then in early 1871 to the new town of

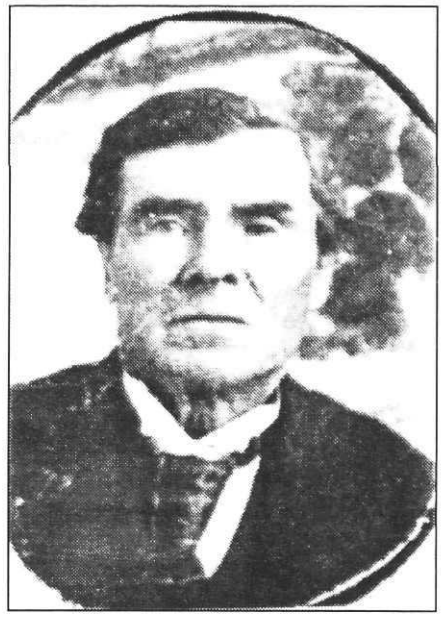
[92] The children's names were Mary Ellen (October 3, 1856), Nathan (July 1, 1858), George James (June 7, 1860), John Quincy (December 10, 1861), Arza (April 1, 1863), Sarah Sabina (February 11, 1866), Isaac (February 4, 1868), Mignonette (January 21, 1870), Alexander (January 21, 1871), William (August 3, 1877), and Orpha Elizabeth (April 17, 1879).

Kanab, where he lived the remainder of his life. During the first few years after settling in Kanab, his family faced numerous Indian threats. Part of the time the Adams family lived in a fort, and part of the time they lived in a small cabin originally built by Alfred D. Young. Nathan later built a house on the lot where the cabin was located at 93 North and 200 West in Kanab, a house that was still in good condition in the late 1990s. Nathan later went on to be a prominent citizen in Kanab. For many years he was a member of the 84th Quorum of Seventies. In 1894 he was made a High Priest, and in 1904 he was ordained the Stake Patriarch. His children remember him as a dedicated religious man with a sense of humor. He was never heard to speak ill against anyone except on one occasion: when a neighbor stole irrigation water from him.

As did most other settlers in Kanab, Nathan made a living by reclaiming the desert for farming and cattle raising. He assisted in driving a large herd of cattle from northern Utah to Kanab and was later a dairyman. He helped build five dams in the Kanab area, he owned Cave Lake ten miles from Kanab, and also Three Lakes six miles from town. Selling or trading cheese and butter with the emigrants passing through Kanab on their way to Colorado was an important source of income for the family. On at least one occasion his wife and son took a wagon load of butter and cheese that they sold and exchanged for other goods in various towns from Washington all the way to Nephi.[93]

Nathan also worked for the government while helping Major John Wesley Powell and his party explore and map the Grand Canyon in the early 1870s (Powell). Nathan's son, Alexander, remembers hearing his father talk about driving mules and cooking for Powell's party. The Major is reported to have said of Nathan that he was the most honest and straight dealer he had ever met. Powell is also quoted as saying Nathan's wife had a heart of gold.

[93] From a life history of Mary Malinda Plunkett Adams written by Tessa Riggs Findlay.



*Nathan William Adams*

Nathan is also remembered for his musical talent. He played in the first band organized in Kanab and also enjoyed dancing. Late in life, he was often asked to give blessings to sick people. His children remember laughing with him about one of his blessings of a sick neighbor. In his blessing he said "bless Aunt Mary that lives up in the rock house." He phrased it this way because there were several Marys in town.

When he was elderly he won ribbons for perfect Sunday School attendance for about six years. He proudly stood with his grand children, who were also winners, to receive these awards.

Nathan left behind a large posterity when he died on December 26, 1916. He was buried in the Kanab City Cemetery.

## 2. Joshua Adams (Sabina)[94]

Joshua was born September 26, 1833 in Adamsville, near Perth Ontario, Canada. He accompanied his family on their move west and was baptized in Nauvoo at the age of ten. He lived most of his adult life in American Fork, where he died February 22, 1906 at the age of 72.

During his youth in American Fork, he helped his father build mills and do farm work. His children remembered him describing how he and his older brother Nate would go to the local dances barefoot and thoroughly enjoy themselves. In later life Joshua was known as an excellent dancer.

Joshua married three women. His first wife was Lydia Meachem Thornton. Joshua was 21 and Lydia was 24 at the time of their marriage, November 1, 1854. Lydia was born in Ontario, Canada, October 19, 1830. She had been widowed and left with two children when her husband died on the plains. Joshua and Lydia had eleven children, five of whom died in childhood. She passed away May 1, 1901, five years before Joshua.

Joshua married a second wife December 22, 1859 when he was 26. He had been married to his first wife five years and had three children before this second marriage. His second wife was Mary Bathgate Logan. Born March 22, 1844 in Scotland, she was only 15 when she married Joshua. They had ten children, two of whom died in childhood. She died at age 57 on August 25, 1901, the same year that his first wife Lydia passed away.

[94] From a life history of Joshua written by his daughter Cynthia Adams Okey for the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.

Joshua married his third wife on July 26, 1862. Her name was Mary Huggard. She was born November 22, 1843 in England, so she was about 18 when they married. She came to Utah with her mother and five brothers and sisters when she was ten. Her father came later. She and Joshua had 12 children, one of whom died in infancy. She died at age 79 on November 20, 1922, in American Fork, Utah.

In all, Joshua had 33 children, 25 of whom lived to maturity. His children remember him as a religious person who held many church positions including being in the presidency of the ward teaching committee. He also enjoyed reading the Book of Mormon.

During most of his life Joshua was a farmer. He also had a substantial number of cattle and helped clear land north of Pleasant Grove of sage brush that he used for firewood. Joshua also served in the militia during the Black Hawk War. In addition, he was the water master for American Fork for many years. As was the case for many other men who had multiple wives, he was incarcerated March 24, 1888 to August 24, 1888 in the Territory Prison for practicing polygamy. In addition, he was fined $100 (Larson, p. 209). This was at the time when the U.S. government was trying to stamp out polygamy by jailing prominent men in the territory.

It was estimated that Joshua had 260 descendants by 1934.

3. George Adams (Sabina)

George was born in Adamsville near Perth, Ontario Canada on February 16, 1835. He died suddenly on August 9, 1840 at the tender age of six near Quincy, Illinois from cholera.

## 4. Sabina Ann Adams[95] (Sabina)

Sabina Ann was born February 17, 1837 in Adamsville, near Perth, Ontario, Canada. She was the fourth child of Arza and Sabina and was only a little over a year old when the family left Canada for Missouri.

Sabina Ann passed on to her children some of her memories from crossing the plains to Utah in 1849. She said that a good milk cow was taken along because her mother, Sabina, insisted on fresh milk for the children. When the morning milking was done, the milk was put in a small wooden keg and strapped to the wagon. When they camped at night the keg was opened and a nice pat of butter floated on the top. This was eaten on fresh corn bread or baked potatoes. The buttermilk was the evening drink. The night milk was used for breakfast.

Only eleven at the time, Sabina Ann walked most of the trail west and drove a cow and calf. Her father had given her the calf and she loved it dearly. When the journey was about half over, the Adams family camped by a river. During the night the calf disappeared. The family tarried almost a day looking for the lost pet. Her parents finally convinced Sabina that the Indians had taken the calf or it would have come when the cow called. She left heartbroken and grieved for much of the remainder of the trip.

Sabina Ann spent her girlhood in American Fork and married on February 17, 1854 Alexander Nicoll. He also was born in Perth, Canada. They later had a total of twelve children: Sabina Ann (November 22, 1854), Mary (March 22, 1856), Elizabeth (February 17, 1858), Margaret (October 25, 1861), Julia Aseneth (October 15, 1862), Alexander (October 19, 1864), Orpha Elzetta (March 29, 1867), Armitta

[95] From on a life sketch prepared by the children of Armitta Nicoll Gibbons: Pauline, Genevieve, Roy, Armitta, and Leona.

(September 8, 1871), Armina (September 8, 1871), Edward (May 11, 1874), Arza Peter (March 14, 1876), and Joseph Franklin (June 12, 1878). The first seven children were born in American Fork, the next four in Washington, and the final child was born in Kanab.

