A Biography of Lot Smith (1830-1892)

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A BIOGRAPHY OF LOT SMITH (1830-1892)

by

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To my wife, Mary Lou, I give a husband's gratitude for her patience and support.

Robert L. Crane, Jr.

ii
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. BACKGROUND AND EARLY LIFE</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE MORMON BATTALION</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. FARMER-SOLDIER</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. THE UTAH WAR</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. CALLED TO WAR: THE CIVIL WAR AND LOT SMITH</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. YEARS OF RESPONSIBILITY: 1865-1876</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. THE ARIZONA MISSION</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. LOT SMITH--THE MAN</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. EPILOGUE</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

A Biography of Lot Smith (1830-1892)

by

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Department: History

There is much in the literature of Utah-Mormon history that mentions the name of Lot Smith over and over again. As one evaluates the material for this biography, the contribution and significance of the life of Lot Smith in relation to the times in which he lived become meaningful. Lot Smith helped build much of Utah and Arizona history.

This thesis places emphasis on the following phases of his life: The Mormon Battalion, The Utah War, The Civil War, and The Arizona Mission. Lot was mainly a soldier, but he was also a missionary, farmer and statesman whose whole way of life was centered around building and defending the Mormon Kingdom of God.

(117 pages)
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Heretofore, no biography has been written of Lot Smith (1830-1892)—one of the prominent men in Utah-Mormon history. His name is mentioned over and over again in much of the literature of Utah history, yet no general biographic study exists. This work helps supply that need. The author has tried to show the relationship of the life of Lot Smith to the times in which he lived, in the belief that it is extremely important to make known the life of a man who participated and helped build much of Utah and Arizona history.

Lot Smith was a missionary, soldier, farmer, and statesman—an individual whose whole way of life was centered around building and defending the Mormon Kingdom of God.

As one walks toward the beautiful Utah State Capitol building, he may notice a monument to the right of the stairs leading up to the entrance. It is dedicated to the men of the Mormon Battalion who played a role in America's participation in the Mexican War. Far to the left of the entrance, in a group of trees, stands a monument dedicated to a company of men who participated in the Civil War. On both of these monuments are listed the names of Utahns who participated in these historical events. Their names may not receive mention in many textbooks on American history, but their names are interwoven into the pages of their state history.

The name of Lot Smith appears on both of these monuments. He is mentioned briefly throughout the history of the State of Utah and of
his church, which is so much a part of Utah's past.

To set the stage for this unusual character, let us read the thoughts of one unknown author which appeared in the *Deseret News* on April 5, 1902.

Few boys or girls in the State of Utah old enough to understand, would admit that he or she did not know who Lot Smith was. A knowledge of the history of the state presupposes at least some familiarity with the career of this courageous man; for the two are interwoven and one is a vital part of the other. But as he grew into manhood men learned the wisdom of not trampling upon his toes. Like all brave and martial men, he could not tolerate a coward. He had no patience with them, and of course, they thought him to be the most tyrannical of men. But with those who possessed bravery and honesty he was true as steel.
CHAPTER II
BACKGROUND AND EARLY LIFE

The story of Lot Smith begins many years before his birth, in the colonial era of American history. The heritage given to America by the early colonists was largely religious. Many had come to the new world for religious freedom. To fulfill their dream of freedom in all things, they had to free themselves from England and win their independence.¹ In a relatively short time, the colonists did become free of the bonds of England, and became Americans in a truer sense. It was believed by some that God had helped with this victory over England, a belief which reflected America's religious background.

After achieving political freedom, Americans were much more secularized. Man, however, still had a religious feeling about him. So it was for man to be "awakened" to a conversion to a new religious life.² Revivalism was to be a catalyst to stir the hearts and souls of men back to God.

The missionaries that were attracted to this revivalism believed that the word of God should be extended into the new frontier, into the "Godless West." Many settlers had crossed the Appalachian Mountains to settle on the frontier. Here they were cut off from the influence of the churches, so dominant in the eastern United States. In the

frontier region they struggled against nature and the Indian, and it seemed for a time that the frontiersmen did not have time to worship God as their relatives had done on the Coast. However, this revivalism would have to wait for a time. America was then engaged in the War of 1812, and America had more important matters to settle.

Following the War of 1812, America was in a period of peace. Revivalism could now begin in earnest. Man was more prepared for the movement that was to come upon him than he had been before the war. The early nineteenth century became a reform period in American history. Factories and cities began to grow. The war had brought to America new heroes, like Andrew Jackson. Americans could listen to the "Star-Spangled Banner" and be reminded of their deep love for their country. But of all the reform movements, religion seemed to play a dominant role. Some Americans began to look to the millennial reign of Christ.

Western New York was a typical example of a particular place where revivalism could be seen thriving in the "Godless West." The settlers of western New York had their background in the hills of New England. They were radicals who found excitement with emotional religion. In western New York, they welcomed the revivalism of the different churches. Men were proclaiming new dispensations, gold Bibles, new prophets, and new religions. Western New York was so aflame with revivalism that the geographical area was even given a classical name: the "Burned-Over District," which referred to the "fires of the forest

3 Cross, 6.
and those of the spirit." Any man who migrated to western New York from New England during the early part of the nineteenth century could hardly escape contact with at least one revival. A western New Yorker might even find himself in many churches before he would part this life.

William O. Smith, the father of Lot Smith, and his wife Rhoda lived in a small community in western New York near Lake Oneida called Williamstown. They already had two sons, Joel and Hyrum, and they were to be blessed with five more children. On the fifteenth day in May in the year 1830, the Smith's third child was born in Williamstown. They named him Lot, after the person in the book of Genesis who watched by the gate of Sodom and Gomorrah for the angel of God.

We know little of William Smith's life at Williamstown. In many parts of western New York, revivalism affected the lives of many people. The building of the Erie Canal changed economically the lives of many families in that area of New York State. However, Williamstown did not seem to increase in population after the completion of the canal.