With regrets, she left American Fork, her parents and friends, and with her seven children accompanied her husband to Washington, Utah where he had been called by the church to settle. Here her husband built a two-level stone home that Sabina Ann kept immaculately clean.[96] During their stay in Washington Alexander owned one of the first mule teams that carried freight from southern Utah to Barstow, California.

About 1877 the Nicolls moved to Kanab and began operating a dairy, possibly in cooperation with Nathan Adams. Later, in 1879, they again moved in response to a church call to settle in Arizona. This time they were to move much further from family and friends. After an arduous journey that included crossing the Colorado River at Lee's Ferry, they made their way to the headwaters of the Little Colorado River, an area that had been earlier scouted by Jacob Hamblin and others. The new settlement was called Salem, later renamed St. Johns. The Nicolls were the first of about 100 families to arrive in Salem. With the help of his sons, Alexander later built a business of freighting between Albuquerque, Fort Defiance, and St. Johns.

Alexander once more built his family a nice home and planted an orchard of apple, peach, and pear trees. Rows of red and yellow currant bushes furnished berries for three generations. The grandchildren also remember how beautifully Sabina Ann kept her house in St. Johns. There

[96] The house was located at second east and first south in Washington (Cahoon and Cahoon, p. 78). Although abandoned, most of the building was still standing in 1999.

was wall-to-wall carpeting of home woven rugs in bedrooms and parlor. The hand braided and tufted rugs were beautiful on floors scrubbed with homemade soap. Sabina was remembered for her salt rising bread, twisters, currant jelly, jam and whole-spiced crab apples.

She was a warm and friendly person, but she seldom went to a neighbor's home just to visit. If she thought she was needed, she went there to help. Most delicacies she baked or prepared were shared with friends and relatives. Sabina's children remember her as an organized woman. She was also neat in her person and dress. She and her girls made most of the clothing for the large family.

She died at her home in St. Johns, Arizona, April 8, 1912. Her husband preceded her in death.

5. Sidney Moses Adams (Sabina)

Sidney was born on May 1, 1839 near Quincy, Illinois. He died suddenly at the age of only one on August 7, 1840 near Quincy in a cholera epidemic.

6. Elizabeth Nancy Adams (Sabina)

She was born in Nauvoo, Illinois on April 30, 1842. She died eleven years later in American Fork, Utah on November 30, 1853. She is buried in the Old Pioneer Cemetery in American Fork near her mother.

7. Theothan Penderman Adams (Sabina)

Theo was born in Nauvoo, Illinois on March 4, 1845. He died in American Fork, Utah on January 23, 1852 at the age of six and was probably buried in the Old Pioneer Cemetery in American Fork.

## 8. Joseph Smith Adams[97] (Sabina)

Joseph was born on Little Pigeon Creek in Pottawattamie County, Iowa, December 14, 1846. When he was three years old, he arrived with his parents in Salt Lake City in September 1849. The next year they moved to American Fork, Utah, to make their permanent home. On April 1, 1855 he was baptized a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In later years he worked in his father's grist mills and helped with farming.

At the age of 21 he received his endowments on March 8, 1869 and married Caroline Hansen in the old Endowment House in Salt Lake City. She was a Danish convert who came to Utah in 1861. From this union came ten children: Sabina Ann (October 8, 1869), Mary Ellen (April 17, 1871), Julia (September 25, 1873), Joseph Franklin (February 26, 1876), Maud (June 21, 1878), Orpha Elzetta (March 2, 1881), Warren Barnabas (June 1, 1883), Inger (August 25, 1885), Stephen Reno (May 30, 1888), and Leonard Alphonzo (November 30, 1891). All but Mary Ellen reached adulthood.

Joseph lived all of his life in American Fork. He was in the cattle business and owned land in the southern part of American Fork. There he raised hay. Like his father, he was a handy man with a saw and hammer. He possessed some nursing skills and was called into many homes at night to help care for the sick. He also assisted in the building of the first railroad in American Fork Canyon.

In 1865 the Black Hawk Indian War broke out. The southern and central parts of Utah had been the scene of numerous attempts at establishing settlements. The colonists had almost universally been at peace with the

[97] From a life sketch prepared by his daughter Dot Adams Racker for the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.

Indians but a number of disagreements had arisen over various matters between the settlers and the Indians. The ceaseless advance of the whites had aroused the animosity of the Indians. On April 9, 1865, after a quarrel with Indians over some stolen cattle, settlers skirmished several times with Indians. As a result, military groups were organized among the settlers to deal with the Indian threat. Joseph joined one of these groups in American Fork, a company under command of Washburn Chipman and the date of their departure was March 3, 1866. Men and horses were lost in various battles that ended in 1867.

Joseph spent a useful life. He died at the age of 69 on July 19, 1917 and was buried in American Fork. His wife died 17 years later in 1934.

9. Orpha Elzetta Adams[98] (Sabina)

Orpha was born October 23, 1849, about a month after her parents arrived in Salt Lake Valley. Records indicate she was baptized March 30, 1864, married to William S. Robinson December 27, 1865, and endowed March 28, 1868.

Her husband William, in later life, recounted their courtship. He said that after earning a few acres of land of his own and building a small adobe house on his father's lot, he looked for a wife. There were some young ladies whom he admired as they chummed about at church or parties. The dark-haired, blue-eyed Orpha Adams won his heart. Since her father operated the grist mill, Orpha was known as the "miller's daughter." William always spoke of his wife as Arza's choice child, my "little sweetheart." She was only sixteen when he married her. For their wedding, Orpha had a new homespun dress and William wore his first wool suit.

[98] From a life sketch prepared by Melissa Robinson for the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.

A load of grain was traded for two brass cooking kettles, a rocker, a stand, and two or three chairs; these made up the bulk of their household goods.

Orpha was the more aggressive of the couple. William was the sure and talented type and very steady. With this combination, they soon prospered and accumulated additional land. Orpha always encouraged William to do church work and she served in a church capacity for many years.

They built a six-room English-style red brick home in American Fork, quite like his father's dream house in Nauvoo. Orpha was a dainty woman who loved pretty things. Her bedroom was always decorated in blue and with fresh flowers around when possible. She was an excellent cook who taught her daughters the art of homemaking, cooking, and sewing. She was also a strict disciplinarian. She sometimes would become so angry with her daughters that she would get after them with a stout stick if they failed to "stay in line."

They had twelve children, William Edward, Sabina Elzetta, Richard, Mary Ann, Arza, Margaret Blanche, Nathan, John Heber, Olive, Florence, Ida and Millie.

William S. and Orpha celebrated their golden wedding anniversary in 1915. A year later, Orpha died on December 19, 1916, in American Fork.

10. Arza Quincy Adams (Marillah)

Arza Quincy was Arza's first child by Marillah. He was born in American Fork on October 18, 1858. He died there about six months later on April 7, 1859.

11. James Arza Adams (Catherine)

James, Catherine's first son, was born on October 19, 1859 in American Fork. He died there almost a year later on September 24, 1860.

12. John Olney Adams (Marillah)[99]

John, born on January 17, 1860, was Marillah's first child to survive infancy. At the age of 24 he married Mattie Marie Peterson on May 19, 1884. She was a Danish convert born on May 4, 1864. For a number of years they made their home in American Fork. From this union, nine children were born: Alvah, John A., Davis, Forrest, Zane, Mattie, Marie, Haydee, and Dorius.

While a young man, John worked in the sheep business for Billy Grant and later owned a flock of his own. He was elected city marshal for several terms while he was young. Later he moved to Bingham, Utah and worked for 18 years for the Bingham-Utah Copper Company.[100] He returned to live in American Fork on several occasions. In the federal census of 1910 John, Marie and six of their children were living close to John's half-brother Alvah in American Fork.

John suffered from rheumatism. One of his nieces (Vera Mary Adams Johnson Parkin) mentions that he was bed ridden at the time his mother died:

> We were saddened by the death of Grandma Marillah Olney Adams on January 6, 1899. She lived next door to her

[99] From a short life history of John written by Laura Logie Timpson for the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.