It was said that William joined the Mormons while living in New York. His family records show that he did join the Mormon Church, but it is not certain that he joined the church in New York. The

4Cross, 3.
5Genealogical Records of the Lot Smith family, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.
7Cross, 12.
8Cross, 57-58.
9Lot Smith Family Records, in the possession of Beth Smith Foxley.
Smith family's movements parallel the Mormons' westward trek very closely which many indicate some sympathy or loyalty to their cause.

Early in Lot's life his family moved to Montrose, Iowa,\(^1\) where many Mormons were living. By 1839 a main Mormon colony was located across the Mississippi River at Commerce, Illinois, later to be called Nauvoo. While Lot's family was living in Iowa, his father was baptized into The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Mississippi River, near Nauvoo, Illinois on November 20, 1837.\(^1\)

It was here in Montrose that Lot grew and began his early teen years. However, in January, 1845, Lot's mother, Rhoda, became very ill and a short time later she died.\(^1\) Lot was only fifteen years old at the time. A year later Lot's family packed their belongings and prepared to move west with the expelled Mormons.

From Nauvoo, Lot and his family accompanied the expelled Saints across the Mississippi River into Iowa.

\(^1\)Omer J. Smith, "Lot Smith Chronology," 1; also Dr. Grant Gill Smith, "Important Dates and Facts in the Early Life of Lot Smith," 1, in possession of Beth Foxley Smith, a copy given to Robert L. Crane, Jr.

\(^1\)Since Nauvoo was not established until a year or two later, it would seem unlikely that he was baptized there. But there seems to be a consensus among Lot's family members that this date is true. Checking with the Lot Smith Genealogical Records, the date appears throughout many of the records. Some in the family have indicated that the date may be correct, but the place may have been changed for a more convenient way of keeping the record. It may have been that he was baptized in what eventually did become Nauvoo. Dr. Grant Gill Smith, grandson of Lot Smith, indicates in his "Important Dates and Facts in the Early Life of Lot Smith" that Lot's father joined the church in New York, but was not baptized until 1837.

\(^1\)Genealogical Records of the Lot Smith family; also Omer J. Smith, "Lot Smith Chronology," 1.
CHAPTER III
THE MORMON BATTALION

William Orval Smith and his family did not have far to go to the first encampment of the exiled Saints. Sugar Creek, Iowa was located about nine miles west of Nauvoo. ¹ They were still in country familiar to them. The weather was cold, the wilderness harsh, and many were unprepared for life in nature's rugged country.

The Saints had gathered at Sugar Creek, just outside of Montrose, to wait for their leaders to organize them. It became apparent to all that the major task in their march westward was to gather together "resources for subsistence."² Cooperative effort had to be the key to make their westward trek a success, and to survive the ordeal of the wilderness.

It was a difficult journey for the William O. Smith family, as indeed it was for most of the Saints. A trail had to be made through the mud, snow, and cold of the winter in southern Iowa. Some degree of organization had to be devised for the thousands of Saints gathering in Iowa. A work plan was established among the main body of marchers for the purpose of growing food and gathering needed supplies for their journey west.

Lot and his family weathered the ordeal of Iowa. It had been


²Roberts, Comprehensive History, III, 41.
long and hard, with much suffering, but it had given them the experience that they would need in "the Great American Desert."

Many of the Saints arrived at the Missouri River and settled for a time at Council Bluffs, Iowa. It was June of 1846. The Saints stopped and rested for a season to wait and prepare themselves for next Spring. Much more organization was needed to prepare the Saints for the oncoming winter and for their journey into the Rocky Mountains.

A place had to be found where most of the Saints could establish a winter encampment. Just northwest of Council Bluffs, on the west side of the Missouri River in Nebraska, was located an encampment which was given the name "Winter Quarters." Here on the Missouri River, Lot watched the Saints strive for more discipline, more organization, and better preparation.

Winter Quarters was a testing period for those Saints determined to make the trek West. The idea of cooperation was established on all fronts. Some even believed that cooperation between the United States and the Mormons could be beneficial for both parties. Jesse C. Little, president of the Eastern States Mission, was the official spokesman of the Twelve Apostles, in charge of the migrating Mormons, in an attempt to receive aid from the federal government. At first the suggestion was that the Saints hire themselves out to the federal government to build forts and stockade houses on the route to Oregon at considerably

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4Anderson, 56.
less expense to the government since the Saints were headed in that direction anyway.5

However, another enterprise was taking form where the Mormons would be needed. President Polk was so overwhelmed with jubilation because of General Zachary Taylor’s victory at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma that the numbers suggested for the building of forts by Little might be used as soldiers fighting the Mexicans during the Mexican War.6 The President felt that some of the Mormon men could be used to help secure the Southwest and California for the United States.

President Polk authorized Colonel Stephen Kearney, commander of the army of the West, to enlist the needed Mormon men for the California march. Kearney ordered Captain James Allen to enlist the Mormon troops.

Captain James Allen arrived at Mt. Pisgah on the 26th of June, representing Colonel Stephen Kearney. He issued "A Circular to the Mormons."

I have come among you, instructed by Colonel S.F. Kearney of the United States army, now commanding the army of the West, to visit the Mormon camp, and to accept the service for twelve months for four or five companies of Mormon men who may be willing to serve their country for that period in our present war with Mexico; this force to unite with the army of the West at Santa Fe, and be marched thence to California, where they will be discharged.7

Many at the camp were concerned about serving for the United States government. Everyone looked to President Brigham Young for

5Anderson, 48.
6Roberts, Comprehensive History, III, 70.
an appropriate response. Captain Allen went to meet Young to see what troops could be enlisted. Then Captain Allen made a fiery speech at a public meeting near Mt. Pisgah which was followed by a speech from President Young encouraging five hundred volunteers to enlist.