[100] A short obituary for John Olney Adams appeared in the Deseret News, August 9, 1932, p. 4.

> only daughter, Lucy Ambrose, but when death came she was at her daughter's home. At this time Uncle John, her son, was sick in bed with a bad case of rheumatism, and so they took Grandmother in her casket to his home so he might see her before the services.

John's wife died in 1928. He was living in American Fork when he died from pneumonia on August 8, 1932 at the age of 72. Several weeks before passing he stayed with his son Forrest in Bingham. His body was returned to American Fork for burial. His funeral services were held in the American Fork 3rd Ward chapel.

13. Elizabeth Ellen Adams[101] (Catherine)

Bets was born November 26, 1860, in American Fork. She was Catherine's first child who grew to maturity. Bets was born about ten years after the first settlers came to American Fork, so her life was closely associated with the building of the community.

She married William A. Robinson on June 4, 1879 in the St. George Temple. Members of the Robinson family accompanied them on the trip to St. George, which took two weeks each way by wagon and team. William was the son of Ellatheria Peria and William D. Robinson. His family was among the early settlers in American Fork, and they were prominent in civic and church affairs.

Bets had five children, all daughters: Elizabeth E., Catherine, Ella, Manda, and Hazel.

[101] From a life sketch prepared by her daughters that was presented at her funeral.

In her early married life, Bets was a worker in the Primary Association. At the time of her death she was a charter member of the Adams camp in American Fork Daughters of Utah Pioneers chapter.

About 1900 the family moved to Bingham Canyon where they made their home for about twenty years. Soon after their return to American Fork, William passed away on the May 13, 1920. After the death of her husband, Bets enjoyed traveling. When her children lived away, sometimes great distances, she traveled to visit them, make their associates her friends, and enjoyed the attractions of that particular section of the country.

Surrounded by her daughters and other members of her family who gave her every care and attention to make her last years comfortable and enjoyable, she died September 7, 1948 at the age of 87.

14. Charles Franklin Adams (Catherine)

Charles was born on April 11, 1862 and died about six months later on October 6, 1862.

15. Alvah Barnabas Adams[102] (Marillah)

Alvah was born in American Fork, Utah on December 10, 1862. In later life he was commonly called A. B. or Dick. As was common at the time, Dick received a limited education, but this did not blunt his economic success as an adult (History of Utah, pp. 756-757).

[102] From a family history prepared by Vera M. A. Johnson Parkin for the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, and a life sketch prepared by Lucy Adams Phillips for the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.

The Cooper brothers, John and Isaac, paid Dick $10 a month to herd sheep when he was a young boy. After becoming acquainted with the sheep business and wanting sheep of his own, he obtained a few orphaned lambs that he successfully raised with the help of a cow. Continuing herding, gaining experience and acquiring more sheep, he eventually became one of the leading sheepmen in the state. After much hard work, his sheep numbered in the thousands.

On April 17, 1890 he married Edith Ann Summers. Her parents were Abraham Summers and Mary Ann Goode. From this union came eleven children: John Deloss, Alvah, Ferl, Lucy, Ora, Theo, Arza, Ruben, twins Iva and Ivon, and Mary. In addition, they also raised Mae Downs, who was the granddaughter of Dick's uncle, Moroni Olney. Besides being one of the leading sheepmen in the state, Dick had other business interests. He was a director of the Bank of American Fork and also a director of the American Fork Cooperative. He owned a large farm in the north part of American Fork and three other pieces of ground in the bottoms near Utah Lake. Dick also owned a saloon in American Fork.

He had ample ground for the maintenance of his sheep herds. His ranch in Hobble Creek Canyon, where he grazed and lambed his herds, consisted of 2,600 acres. In July the sheep were trailed to Strawberry Valley where they grazed until fall. His summer range consisted of a permit to graze at Streepers Creek and 3,200 acres he owned around Stinking Springs. In the winter the sheep were taken to the desert in western Utah.

Alvah and Edith were never very active in religious affairs. However, they were remembered as generous in their donations. Their children remembered their father as being a kind and considerate man who loved his family and home. He provided well for his family, who lived in an eleven-room home in the center of town. Alvah was remembered for

his good deeds to people in need; he would send them flour or coal if he thought they needed it. He also liked baseball and often took his children to see games. His grandchildren remembered him as a stern man whose honesty was his religion.

After a long, lingering illness he died on August 1, 1928, leaving an enviable record for honesty and square dealing. Later, his wife went to the temple in Salt Lake City and had their marriage solemnized. He was baptized posthumously on March 15, 1930, and endowed March 26, 1930. Thirty years after his death his wife died on March 21, 1958.

16. Beulah Adams (Catherine)

Beulah was born June 22, 1864 in American Fork. The fourth child in Catherine's family, she was baptized June 22, 1871.

She must have helped with the knitting and other duties of the home. A baby sister was born just one year after Beulah. In addition, four more sisters and two brothers were born the following nine years. Living in a busy household, she was assigned household duties early in life.

Beulah married Daniel "R" Rhodes on December 3, 1890. He was 30; she was 26. They had two sons, Arza Adams Rhodes, born October 17, 1891, and Alonzo Donald Rhodes, born December 14, 1893. The Rhodes family lived in Idaho for a time.

Married only seven years, Beulah died December 23, 1897. Her husband later married Hannah Laycock Robinson. The two Rhodes boys, however, were raised in American Fork by Beulah's unmarried sister, Phoebe, who was 27 when Beulah died.

## 17. Alvin Francis Adams[103] (Marillah)

Alvin was born on March 23, 1865 in American Fork. His childhood and early youth were taken up in helping his father farm.

On August 7, 1890, a year after his father passed away, Alvin married Margaret Christensen. She was the daughter of Hans and Maren Jorgensen Christensen, both natives of Denmark. Margaret had been without parents for about six years before marrying Alvin. Their marriage was celebrated by a dance in Chipman's Hall sponsored by Alvin's great uncle, Stephen Chipman.

Initially, the couple lived in the upstairs of the large home built by Margaret's parents so they could take care of her brother and three sisters. Later, the couple had seven children: Vera Mary (July 6, 1891), Sadie Marillah (April 14, 1893), Reed Alvin (January 28, 1895), who died several years later, Illa (December 14, 1897), but who died about a year later, Marvel Christensen, (January 25, 1901), who died less than two years later, Wilford Francis (December 14, 1902), and Rutherford Harold (January 3, 1910). In addition, they also raised William Sheldon Downs who was the grandson of Alvin's uncle, Moroni Olney.

Shortly after marrying, Alvin operated a resort just west of where American Fork Creek empties into Utah Lake. Later he moved his family from the Grant home into the Kelly house, just east of a livery stable on Main Street that he managed for a time in American Fork. He later gave up the livery business and devoted his time to a herd of sheep that he had in connection with his brother Alvah. These sheep had been acquired through savings while he was working as a herder for Bill Grant.

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[103] From a life sketch written by his daughter Vera Mary Adams Johnson Parkin.

About this time he moved his family into a four-family apartment called the "Green Row," which was located on the road to the American Fork City Cemetery north of town. In 1894 he built a larger home on the Christensen property that was owned by his wife. This house consisted of a large bedroom, a parlor, a living room and a small bedroom with a lean-to kitchen in the back. Later they added a fancy porch on the front of the house.

In about 1908 Alvin sold his sheep and range land and bought the Harrison farm in Highland just north of American Fork. Later he bought the Pete Johnson and Agrippa Cooper farms that were near the Harrison property.

Alvin found religion relatively late in life. One of the happiest days of his wife's life was when her husband and youngest son, Rutherford, were both baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on December 18, 1918. One year after her death on January 12, 1928, her endowment work was done with the help of her daughter Sadie. A year later Alvin went to the temple and was sealed to her on June 19, 1929).

Alvin died on March 21, 1942 and was buried in the American Fork Cemetery.

18. Agnes Adams (Catherine)

Agnes was born on June 9, 1865 in American Fork. She died just over a year later on September 22, 1866.