Captain Allen stated in his speech to the Mormons that a volunteer must be between eighteen and forty-five years of age. Lot was only sixteen at the time. If Lot, who was large in stature, stood on his toes to reach the average height of an eighteen year old man, he might be able to measure up to the army's qualifications. Since Lot had received his parent's written permission, he passed the examination. On July 16, 1846, Lot was mustered into the ranks of the Mormon Battalion. He was assigned as a private to Company E, one of the last companies to be organized.

Lot, along with the other members of the Mormon Battalion, left for Fort Leavenworth in August to be equipped for the long infantry march. As the Smith family watched Lot go off to war, they were not to see him for three long years.

As a private, Lot received $42 for the twelve month enlistment.

9Roberts, Comprehensive History, III, 79.
10Hamilton Gardner, "Pioneer Military Leaders of Utah" (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1952), 58.
11Andrew Jenson, Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia (Salt Lake City, Utah: Andrew Jenson History Company and Deseret News, 1901), I, 803.
12Records of the Mormon Battalion, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.
The entire amount for the whole battalion was $21,000, most of which was sent back to the Saints traveling west.\(^{13}\)

Captain Allen, who had been promoted to Colonel, was very ill upon arrival at Fort Leavenworth. He did manage to order the Battalion to leave the fort on August 12. He told the various commanders of the companies that he would join them as soon as he was able. However, on August 23 he died.\(^{14}\)

The Battalion was very fond of Allen, and many of the soldiers were moved by Allen's death. It was best expressed in these words:

Thus died Lieutenant Colonel Allen, of the first United States dragoons in the midst of a career of usefulness, under the favoring smiles of fortune, beloved while living, regretted after death by all who knew him, both among the volunteers and troops.\(^{15}\)

After Allen's death, Lieutenant A.J. Smith of the regular army took over as commander of the battalion. Two divisions of the Mormon Battalion left Fort Leavenworth on August 12 and marched to Santa Fe. Lot was a member of the second division and arrived in Santa Fe on October 12.\(^{16}\)

General Kearney wanted Lieutenant Colonel P. St. George Cooke to take command of the battalion and follow the trail to California with his troops and supplies.\(^{17}\) He took command at Santa Fe, but the troops were disappointed that one of their own number had not been

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\(^{13}\)Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, III, 95.

\(^{14}\)Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, III, 105.

\(^{15}\)Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, III, 105.

\(^{16}\)Tyler, 163-64, 138.

\(^{17}\)Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, III, 109.
considered as commander. They had felt that since almost all of the force were Mormons, they should at least be led by Mormon officers.

Many members of the battalion could not make the arduous journey. Some of them had to be sent back because of various problems. Lot witnessed another detachment of sick and feeble soldiers turn towards Pueblo, where they would winter and join the Saints the next Spring. However, the difference between this group and the others that had turned back was that this group was composed of women and children who had been allowed to stay with their husbands during the march from Ft. Leavenworth.

The battalion was met at Santa Fe by Colonel Doniphan. While in Santa Fe, the new commander, Colonel Cooke, ordered Lot to guard a Mexican corral. A company of United States Cavalry was camped nearby and Cooke anticipated that these "horse soldiers" might steal the poles from the corral. He ordered Lot Smith to bayonet anyone who looked as though he was going to steal any of those poles. While Lot was on guard, the troopers came in the night. While Lot guarded one side of the corral, they planned to hitch onto a pole on the other side and ride off with it. The plan worked well, and Lot was fully aware of what was going on. It seemed to him that it was a foolish order to obey. Colonel Cooke returned to find that some of the poles were stolen and that his private had not obeyed orders. In questioning Lot why he had disobeyed the Colonel's orders, Lot replied, "If you

19Anderson, 63.
expect me to bayonet United States troops for taking a pole on the enemy's ground to make a fire of you mistake your man." Lot was placed under arrest for disobeying orders, but charges were never brought forth and nothing really became of the incident.\textsuperscript{21}

On October 19, 1846, the troops left Santa Fe for the long trek to California, following the Rio Grande River south. They then reached the point where General Kearney had left the trail and had turned directly west.\textsuperscript{22}

Many of the officers met in council to determine whether to follow Kearney's route. Lot and many of the men of the battalion noticed as they came to this fork in the trail that Kearney had left his wagons. The battalion guides advised the council of officers that it would be impossible to follow the Gila River route west with their wagons because of the deep sand.\textsuperscript{23}

The new route for the battalion went south for a distance. Many of the men of the battalion felt that if they followed this southern route they would be discharged in Old Mexico and not California. For Lot and all the volunteers their destination was California. "All of our hopes, conversation and songs were centered on California. Somewhere on that broad domain we expected to join our families and friends."\textsuperscript{24}

After some time, the battalion turned again to the west, moving

\textsuperscript{21}Roberts, \textit{Mormon Battalion}, 86-87.

\textsuperscript{22}Roberts, \textit{Mormon Battalion}, 86-87.

\textsuperscript{23}Roberts, \textit{Mormon Battalion}, 86-87.

\textsuperscript{24}Roberts, \textit{Mormon Battalion}, 86-87.
well south of the Gila River. They were going on to California. It was hard to tell that it was December in this part of the country. It was also hard for Lot to realize that soon he and the rest of the battalion would be engaging in their first fighting since leaving Fort Leavenworth. The odd thing about this oncoming battle was that Lot was to battle an enemy that he never dreamed of fighting in this Mexican War.

Before reaching Tucson, Lot noticed that this part of the country was abundant with herds of wild cattle. It was even remarked by some of the battalion that the bulls among them seemed very dangerous. The battalion was not unaccustomed to seeing buffalo, but wild cattle was another story. The wild cattle seemed to follow the march of the volunteers waiting for the proper moment to strike. Without warning, cattle began to attack the battalion. Several mules were gored to death, and some of the supply wagons were over turned by the sporadic charges of the wild beasts. Lot's musket was unloaded as were all the muskets in the battalion. Lot and the others, realizing the danger, quickly loaded their muskets and began to fire at the charging wild beasts. The gunfire frightened many of the cattle before there were any human fatalities. Lot and the rest of the men had met their first enemy.