19. Alexander Adams (Catherine)

Alexander was born on January 10, 1866. He married Mina (also spelled Mena) Murdock on October 24, 1894. She was born in about 1866 in American Fork. They had one daughter, born in March 1896, named Birdie. She married G. E. McNitt and they made their home in Salt Lake City.

For a number of years, his youngest brother, Dan, remembered Alex as being his best friend and surrogate father. While young, Alex was involved in the sheep business with some of his brothers and half brothers. During most of his adult life he lived in Lehi. In the 1920 Federal census, he is listed as living on Third West in Lehi with his wife Sarah and without any dependents.[104] At that time his occupation was listed as lead miner. Family tradition also suggests that he freighted ore out of mines in the desert west of Cedar Fort to the smelter in Murray for several years. His obituary mentions he was working for the D&R G W Railroad in Emery County as a blasting expert when he unexpectedly died of a heart attack.[105] He died at the relatively young age of 59 on June 23, 1925.

20. Lucy Ann Adams[106] (Marillah)

Lucy was born August 5, 1867 in American Fork. She received her schooling from Ebenezer Hunter, Eugene Henroid, and Joseph Forbes, early teachers in American Fork.

While working in Salt Lake City, she met her future husband Nicholas Martin Ambrose, a barber. They were married June 8, 1886. Eight children were born of this marriage. One of Lucy's daughter-in-laws died leaving three small children, whom Lucy and Martin raised. They also cared for Lucy's mother during the last years of her life.

Lucy was a talented homemaker. Her home was always spotlessly clean. She was a fine seamstress and cook. In her later years, she spent a great deal of time doing

[104] Sarah listed her age as 52 in 1920, which would make her birth about 1868. She also reported that both of her parents were born in Illinois.

[105] Deseret News, June 24, 1925, p. 6.

[106] From a life sketch prepared by LaBelle Andersen Ingersoll for the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.

fine crocheting, piecing quilts, and doing other hand work. She was hospitable, ambitious, energetic, and thrifty. She had a quick wit, a hearty laugh and a sharp tongue when she felt it was needed.

Lucy was baptized a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. She was a member of the Relief Society for many years and a primary teacher. She was a Gold Star Mother and a member of the Adams Camp of the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.

She had remarkable health and stamina until about three years before her demise. When it became evident she would need more care, her daughter, Lucy Rose, took her to Seattle to stay with the Roses. She died on June 5, 1960.

21. Mary Adeline Adams (Marillah)

Mary was born on November 25, 1868 in American Fork. She died in infancy.

22. Margaret Ann Adams[107] (Catherine)

Margaret was born January 25, 1869 in American Fork. She was Catherine's seventh child. She attended school and church in American Fork while she was growing up. According to American Fork Ward records she was baptized on May 9, 1878 by William R. Webb and confirmed by George Cunningham, her maternal uncle.

While a young adult, Margaret traveled to Idaho to visit her sister Beulah Rhodes, and while there, met and fell in love with Hyrum Smith Mulliner. He was born February 18, 1864 in Lehi, Utah. Hyrum was the son of Lehi pioneer Samuel Mulliner and Mary Richardson.

[107] From a life sketch prepared by Harriet Mulliner for the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.

Hyrum and Margaret Ann were married February 18, 1897 in Iona, Idaho. Hyrum later sold his first farm and bought another farm about five miles northeast of Idaho Falls. It was there that their seven children were born and raised. This farm was located on Sand Creek and on the line between Iona and Lincoln. Their children were Dellas Hyrum (October 15, 1897), Mary Beulah (September 1, 1899), Lois Ucilla (July 31, 1901), Myron (February 27, 1904), Malan (February 27, 1904), Arza Adams (February 11, 1906), and Joseph Bryan (September 20, 1908).

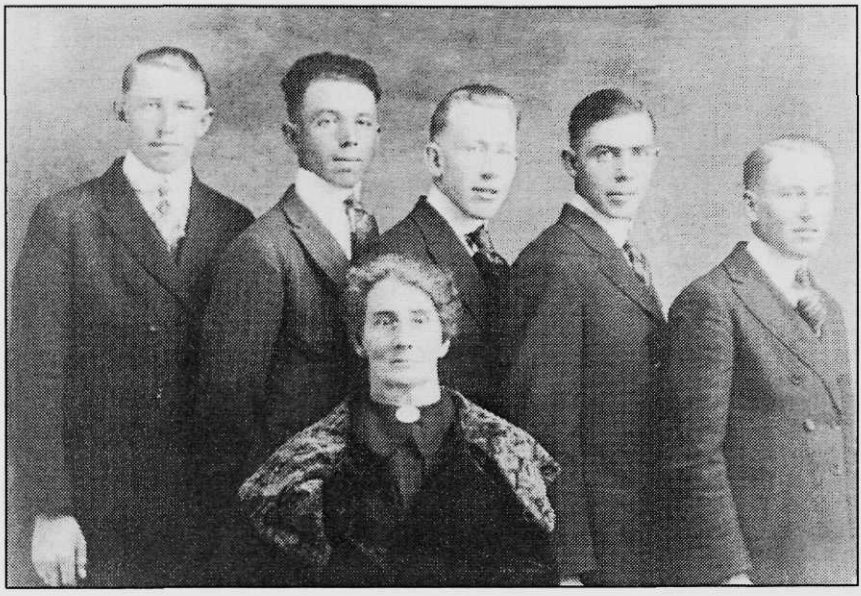
It is interesting to note that according to George F. Shelley's book, Early History of American Fork, Arza Adams sold his chopping mill to Samuel Mulliner who added a tannery. In March 1863, Arza accused Samuel in a bishops court of nonpayment for the mill. It is interesting that two of the grandchildren of these men married, although the marriage took place long after the deaths of Arza and Samuel.

Long after leaving American Fork and taking up residence in Idaho, Margaret continued to maintain ties with the Adams clan. Her youngest son, Joseph Bryan, fondly remembered going to American Fork to stay with relatives.

Margaret died August 14, 1926 after surgery for a goiter. She was 57 years of age. She was buried in the Lincoln, Idaho Cemetery.

23. Phoebe Adams (Catherine)

Phoebe was Catherine's eighth child. She was born September 17, 1870 in American Fork. She grew up in a large family that included many brothers and sisters and had many nearby half-brothers and sisters. Phoebe and her sister Margaret Ann were baptized on the same day, May 9, 1878. Phoebe was not yet eight at the time of her baptism.



*Phoebe Adams' five boys: Erwin Householder, William Arthur Householder, Glen A. Householder, Arza Adams Rhodes, and Alonzo Donald Rhodes.*

Phoebe never married but was blessed with loving family members who claimed her as their own. When Phoebe was 27, her older sister Beulah died. Phoebe took over care of Beulah's two boys Arza Adams Rhodes, age six, and Alonzo Donald, age four.

In 1905, another sister, Isabell Householder, died and left three boys, Erwin, age ten, William Arthur, age eight, and Glen, age five. Phoebe took these boys also as her own, and so had a family of five boys between the ages of 5 and 14. She was 35 when Isabell died. All five of the boys in her care were baptized when they were eight.

Phoebe died March 4, 1921 at the age of only 50. She was remembered with love and respect by family members. Those who knew her say she was a true example of Christian womanhood. She was endowed on May 15, 1907.