27 Tyler, 219-220.

28 Tyler, 219-220.
Upon reaching Tucson, Lot learned that there were ways to obtain victory other than direct fighting. Tucson was inhabited by four to five hundred people with a Mexican garrison of two hundred troops. Arriving at the outskirts of Tucson, Colonel Cooke sent a messenger to the Mexican commander asking that the Mexicans surrender and deliver up their arms as a guarantee of that surrender. At first the Mexican commander declined. However, appraising the situation, he realized that he was outnumbered. He was not sure if he could receive any aid from the townspeople who may not have been sympathetic to his cause. The troops fled the garrison taking most of the arms and some of the able-bodied men with them. With the garrison empty, Lot and the battalion marched through the town without firing a shot. 29

As they marched on, a new peril confronted the battalion. This time it was not men or animals, but that precious substance called water.

One day when we had marched a long distance without water, and nearly famished, we beheld a dry lake at a distance, sometimes called a mirage. It looked so much like a lake of water to those who never saw one that we had full assurance of speedy relief. It no doubt had this effect, at least it stimulated us to press on, but to our horror it was only dry land, and we traveled fully six miles across this delusion and still found no water, and night had fully come. 30

Hope was not gone though. They saw a willow or wire grass patch and many thought this might contain the needed water, if they did not have to dig too deep.

... digging down about eight feet, we found abundance to supply our wants. After this was attended to, I [Lot] was selected to go back with a keg of water on a mule to help

29 Roberts, Comprehensive History, III, 117.  
30 Jenson, Biographical Encyclopedia, I, 804.
those who had fallen by the way, who had numbered quite a few. I had instructions not to give anyone water till I got to the last man, and then I was to work back to the company, having particular instructions how to administer this sacred, life saving fluid. I soon met a man who was anxiously inquiring for water, distance, etc. I put him off, also the second, third, and fourth. I think, but from this on I could no longer stand their pleadings. I watered them all and had some left, so I had a drink when I got through a distance of twelve or fourteen miles. I was careful in giving them water, though many drank heartily. The Lord surely blessed my little keg of water in a marvelous manner.31

Though Lot had given everyone water, he had still disobeyed orders. One of the officers, by the name of Dykes, took it upon himself to punish Lot for his disobedience.32 Lot's hands were ordered to be bound by the wrists and a rope was fastened from them to the wagon rod at the rear of one of the battalion's wagons. When the battalion began their march, Lot was compelled to walk, being pulled by the wagon. He was to be subjected to this punishment until the battalion stopped after their forenoon march. However, when Colonel St. George Cooke saw the punishment inflicted on such a young lad, he countermanded the order of Lieutenant Dykes.33 Dykes had been considered a harsh man by some of the men in the battalion, and Lot, this time, was the tool of his harshness.34

One of Lot's associates on this march was James V. Williams. As a member of Company E, he would later write this of Lot Smith:

31Jenson, Biographical Encyclopedia, I, 804.
32Jenson, Biographical Encyclopedia, I, 804.
33Seymour B. Young, "Lest We Forget," Improvement Era XXV (August-September 1922), 900-903, 1005-1008.
I have known him to march and carry his flintlock, musket, and other equipment, and with no other raiment than a shirt and a Navajo blanket to cover his body, and part of a beef hide as substitute for boots for his feet. He had not a spark of fear in him.35

Lot and the rest of the battalion finally reached their destination, San Diego, California on January 29, 1847. They had succeeded in marching 1,870 miles over a very desolate area of land.36

On February 4, 1847, Lot and the rest of the battalion heard the "Official Announcement of the Battalion's Arrival on the Pacific Coast." Colonel Cooke spared no words in talking about the achievements of the battalion, and the service they had performed for their country. These volunteers had displayed "high and essential qualities of veterans."37

Bonaparte crossed the Alps, but these men have crossed a continent.38

History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry. Half of it has been through a wilderness, where nothing but savages and wild beasts are found, or deserts where, for want of water, there is no living creature. There with almost hopeless labor, we have dug wells, which the future traveler will enjoy. Without a guide who had traversed them we have ventured into trackless table lands where water was not found for several marches. With crow-bar and pick and axe in hand, we have worked our way over mountains, which seem to defy aught save the wild goat, and hewed a pass through a chasm of living rock more narrow than our wagons. ... Thus, marching half naked and half fed, and living upon wild animals, we have discovered and made a road of great value to our country.39

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35Deseret News, April 16, 1902.
36Anderson, 71.
37Roberts, Comprehensive History, III, 120.
38Tyler, 282.
39Tyler, 282.
On February 19, Lot and other members of the Mormon Battalion, Companies A, C, D, and E, left San Diego for Los Angeles, and arrived there on the 23rd. The men of the battalion marched fifty miles northeast of Los Angeles to build a fort called Fort Moore as a protection against the marauding bands of Indians.

At Los Angeles strong efforts were made by General Kearney to reenlist as many men of the battalion as possible for garrison duty at San Diego. The officers of the battalion favored reenlistment as a way of aiding the Lord's work and helping their absent families. However, many of the men were in favor of returning to their families and the rest of the Saints.\(^{40}\)

On July 20, 1847, Lot and eighty-one officers and men reenlisted for six months; the rest of the battalion mustered out of the service on July 16, made a march to the Great Basin by way of the San Joaquin Valley and Sutter's Fort.\(^{41}\) The reenlisted company chose Captain Daniel C. Davis, former captain of Company E, to command them. They were hereafter known as the "Mormon Volunteers."\(^{42}\)

Lot and the reenlisted volunteers had very little to do at the garrison. An agreement was made with the military commander that when the men were off duty, they could turn their attention to common and mechanical labor.\(^{43}\) They made adobes, dug wells, built houses, and became well known for their burnt bricks.\(^{44}\)

\(^{40}\)Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, III, 357.

\(^{41}\)Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, III, 359.

\(^{42}\)Andrew Jenson, *The Historical Record--Church Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: [Andrew Jenson], 1889), V, 933.

\(^{43}\)Jenson, *Historical Record*, V, 933.

\(^{44}\)Tyler, 286-287.
On January 20, 1848, the Mormon Volunteers' reenlistment period expired, but the government again desired their services and Lot reenlisted and served until March 21, 1848.45

Lot went on to Sutter's Fort where he panned for gold for the next year. Here it is estimated that he accumulated about $6,000 worth of gold dust.46 In the Spring of 1849, Lot set out for Salt Lake City.

Lot bought mules and loaded them with his gold. He crossed the Sierra Nevada and headed east following the Humboldt River. While crossing the river, Lot lost one of his mules because it was so overloaded with gold dust that the weight drowned the animal immediately. The gold dust was not recovered. Lot followed the northern route of the California Trail through Idaho. On March 24, 1849, he reached Hampton's Bridge on the Bear River near the present town of Fielding, Utah.47 He continued on his journey to the Salt Lake Valley and arrived there in April.

45Jenson, Historical Record, V, 933.
46Smith, "Chronology," 1.
CHAPTER IV
FARMER-SOLDIER

The overland journey from Winter Quarters to the Salt Lake Valley was difficult for the Saints. The first company arrived in the valley in July 1847. Lot's father, William, and the rest of the Smith family started the long journey west with the companies of Saints in the 1848 migration.

It was during the trek west that William met Emily Spinnings. Two years had passed since the death of Rhoda, and William had been left with the responsibility of seven children: Lot, Joel, Henry, William, Hyrum, Emma, and Ann. It was a difficult task to take care of all these children without the help of a mother, and it seemed that Emily could fulfill that responsibility. William was about to begin life anew with a new wife and a new land.

Lot's father arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1848. Near Cottonwood, William settled and built his farm. While at Cottonwood Creek, William was reunited with his son-in-law, Allen Burke. Burke had married one of Lot's older sisters, but had left her for a while to cross the plains as a hunter and trapper with the Amasa Lyman Company of pioneers. William and Allen settled in the Farmington area.

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1No mention is made of Emily Spinnings before the trek west in any of the family genealogical records. The only mention of her is when they arrive in the valley. It may be that William met her while going west, and was married on the trail.

2Genealogical Records of the Lot Smith family.

3George Quincy Knowlton, A Brief History of Farmington, Utah (Kaysville, Utah: Inland Printing, 1956).
and helped form the North Cottonwood settlement; thus, Lot's father became one of the founders of present-day Farmington.\textsuperscript{4}

Lot arrived in Great Salt Lake City with his train of mules loaded with gold in 1849, around March or April. Lot had survived crossing the continent and the Great Basin, and he was only nineteen years of age.\textsuperscript{5}

By the time Lot arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, Brigham Young's settlement program had started to expand from the center with Salt Lake City as the first base community. The second base community established was Ogden, fifty miles north of Salt Lake City. A number of smaller villages and towns were settled between these two base communities. By the spring of 1849, Provo had been established, about forty miles south of Salt Lake City.\textsuperscript{6}

Upon his arrival Lot was informed that his family was living just a few miles north of Salt Lake City. Lot headed for Farmington, a small village, which would later become the county seat of Davis County established in 1850 by the State of Deseret.

Lot went to the North Cottonwood settlement where he was united with his family and his new mother. Lot had returned a fairly rich man, with his mules loaded with gold dust, but he decided to give one third of his wealth to his church, one third to his family, and one


\textsuperscript{5}Omer J. Smith, "Chronology," 2. However, in the Journal History of the Church, no mention of Lot's arrival can be found in the 1849 volume.

\textsuperscript{6}Anderson, 100-102.
third he kept for himself. Lot became interested in settling down for a time at least, and contemplated buying a farm near his father in the new settlement.

Thomas Grover had come to the northern settlements in the fall of 1847. He had settled with his family at the North Mill Creek near the present towns of Centerville and Bountiful. His first duty in the area for the church was to care for the stock through the winter, but when other families joined him, a permanent settlement was established. Thus, Grover became owner of a large area of land in the Davis County area.

Lot went to Grover and bought some property in the Farmington area for $1,000. The land he purchased was about 160 acres. The Pre-emption Act of 1842, allowed the homesteader to purchase a minimum of 160 acres at $1.25 an acre. Since Grover already owned the land, he probably profited in selling this land to Lot. Lot was now a farmer.

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8 Roberts, Comprehensive History, III, 475.
Lot built a rock house and a barn on his property. However, in the midst of construction, Lot's father became very ill and on July 9, 1849, passed away. Lot now knew the tragedy of the loss of both his parents. At this time a great influence, the Church, came to direct his life. He would be confronted again and again with the choice of being a farmer or a soldier. Many times he would choose the role of the soldier, because that is what he knew best.

Before the State of Deseret was officially organized, a military organization was begun. A call was made for "all able bodied men over fourteen and under seventy-five years of age in the valley to constitute the military force of the people, under the name of the Nauvoo Legion." One purpose of this military organization was to perform the function of a militia to be used for protecting the settlements, especially since they were in Indian country. Daniel H. Wells was appointed by Brigham Young as commander of the military organization. For many years to come Lot was a member of General Wells' staff.