## 24. Mary Adams[108] (Catherine)

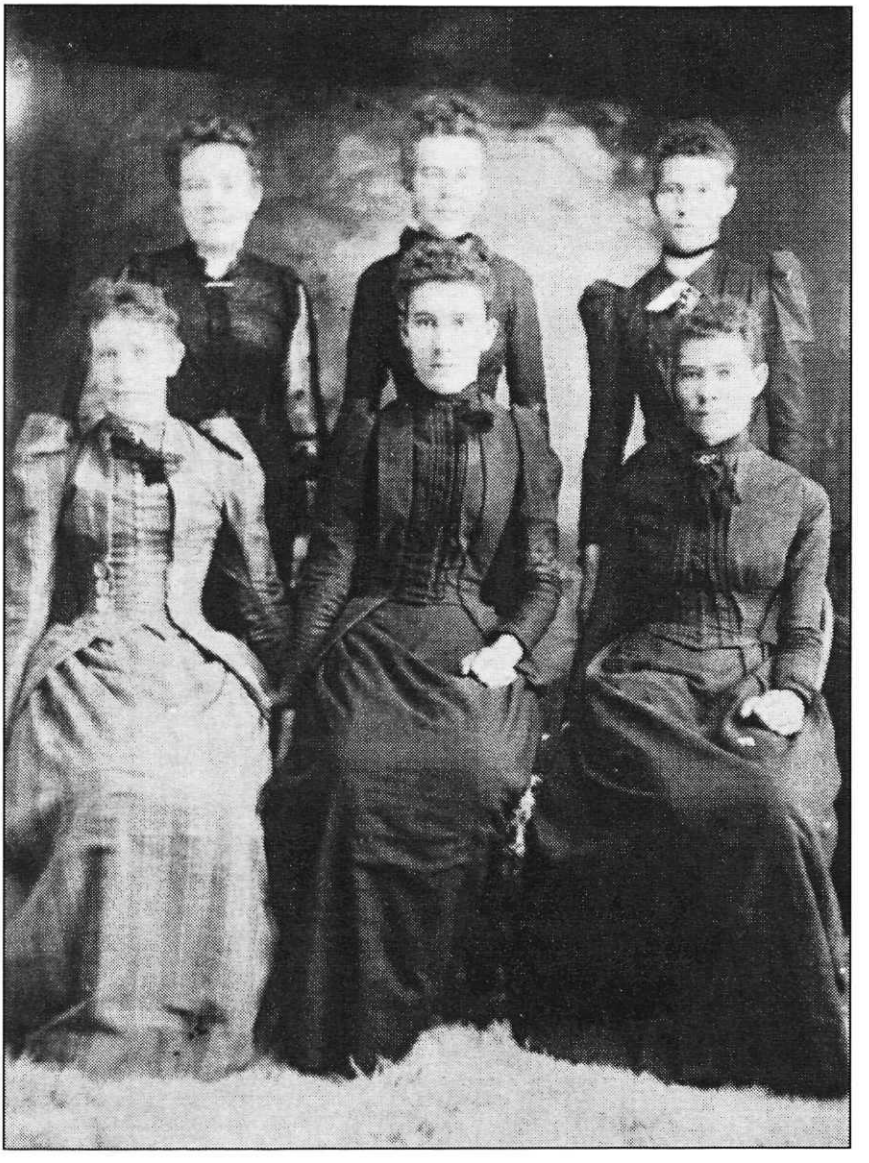
Mary was Catherine's ninth child. She was born on July 25, 1872 in the family home located on Second North between Center and First East in American Fork.

She had various teachers and attended several schools: Martha Nelson Houston in the East School, Elvira Crompton Steele in the West School, Ebenezer Hunter in the basement of Science Hall, Joseph B. Forbes in the eighth grade in the top floor of Science Hall. At the time, the city jail was in the north end of the basement of the Science Hall. A baptismal font was also located there. Many American Fork people were baptized in this font. Mary was baptized, however, in the mill race by the side of her father's mill on June 18, 1882.

In childhood Mary and her siblings always attended Primary and Sunday School. Saturday night they would make preparations for Sunday -- bathing, pressing their clothes, and polishing their shoes. Many times shoes would be blackened with soot from the kitchen stove.

While a teenager Mary lived with her "Aunt" Marillah (her father's second wife) while Marillah's only daughter, Lucy, went to work in Salt Lake City. Mary enjoyed this because her cousins would take her to the dances in Lehi and to the American Fork Lake Resort. Dancing in the home was a main entertainment. They would take up the carpets, dance, and serve refreshments later in the evening. Mary loved to dance.

[108] From a life sketch prepared by Ann Chipman Hansen.



*Six daughters of Arza and Catherine Adams: Mary, Isabell, Elizabeth, Margaret, Phoebe and Beulah*

In her late teens, Mary cooked for the men who worked shearing sheep at corrals near the Jordan River and up Hobble Creek Canyon for her uncle, Alvah Adams. She also did custom washing on a washboard for a wage of 25¢ for each load.

Mary married Carl Andersen 16 July 1895, just one week before her nineteenth birthday. This marriage was later solemnized in the Salt Lake Temple. From this marriage came four children: Charl, Darrell, Frank, and LaBelle. Carl herded sheep for $30 a month for a time and then developed a herd of his own. Since her husband was away with the sheep much of the time, Mary shouldered most of the family responsibility.

She worked in several church organizations. She was a counselor in the Primary for 15 years before being called to a position in the presidency of the Relief Society, where she worked for twelve years. She was also very supportive of sending her daughter LaBelle on a mission to the North Central States. She was happy and proud to have one of her children preach the gospel.

Her husband died December 26, 1936. She was a widow for over 22 years but never complained. She was called Aunt Molly by her friends and relatives the latter part of her life.

She took an active part in the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers after its organization in 1921. In 1931, the original camp was divided into the American Fork and the Adams Camps. In 1935 Mary was chosen Captain of the Adams Camp, a position she held for eight years. She felt badly whenever she missed a meeting.

She died on June 7, 1959 in American Fork.

25. Moroni Adams (Marillah)

Moroni was named after Marillah's brother Moroni Olney. The date of Moroni Adams' birth is unknown, but probably about 1870. He apparently died soon after birth.

26. Isabell Adams (Catherine)

Bell was born in American Fork on July 30, 1874. She married Joseph H. Householder. She died on November 3, 1905 and left three boys motherless: Erwin, William Arthur, and Glen. Isabell's older sister Phoebe took these boys as her own and saw them through to adulthood, along with two motherless Rhodes boys.

27. Daniel Erwin Adams (Catherine)

Dan, as he was always known, was the last of Arza's children. He was born in American Fork on October 11, 1876. He attended school regularly until he was about 15 or 16 years old.

Some of Dan's fondest childhood memories were related to visiting relatives:

> I remember going about once in ten days to visit Aunt Polly [George Cunningham's wife] and staying all day. All of the children would go and it was just like a holiday in those days. Uncle John Rigby -- married to a Cunningham girl -- used to come up to our house from his home on the present state highway, bringing all his family in an old wood rack and ox team and stay all day.

Dan was only 12 when his father died so memories of his father were those of a child tagging along with an elderly man:

> I remember a flowered red silk handkerchief that he (Arza) used to wear for a tie, but he was never one for dressing up much, being more on the rough side.
>
> I remember his old cronies, who were Washburn Chipman, Henry Chipman, Old Man Nicoll, Stephen Mott, and Old Man Baker.

Dan first went to work herding sheep for his half brothers, John, Dick, and Alvin. He started work herding sheep alone in Hobble Creek Canyon when he was 16 years old.

He married Anna Louise Jensen on November 23, 1897. Her parents were Jens Christian Jensen and Dorthea Marie Sorenson. Dan and Annie had four sons, Daniel Milton (May 30, 1899); James Arza (July 26, 1901); William Legrand (January 20, 1908); and Kenneth Vern (February 3, 1914).

He then worked for a short time in Bingham in a livery stable. He remembered the streets in Bingham as so narrow and so muddy in winter, that windows would be splashed up so people could not see out of their houses from fall until spring.

In 1908 Dan and his family moved to Manila, just north of Pleasant Grove, into his father-in-law's home, where he took over the farm. In the early 1920's, Dan went into the poultry business to furnish eggs for the newly established Utah Poultry Association (later known as Intermountain Farmers Association). Dan was a charter member of this

cooperative. His first venture into the poultry business was a partnership with his son Arza, who was working for the state road commission.

In 1943 Dan retired because of his advancing years and his wife's deteriorating health. His son, Kenneth (Kay), had built a home in American Fork, and Dan traded the farm to him for the new home. He said: "This was right in the neighborhood where I grew up and close to my sister Mary and half-sister Lucy and we enjoyed it very much." [This home was at 266 North First East in American Fork].