The first company was organized under the command of Captain George D. Grant. The men of this militia were given the name "Minute Men." From time to time the men of this organization were called out to protect the outlying settlements. In fact Young divided the State of Deseret into thirteen military districts--Great Salt Lake, Green River, Utah County, Provo, Peteet-neet, Juab, Sanpete, Pauvan, Iron, 

13 Genealogical Records of the Lot Smith family.


Tooele, Davis, Weber, and Box Elder. Each district had its own commander, and the men of the community made up the ranks of each district. The districts were then called upon to defend various settlements which had Indian problems.

The relationship of the Mormons to the Indians was very simple and concise. The Indians were a people to be dealt with cautiously. The Mormons, particularly in Utah County, constantly complained about the Indians stealing and intruding on property, especially stealing horses.

With the call of men in arms for possible protection, eighteen Mormon Battalion men came forth to become part of the militia. Among them was Lot Smith. He was assigned to Captain John Scott, along with forty men, to pursue some of the thieving Indians. Scott's group was part of the "Minute Men." It was while Lot was with the militia fighting the Indians that he became very close friends with Robert T. Burton. Later, both men fought side by side in many military engagements and church settlement programs.

A hostile band of Ute Indians had been raiding the livestock in Utah Valley. They had made numerous raids on ranches located near the

17 Roberts, Comprehensive History, III, 458.
18 Roberts, Comprehensive History, III, 459.
20 Edward W. Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City (Salt Lake City, Utah: Star Printing Company, 1886), 69.
base of the Wasatch Mountains. The main encampment for these hostiles was on Battle Creek, so named for the battle that took place there.22

The Minute Men were sent to help at Battle Creek. Lot's company quickly and quietly surrounded the Ute Indian encampment. Fighting ensued and when the battle was over, four Indians were left dead.23

This brief encounter did not quell the activities of the Indians. In January 1850, Isaac Higbee reported to Young that the Indians in Utah Valley had been stealing and had killed fifty to sixty head of cattle and horses. Higbee spoke in behalf of the pioneers at Utah Fort in regards to defending themselves. They were against Young's Indian policy, which was in essence a peaceful coexistence with the Indians.24

A council was called and according to Captain Howard Stansbury, Brigham Young was reluctant to adopt harsh measures against any Indians.25 However, Stansbury urged the council to send an expedition against them. The council finally agreed to send a company against the Indians. One reason for this action was the feeling that the leader of the Indians, Old Elk, was a "crafty and bloodthirsty savage." Another reason involved the need to complete the survey of Utah Valley being conducted by Captain Stansbury and Lieutenant Gunnison.26

22Roberts, Comprehensive History, III, 460.
23Roberts, Comprehensive History, III, 460.
24Roberts, Comprehensive History, III, 467.
26Roberts, Comprehensive History, III, 468-69.
The men who made up this expedition were the "Minute Men" under George D. Grant and the forces from Fort Utah. It was cold that February in 1850. Two feet of snow covered the ground near Provo. The fort was located one mile from the Provo River. Many settlers had made their homes along the Provo River bank, about a mile away. The problems with the Indians had grown to such a degree that many settlers left their log houses and took refuge in the fort. The Indians secured their positions in some of the deserted cabins, while others hid among the willows and timber of the river bank. It was a very tense situation.

Lot was a private in the First Company of Militia commanded by Captain Grant. The officers of the militia held talks with the Indians, but Old Elk felt that he could defeat the company. It became apparent that a battle would be necessary.

On February 9, 1850, the company, including Lot, engaged the enemy. However, the Indians were in a very good strategic position. The militia was just not able to remove the Indians from their position.

In the second day's battle, the Indians still held one particular log house, and it looked like nothing could drive them out.

27 Roberts, Comprehensive History, III, 468-69.
28 Utah State Department of Public Instruction, The Colonizer, Utah in Perspective Series, 36. Script of sound filmstrip.
29 Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, 69.
30 Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1850, 1-4.
Captain Grant, who had taken great care to expose his men as little as possible, determined to capture the log house at all costs. He ordered Lieutenant William H. Kimball, with fifteen picked men, to charge the cabin. Lot and Robert T. Burton were among those chosen to do the job. The men proceeded up the river directly opposite the log house. Facing the rear of the cabin, Kimball gave the word to charge. The men did as ordered, but the volley from the log house was so intense that the charge was quickly stopped.\(^{32}\)

Lot and Burton decided that the only way to dislodge these Indians was to catch them by surprise. They both rode around to the front of the building, charged through the front door on their horses, and momentarily caught the Indians by surprise. The Indians began shooting frantically, both inside and outside the cabin.\(^{33}\) This maneuver momentarily reduced the number of Indians in the cabin, but a few still remained. Lot and Robert quickly rode out of the cabin to safety without being wounded.

This maneuver failing, the company then decided to construct on runners a barricade of planks in the shape of a V. This could be used to provide an excellent protective screen. This so called "wooden horse" caught the Indians so much by surprise that they fled from the mere sight of it.\(^{34}\) The Indians scattered in all directions. Some fled to the nearby canyons to the east; others to the southern end of Utah Lake.


\(^{33}\)Gottfredsen, 33.

\(^{34}\)Gottfredsen, 33.
Daniel H. Wells, commander of the state's militia, came to Utah Valley to take command on February 10, 1850. He commanded a small force which followed some of the Indians to Rock Canyon. However, the company later found most of the Indians at the south end of Utah Lake. Here Lot, who was still with the militia, and the rest of the men overtook the Indians. A battle raged wherein most of the Indians were killed.35

It is worthy of note that it was this very expedition, for the relief of the Provo colony, which brought out the men who have since figured as Generals of the Utah Militia. In it Major-Generals Lot Smith and Robert T. Burton for the first time met, and with that charge together on the log house began the life-long friendship of these two men, who, next to the Lt. General Daniel H. Wells and General W.B. Pace, have figured the most conspicuously in the military history of Utah.36

The next expedition against the Indians involving the militia occurred in the area closer to where Lot Smith lived, though it is not known whether Lot was in on it. This time the Shoshones were the cause of the alarm. In September 1850, troubles arose along the Weber and Ogden rivers. The Indians had taken it upon themselves to pasture their horses in the grain fields and to steal the settler's horses and food. Brownsville, later to be called Ogden, was the focal point of the whole affair. While the Indians were making one of their raids upon the settlers, an Indian was killed. The Indians threatened to kill all the inhabitants of Brownsville and to burn the village to the ground. This threat was reported to Salt Lake where a detachment of the militia under the command of Horace S. Eldredge was sent. With the

35Roberts, Comprehensive History, III, 470.
36Journal History, February 9, 1850.
coming of the militia, the Shoshones quickly fled north never to bother this area again.37

Lot was twenty-one years old when he asked Lydia Minerva McBride to become his wife. She was from Lot's home state, New York, being born in Villanova, Chautauqua County, in 1832. Lydia was nineteen years old when she married Lot in Great Salt Lake City sometime in January or February of 1851.38 Shortly after this, in March 1851, Lot Smith was rebaptized into The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints by John Young of the Fourth Quorum of Seventy of Salt Lake City.39

Lot was married and sealed to a second wife, Jane Walker, on February 14, 1852.40 Jane was twenty years old at the time and had come to the valley from Leacham, Caledonia County, Vermont.41 Jane went to live with Lydia and Lot in the rock house that Lot had built on his farm in Farmington.

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38Omer J. Smith, "Chronology," 2. Lot was sealed to Lydia on June 3, 1851 (Book A Endowments #64), and again on February 14, 1852 (Book A Endowments #301, 24). It seems that endowments were given from 1849-1855, and sealings for living couples only from 1846-1855. These sealings took place in President Young's office. The Endowment House was dedicated on May 5, 1855 and endowments given from May 5, 1855 to October 16, 1884. Omer J. Smith did research on this subject on November 18, 1966. All his research tends to show that people were married and sealed before the completion of the Endowment House. It also seems that people could be sealed before being endowed since Lot was married and sealed to Lydia before being endowed on August 9, 1852 (Book A Endowments #126A, 48).

39Genealogical Records of the Lot Smith family. Although this is probably a rebaptism, it is the first baptismal date for Lot Smith. The most correct and up-to-date genealogical record on him gives the following rebaptisms: September 30, 1866, July 25, 1875, and September 12, 1967.

40Genealogical Records of the Lot Smith family, also located in Temple Book #301, Book A, 24.
Soon after Lot married his second wife, the Church publicly announced the doctrine of polygamy, August 29, 1852. Plural marriage had been practiced quietly during Joseph Smith's time, but in 1852 Brigham Young announced the actual practice of it to the world. Thus, Lot obeyed "the principle," and eventually took six more wives.

Just after his marriage to Lydia, Lot was promoted, November 26, 1851, to sergeant in Ferguson's Company in the battalion of Life Guards which was part of the territorial militia. Then on April 12, 1852, Daniel H. Wells, who recognized the great performances of this young soldier in battle, made Lot Smith Color Bearer General.

With the need to gain as much land as possible for the Saints, Brigham Young organized and dispatched numerous exploring parties to pave the way for the settlements to follow. In June 1852, Brigham called certain men to go to Pauvan Valley in southwestern Utah. John Brown was chosen as captain; Robert Burton and Lot were asked to go along as explorers. They were to keep the expedition a secret and thoroughly explore the area. They were to bring back samples of minerals found in the area, especially silver. The whole expedition was kept such a secret that it is hard to tell if they were successful in finding any of the precious metal.

41 Genealogical Records of the Lot Smith family.
42 Journal History, August 29, 1852.
45 Journal History, June 2-4, 1852.
The men met in Willard Richard's office on June 4, 1852, where Brigham Young addressed them. A beef was killed as a farewell gesture by Young before the start of their expedition on the 5th. Most of the men of the expedition represented certain of the counties, and Lot represented Davis County. Over and over again when Davis County was asked to send men in arms or men for exploring purposes, Lot seemed always to be the first to volunteer or the first to be called.

Between exploring expeditions Lot managed to build his farm and take care of his two wives in Farmington. In March 1852, Lot's first son, Lot Samuel Smith, was born to Lydia in Farmington. A month later on April 26, 1852, Lot was ordained an elder by George D. Grant; he received his endowments on August 9, 1852. In September of 1853 Jane Walker's first daughter was born. Lot remembered his mother and named the girl Rhoda Jane Smith.

Brigham Young had sought statehood under the name of State of Deseret, but in 1850 the Mormons were not given statehood but territorial status by the federal government. The new boundaries for the territory were from the Rocky Mountains on the east to the California border on the west. The northern boundary was located at the 42nd degree north parallel and the southern boundary was set at the 37th degree north parallel. The entire territory was approximately 220,000 square miles. This vast territory was big enough to settle all the

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47 Genealogical Records of the Lot Smith family.
48 Omer J. Smith, "Chronology," 2, also located in Nauvoo and Utah Temple records, #1286, Book A, 48.
49 Anderson, 113-115.
Mormons who wished to come to Zion.

With the growth of Davis County an election was held to choose the first sheriff. In 1854, Lot was elected sheriff, and served from 1854-1859. On March 4, 1855, he became a member of the 40th Quorum of Seventies organized in Farmington, with Sanford Peter as President and Ezra T. Clark, John S. Gleason, James Harrison, Hyrum Judd, and Daniel Rawson as members. He was part of the life of a growing community, both secularly and spiritually.

In the fall of 1855, Lot was asked to accompany J.W. Cummings and J.R. Clawson from Ogden to Fort Limhi, Salmon River, Oregon Territory. Lot left Ogden on September 18, 1855 and arrived at his destination in the early part of October. The three men joined the Saints already there, and went to work plowing and sowing wheat. Soon after the fort was completed, Lot returned to Salt Lake.