*Last three living children of Arza's: Elizabeth Robinson, Daniel Adams, and Mary Anderson, 1947*

Annie's health continued to worsen, and so for the next eleven years Dan's major work was caring for his wife. No one could have been more patient and kind to his wife than was Dan. He gradually took over all of the cooking and most of the house cleaning. An excellent garden in the backyard and a few chickens supplied food for them and others.

After Annie died on July 11, 1954, Dan continued to live in his home for about five years. His son Arza had given him a 1950 Chevrolet and Dan was a proud and careful driver. He would drive to one of his daughters-in-law for his midday meal, but would fix his own breakfast and supper.

After Dan started to live with Arza and his wife Effie, at age 83 years, he gave up smoking and drinking coffee. He said he was proud of his grandchildren, and did not want to be a bad example to them. This was touching to his family knowing of the many years these habits had given him pleasure, and now, being in poor health and with few interests he was willing to forgo these habits.

His family remembers Dan as tall, slender, and slightly stooped. His hair was black streaked with grey. He was not aggressive, but he was not submissive either. He liked to talk in small groups. He would tell and retell stories when he had listeners. He was often teased about the veracity of some of his tales, but he would laugh and say he was not one to let the truth stand in the way of a good yarn. Several of his sons inherited his gift of yarn telling.

He died April 29, 1962 at the home of his son J. Arza Adams in Pleasant Grove. He was buried in Pleasant Grove Cemetery beside his wife in a lot owned by his son Arza.

## Summing Up

By the time of Arza's death his 17 children who grew to adulthood were scattered from east-central Arizona to lower Idaho. Two of his children, Nathan and Sabina Ann, continued the pioneering tradition by helping to settle Kanab, Utah and St. Johns, Arizona. Several of his sons, Joshua, Joseph S., and Alvin, became farmers in an around American Fork. His son Alvah perhaps was the most successful of his children in terms of material wealth. Alvah's success in the sheep business attracted, at least for a time, several other

sons or sons-in-law of Arza's: John O., Alvin, Alexander, Mary's husband Carl Andersen, and Daniel. Some of Arza's children were also at least occasionally employed in the mining business: Alexander, John O., Elizabeth's husband William Robinson, and Daniel. Two of his daughters died early, Beulah and Isabell. All of his daughters were known for being good mothers and excellent housekeepers. Aside from four daughters and one son, all of Arza's children who survived childhood lived to enjoy life well into their seventies and eighties.

# Chapter 10

## Epilogue

What did Arza pass to his children and their posterity? He certainly did not bequeath them status or wealth that the social register or the Internal Revenue Service would recognize. His offspring all earned what they got through their own labors. With few exceptions, his progeny have not sought wealth or the accolades of audiences. What Arza passed on was less visible, but perhaps more lasting.

For example, his decision to enter the frigid waters of baptism in late 1836 strongly affected where most of his descendants lived. This included learning the "Star Spangled Banner" in the intermountain west, rather than committing to memory the words of "Oh Canada" in Ontario. Also, instead of learning French as a second language, many of Arza's posterity are finding that some Spanish is more useful. His conversion also influenced the religion of many of his progeny. The ranks of the Methodists undoubtedly would have been somewhat larger had Arza, Sabina, and Barnabas not become Latter-day Saints.

Arza also passed on a strong sense of family to his seed. Although far removed from the nucleus of his family in Canada, Arza maintained ties to his ancestors through the naming of his children. His second son was named for Arza's father, Joshua. He named two of his daughters Elizabeth in honor of his mother. He named one son after the first paternal ancestor know to the family, George. He named another son after one of his brothers, Alvah. He named his last son, Daniel, after three of his paternal ancestors, and several of his daughters were named after wives in his paternal line (Mary, Lucy, and Beulah). Arza's extended family enjoyed getting together. Much of their entertainment was in the form of visits with relatives. They were also quick

to "adopt" children of family members who passed away or who had difficulties. Many Adams families still enjoy getting together and looking out for each other, traits that Arza fostered.

In addition to the tall gene, Arza passed to his progeny a strong inclination for independence. He seldom enjoyed marching in step or being in a crowd. He also took umbrage when he was pushed or bossed. He worked more easily alone or with relatives than he did in a group or in a cooperative. As a result, the Adams clan mostly includes people who are too independent to be comfortable joining a community based on the united order.

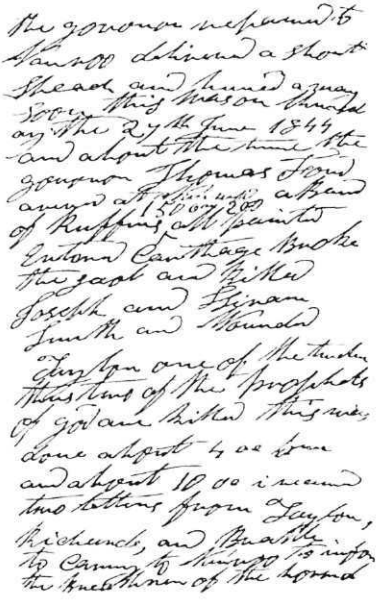
Enjoying hard work and being a good provider are other valuable traits that Arza transferred to his children. His daughters learned to be excellent housekeepers and mothers. Even his daughter, Phoebe, who never married, raised five boys for sisters who died early. Most of his children had large families who were well-fed, housed, clothed, and educated. Most men in the Adams clan are good providers, an admirable trait they may have inherited from Arza. If you are one of Arza's seed and enjoy working with your hands, swinging an ax, being outdoors, doing woodwork, or completing a job, you may have inherited these traits from him.

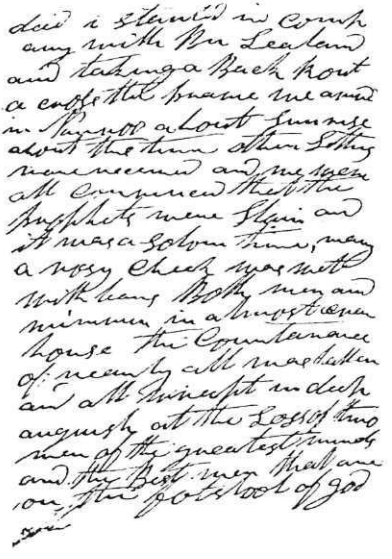
Most importantly, Arza left his progeny numerous relatives. In all, he had about 139 grandchildren, most of whom grew to adulthood and had families of their own. This resulted in more than 500 ancestors in the fourth generation, possibly as many as 2,000 in the fifth generation, and as many as 5,000 great-great-grandchildren in the sixth generation. By the end of the second millennium Arza and his three wives may have had more than 10,000 living progeny, including those in the seventh and eighth generations. For those interested enough to ask, it is not difficult to bump into one of Arza's descendents in the

intermountain west. If you are not careful, you may even marry one. Arza's patriarchal blessing was indeed prophetic; his progeny was "exceedingly numerous."

# Appendices

Appendix One: Pages from Arza's journal that describe him carrying letters to Nauvoo about martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.





. . . the governor repaired to Nauvoo delivered a short speech and hurried away soon. This was on Thursday the 27th of June 1844 and about the time the govornor Thomas Ford arrived at Nauvoo a band of Ruffins 150 or 200 all painted entered Carthage Broke the goal and killed Joseph and Hiram Smith and Wounded Taylor, one of the twelve. Thus two of the prophets of God are killed. This was done about 4 o c p m and about 10 o c I received two letters from Taylor, Richards, and (Bernhisel?) to carry to Nauvoo to inform the breathren of the horrid deed. I started in company with Ben Lealand and taking a back rout across the prarie we arrived in Nauvoo about sunrise, about the time other letters were received and we were all convinced that the prophets

were slain and it was a solom time, many a rosy cheek was wet with tears. Both men and wimmen in almost every house the coutanance of nearly all were fallen and all wiept in deep anguish at the loss of two men of the greatest minds and the Best men that are on the fotstool of God.

## Appendix Two: Early letters

1. Letter from Elizabeth Adams To Barnabas Adams

Bathurst, May 3, 1840

To Barnabas Adams
Near Quincy.

Dear Child, I have had a share of anxiety of mind about you & Sabina and children but was glad to hear that you are all well. I often think of the time when we enjoyed each other's society together but that time is past but I hope you are living in the favor of God.

We have had a good visit from Arza. Tell me when to look for you. Do write to us and let us know how you are, Sabina and children.

Dear Child, you do not know how much we all want to see you but when I consider how hard you have and must labor to obtain means here, I often come to a full stop. Come as soon as you can.

I should be glad to hear from Uncle Stephen and family, Aunt Lucy and all the friends. My love to Mr. Wilkins family. Lydia's eyes is bad. She is almost hourly talking about the children. It is hard for me to give them up. My love

to all. It may be that providence may so order things that we may be nearer Scituate [??] above all let us labor for that meat which endures when all other things fail.

I remain your affectionate Mother till Death.

Betsy Adams

**********

2. Letter from Joshua Adams to his Brother Arza

Sarnia, Canada West
5 May 1863

Paid
Arza Adams
American Fork Ut. U.S.

My Dear Brother

I wrote you a few days ago in reply to your letter received a short time previously and I stated to you that our dear Father had sustained a severe injury on 17 March last by breaking his left leg between the knee and thigh, but that he was apparently recovering or there were fair prospects of his recovering.

I am sorry to say that not withstanding the reuniting of the fractured bone and his apparent improvement, his strength had slowly failed and coupled with the internal injuries he received at the time of the fall gradually brought him nearer his final end. On Thursday the 23rd April past at 7 o'clock in the afternoon he gently and peacefully breathed his last surrounded by all his children who were at Perth and Adamsville. I was not there but the next day I received a

telegraph of his death and at night left here by Grand Trunk Railway reaching Brookville the next morning and Perth the following morning. His funeral took place on Tuesday last the 28 April from Adamsville to Perth. The esteem in which he was held by all classes was manifested by the very large numbers who followed his remains to their final resting place -- there to remain until the last trump shall sound and the dead in Christ shall be called forth to meet their Lord in the skies. His last days altho he was suffering a good deal, were indeed happy and joyous and his death was truly that of the righteous. It is a cause of great rejoicing and thankfulness to us that he died in full possession of his reason and that the rod and staff of Israel's God, our God, supported sustained and comforted him and that he was enabled to triumph in death over the last fore.

I left Perth yesterday morning at just past 7 and reached home this morning at 6.

Owing to various causes -- heavy taxes -- large charities and hard times Father's property had become reduced to the 100 acres and the stone dwelling house subject to debts of $1,100 or over.

The mills he sold some years ago to Daniel and to Bessie's husband, Henry Moorehouse. Daniel lives at the mills on the grist mill side and Frank to whom Father left the 100 acres and dwelling subject to the debts lives in the old homestead. Frank's health is very poor and Moorehouse whose life was despaired of at the time of Father's death is now somewhat better and we entertain hopes of his recovery.

Having written you so recently I must (because I have not much time tonight) content myself with a short letter to you today.

I send herewith a Perth Depositer or Courier containing a short account of the funeral. Write me soon. All rest as usual.

Very affectionately

Joshua Adams

3. Letter from Alvah Adams to his brother Arza

Rokeby (Maberly P.O.) Jan. 19th 1882, Co. Lanark

My Dear Brother Arza:

A letter received yesterday from Brother Joshua informs me that he had a letter from you the week before written at American Fork, Utah which we supposes is your address, your P.O. and perhaps your home. If so, I have no doubt but that our letter will reach you in due course. Hope in this induces me to write you immediately. I would have been glad had I known your address two years ago when I was anxiously collecting facts relating to our ancestors and their offspring with a view to their record in a general family registry from and including our grandfather Richard Saxton Adams who came into Canada from Rutland, Vermont U.S.A. A.D. 1798 when our father Joshua Adams who was his youngest son and then about 18 years old. They settled in the township of Bastard, Co. Leeds, our father and mother, who was the daughter of Barnabas Lathrop and Beulah Chipman named Elizabeth commonly called Betsy, were married in Elizabeth Town Co. of Leeds A.D. 1803, about two years after our grandmother whose christian and maiden name was Lucy Matson died and in 1810 our Grandfather Richard Saxton Adams died also both buried at the Center of Bastard Cemetery. Our father's history from the outbreak of the last American War in 1812 and to Dec 1814 to the time you left Canada you know as well or better than I do and the

particulars of the casualty that caused his death and concurrent circumstances have been communicated to you I have no doubt by our Brother Joshua.

I have no doubt either but he will soon write you as to the present residence and condition of the several branches of our family. Next Monday 22nd Inst. you will (if God will) enter on your 79th year. While I was 77 last Nov. 3. Oh how good God has been to us in keeping us out of hell so long and giving us so long time to secure the indescribable meetings for the Saints everlasting rest.

Mon. 22

I was too tired to finish this Sat. night and am barely able to sit up and write today. As I know not what Joshua may write you I may write of some things I need not. Henry Moorehouse lives in Perth, his eldest daughter married a Frazer of the Bank Agencies of Perth. He died left her a widow with one daughter now five or six years old. The second daughter married Rev. Mr. Ward a Methodist minister now in the active work. They have two children. Henry has about 2 thirds interest in the Glen Tay Woolen Factory and other property there. Ralph Dodds is partner of about 1/3 interest. Our Brother Franklin is their bookkeeper and overseer of other matters on and about the premises, the only Adams now thereabouts. He had but one daughter left by a former wife, she is married had one child. Frank married again last summer a young woman about half his age -- they do not keep house but board with her sister Wdo. Castle who keeps a boarding house at Glen Tay for factory hands. Glen Tay formerly Adamsville is quite a village supported principally by the factory. No saw mill grist mill or oat mill there now, two railroads run up on the north side -- through the mutton farm on up through Petersboro to Toronto. John Hargrave had the Adams mill on Glen Tay property which is in his hands. He failed and with many others from these parts has sought home in Manitoba Country.

The former branch railroad to Perth and the additional two now [unclear] construction just referred have given Perth a wonderful occasion in [unclear] population and c and c -- they have given all the country an amazing start ahead. Elish Drew (whose present wife and mine are sisters of the Smith family Centre of Bastard) paid a short visit to Perth last summer. Our brother Daniel (as Joshua may write you) lives in Sarnia not doing much except as bailiff or constable. His family of boys and girls are helping to make out a comfortable living -- My son Joshua Forest is on a salary of 4 or 5 hundred dollars a year in the customs Dept. He has a wife and two or three children they are very comfortable. Brother Joshua complains of hard work and property or money [unclear] in aiding his relations.

You may remember I had but one son by my first wife -- Joseph Alvah. He lives in Newport near St. Paul Minnesota. He has 5 or 6 in family. My second son Thomas Madden by second wife has a wife and seven sons and daughters in Southern Calif near Los Angles. His brother my 4th son William M[unclear] is a presiding elder in the True Methodist con[unclear] now stationed either in Colorado at or near the springs -- or perhaps this year in the western borders of Kansas.

[Alvah Adams]

4. Letter from J.E. Carrol Adams to Harriet Mulliner, 1947.

Mrs. Joe Mulliner
395 Harrison
American Fork, Utah

Dear Cousin:

Your letter of January 14th, was forwarded to me by Eric Sabiston of Perth, a Grandson of Henry Moorehouse, to whom the postmaster had handed your letter. Being a son of

Franklin Adams, I want to express my pleasure in receiving word from relations from whom we have been so long separated.

I think it is nearly 105 years since Arza and Barnabas Adams left Glen Tay which was at that time called Adamsville, and while it would have been practically impossible to have kept up a correspondence in the early days, I think that they did later write occasionally because I remember seeing a letter among my father's papers written to him by Uncle Arza from American Fork, the date, if I remember rightly, was in the early eighties. I have often heard my father speak of them and well remember as a small boy when some of the old timers would come to see father and the talk would turn to the old days and the names of Barney and Arza were mentioned.

About the year 1906 we had a visit from the daughter of Barney's Mrs. Asenith Kiskadden, Maud Adams' mother. Father was very glad to see her. She was the first link in a span of 60 years. Quite a few of the early settlers in Ontario were of what we call Loyalist stock. Men who remained loyal to the British Crown when the Americans won their independence, and who immigrated to Canada about the close of the century. Our Grandfather Joshua Adams was one of them. He was born in the village of Rutland, State of Vermont, about the year 1780. His wife whose maiden name was Elizabeth Chipman was also of Loyalist stock. It is an ancestry of which we may be justly proud, as both these parties could trace their ancestry back to the very early American times.

They had a family of four daughters and six sons, not counting one son who died in infancy. Elizabeth married Henry Moorhouse of Perth. They had no sons, but had four daughters, all of them deceased but the youngest, Mrs. Etta Sabiston, Eric's mother. She is well over eighty, but very active and is spending the winter with a married daughter at

St. Joe, Missouri, U.S.A. Lydia, the youngest daughter married Rev. James Armstrong. They had no family. She died in 1914. Lucy married a Mr. Hick. I cannot recall his given name. They lived at Prescott. Beulah married Rev. John Carroll, a Methodist minister, who died at Toronto in 1884. They had one son and one daughter, both deceased now. I was born on the day he was buried, so I was called after him. Alvah became a Methodist minister; the only one of his family that I ever heard of, a Mrs. Brown, visited this locality some 30 years ago. Her home, I think, was in Pasadena, Calif. She will be gone now too.

Joshua, one of the younger sons, became a lawyer and settled in Western Ontario at Port Huron. He had several sons and daughters of whom the only surviving one is Edwin Adams, a lawyer, living at Moorhead, Minnesota. He is 99 past, has excellent health, but during the past year developed cataracts and is almost blind. My sister has visited with them and they correspond.

My father, Franklin Adams, was born 1823 and died 1913. He was married twice. Of his first family only one girl lived to adult age, deceased about 1895. His second wife, our mother, whose maiden name was Agnes McLaren, died in 1926. To this union were born three children; my sister Florence Evelyn, the eldest, has lived in Montreal for a good many years. She is an accountant. My brother, Joshua Evarts, 6 years my junior, has for the past five years been associated with me in the retail lumber business which I engaged in about 25 years ago. We have a water power saw and plaining mill in the Tay River about six miles from the town of Perth.

The Adams home, a store house, still stands in a good state of repair. It and all the property, the saw mill, grist mill, and carding mill, etc., including the farm had to be sold after Grandfather's death in 1863. The dam across the river is gone now and also all the industries that once made it such a thriving village.

The family kept a family record which was brought up to date in printed form by Uncle Alvah before he died, which included all the Grandchildren of Joshua Adams, except Franklin's second family and the descendants of Arza and Barnabas. My sister Florence has possession of our Father's copy of this record. This information, dates, etc., are given from memory. If anything more authentic is required I think she would be glad to give it to you. Her address is Miss F. E. Adams, 274 Bernard Ave., West, Montreal, Quebec.

We would appreciate having the names of the descendants of Arza and Barnabas to complete our records, together with dates and who they married, etc. I presume that you would be in a position to furnish this so I hope you will not mind if I say that I'll be looking forward to receiving something along that line from you sometime.

This letter is of necessity rather sketchy as it covers quite a period of time and there may be things that might be of interest to you that I could tell you of. If so, I would welcome the opportunity to be of service to you in that regard.

My brother Evart joins me in sending to you and yours our kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,
J. E. Carroll Adams
R. R. #3, Perth,
Ont., Canada

## Appendix three: Newspaper Article

1. Some Reminiscences from the Perth Courier 1911,
   By Alex M. Richey

DEAR COURIER: I did not expect that I would be able to write again for some time, if ever, for the weather we have had since the 10th of May has been killing, not only in this

city, but in many others. But our weather man has taken compassion on us and let up, for a while anyway, so I will give you what I remember of the one whose compassion personified but did his deeds of good will and charity so that his left hand hardly knew the doings of his right hand -- Captain Joshua Adams -- the founder of Glen Tay, but in my time it was just called Adams Mills. The first that I remember of the Adams' was when I went to school on the Third line of Bathurst, to what was called the Johnston School, in the year 1833, or seventy-eight years ago. There and then I became school mate among others of five of the Captain's children, Lucinda, I think, was about 17 years of age, Frank 14 years, Joshua 9 years, Elizabeth 7 years, and Lydia Five or Six years. They were all very kind to me, a new boy, just from the banks of the Clyde, Lanark Village, strange to the ways of school; but they soon made me feel at home.

They took me home with them Saturday afternoons, only half a day school on Saturday. When I was taken to the kitchen for lunch, there was a surprise for me at the size of it and the long tables. The Captain boarded most all of his men -- he had a number of them too, in the saw mill, flour mill, oat mill, carding and fulling mill and men working on (the) farm, teamsters hauling lumber to town, etc. The family consisted of six sons, and four daughters, so there was need for a large kitchen and long tables. The oldest was a Methodist preacher, Rev. Alva Adams, who afterwards had mills on the Fall river. Asa [Arza] and Bernard [Barnabas], the next two older sons, went west in 1844 (sic.), I think it was. The oldest daughter, Beulah, married the Rev. John Carroll. Elizabeth married Henry Moorhouse, a useful citizen of your good town for many years. I was forgetting Lucinda; she married a son of Barbara Heck, and lived on the Heck farm between Brockville and Prescott. Lydia, the youngest daughter, married a Methodist preacher, the Rev. William Armstrong. Daniel and Franklin worked in one or other of the mills, as needed to help out. Joshua, the youngest son, became a lawyer in Perth for a time. He and John McKay

built a saw mill at the falls of Crow Lake about the year 1850, I think it was, but the cost of getting the lumber to market was more than could be made by the sale of it, so that proving a failure, Mr. Adams moved to Sarnia and took up the practice of law again. He died there two or three years ago--over 80 years of age. They have all gone over the river but Frank. I have not heard of his death; if living, he must be verging close on ninety.

The Captain and his wife were the living embodiment of charity and good will. No one was ever turned from their door. They fed the hungry and helped the needy at any and all times. For in those times, there were many who were in dire need. The Captain, when at all possible, gave them employment or put them in the way to help themselves.

There were a number of Indians about the head waters of the Tay River at that time. They went down to the lake of Two Mountains every spring, to sell their furs and receive their annuities from the Government; blankets, guns and ammunition were also given at the same time if I remember aright. The Indians spent the summer in Okra, the Indian Village at the foot of the Lake of Two Mountains; in the fall they returned to their various hunting grounds. They passed our place with six or eight canoes, loaded with their families and gods, a Union Jack at the bow and stern of each canoe; and some years they camped in our place for a few days and killed a deer or two. I well remember of seeing one deer, a dead one, an Indian was carrying to camp that he had just shot in the river. Their dogs had run it into the river, or large bay but it was 76 years ago. There are no such goings on nowadays. When the Indians got as far as the Captain's he was on the watch for them, they almost always had a white girl child, picked up in some way or given to them by some unfortunate mother. The Captain saved several and brought them up to be cared for as one of the family.

Captain Adams was of the same family, I believe, that gave two presidents to the U.S. -- John Adams, second President and John Quincy Adams, his son, sixth President -- but when James Madison, fourth President, declared war against England, in 1812, the Captain thought that it was a great wrong and immediately took up arms for old England and Canada, left home and property in Massachusetts, lost all he had there, but his love for Britain was greater than the property to him. At the close of the war in 1814 (sic.), he came to Perth which became a settlement for many of the disbanded soldiers who were granted land and a year's rations to begin a life of independence. The common soldiers received 50 to 100 acres each according to location. The officers got larger grants according to rank. My grandfather got 400 acres; he fought "Bony" in Egypt, in Spain, was at the taking of some island in the West Indies from France and was wounded in the war of '12 and '14.

The Captain died, I believe, from the effects of a fall, I don't remember just how many years ago, but about 1856 or 1857 (sic.). He was one of nature's noble men.

Yours as ever,

Alex M. Richey

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# Index

## A

## B

## C



## D



## E



## F



## G

## H



## J



## K



## L



## M

## N



## O



## P



## R

## S



## T



## V

## W



## Y