Shortly after the death of his younger brother, Hyrum, Lot married his third wife on November 25, 1855. Julia Ann Smith was from Missouri, and Lot married her in the newly dedicated Endowment House. Upon Lot's request, Julia Ann was "sealed" to Hyrum.

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51 Andrew Jenson, Church Chronology (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1914), 53.
52 Journal History, October 8-9, 1855.
CHAPTER V
THE UTAH WAR

Lot was settling down with his three wives in Farmington and enjoying his job as sheriff. He had been promoted a few times in the ranks of the Utah militia and was recognized by high military officials as being a very good soldier. Lot was learning much about Utah and the surrounding area from his exploring expeditions. From fighting the Indians, he had learned that surprise was important and that a few men could, in many cases of surprise maneuvers, slow down or defeat an enemy. All seemed peaceful, at least for the time being.

True enough, in 1850 there seemed to be little reason to anticipate a recurrence of the old troubles left behind in Missouri and Illinois. A thousand miles of prairie to the east and five hundred miles of sand and mountains to the west separated the Church from that close association with Gentiles that had previously been so unharmonious. With little dispute the Mormons had been accepted into the American nation and a friendly president had selected their ecclesiastical ruler as their governor. Yet within fifteen months this benign situation had disappeared, replaced by a period of stormy accusation and bombast, with many eastern Gentiles speaking loudly of settling the Mormon question by force.¹

Many events were taking place both in Utah Territory and in Washington which turned the tide unfavorably toward the Mormons. Early in 1850, William Smith, younger brother of the Prophet Joseph Smith, had given to a Representative of the House, Warner Underwood of Kentucky, a statement which was read to the House. In the memorandum Smith mentioned that the Mormons were practicing polygamy, and had

sworn during the last days of Nauvoo to avenge their prophet, and "carry out hostility against this nation." Many of the congressmen were shocked and Smith's letter seemed to set the stage for what was to come.

Three things seem to be paramount in the difficulties that were to follow. First, polygamy, officially announced to the world in 1852, shocked many easterners. Second, many of the men selected by the United States government to fill offices in the territory were inadequate in upholding the high ideals of their office. Some appointees, to be sure, were effective, but others were "whippersnappers and broken down politicians." Many of the government appointees were not enthusiastic about living with the Mormons. Third, the Saints called Brigham Young, "President, Lion of the Lord, Prophet, Seer, Revelator," and bowed to his authority. "To many Gentiles he was the model of an oriental tyrant, a seducer of women, Anti-Christ with a Vermont accent."

However, even with all the bad reports, reaching Washington, the Saints did have friends like Thomas L. Kane and others who helped sway many toward a less critical look at the Mormon situation. The years 1852-1855 proved to be somewhat peaceful for the Mormons in Utah and their relations with the rest of the nation.

In the presidential campaign of 1856, the Republicans had a plank in their platform that called for the elimination in the territories of those "twin relics of barbarism--slavery and polygamy."

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2 Furniss, 9.
3 Furniss, 13.
4 Furniss, 18.
James Buchanan, a Democrat, won the election. However, the Republican platform created a stir of condemnation toward the Mormons.

One problem of moment concerned the carrying of mails between Utah and the rest of the nation. W.M.F. Magraw and the Mormons were competing for the mail contract through the territory. The Mormons won the contract, and Magraw left feeling very bitter toward the Mormons. 5

Two federal judges, W.W. Drummond and George P. Stiles, created some difficulties. Drummond's accusations about the Mormons were heard by ears in Washington that wanted to hear. The Mormons were outraged with his behavior. 6 Many labeled him a "'gambler and bully,,'" and he openly admitted that he came to Utah to make money. "Money is my God." 7 Drummond began to challenge the legality of polygamy and the Mormons' judicial system. 8 This infuriated the Mormons against these federal appointed judges. A mob was formed on December 29, 1856, broke into George Stiles' law office, burned many papers, and threatened Stiles with physical violence. 9 This caused many of the appointed officials to flee the territory and return to the States where they circulated complaints against the Mormons in the early part of 1857. 10

Drummond fled to New Orleans where he mailed on March 30, 1857 his resignation to Jeremiah S. Black, attorney-general in Buchanan's

5Furniss, 51.
6Furniss, 55.
8Furniss, 55-56.
9Furniss, 58.
10Furniss, 59.
administration. His reasons for resigning were many. He complained that the Mormons looked only to Brigham Young as interpreter of the law and that a secret organization was established to resist the laws of the land and keep any person from questioning the authority of the church. Another accusation leveled at the Mormons from Drummond was that the federal officers in the territory could not effectively conduct their business without interference from the Mormons.

Many used the Stiles and Drummond affair and other incidents to declare widespread condemnation on the affairs of the Mormons. The New York Times, expressed its solution to the problem: "A new Governor should be sent at once to Great Salt Lake City--backed by an imposing military force--to render the Constitution with one hand while a drawn sword is held in the other."

President Buchanan decided to send an army to Utah to curb "the Mormon rebellion." The president began in late spring and early summer of 1857 to prepare an expedition to Utah. One of the purposes of the expedition was to accompany Utah's newly-appointed governor of the territory, Alfred Cumming. The stage was set for one of the best known events in Utah history.

In the United States government official reports it is most frequently referred to as "The Utah Expedition;" though the military force is often referred to in official documents as "The Army for Utah." Anti-"Mormon" writers usually refer

11Roberts, Comprehensive History, IV, 203.
13Furniss, 90-91.
14Anderson, 161.
to the event as "The Mormon War." (Linn, Waite, et al.), and one (Waite) quotes the Saints as calling it--though I have found no confirmation of the alleged quotation--"Buchanan's Crusade."15

On July 24, 1857, Pioneer Day was held in Utah Territory. The Saints were celebrating at Big Cottonwood Canyon the tenth anniversary of entering into the valley of the Great Salt Lake. The Utah militia was asked to take part in the festive mood and add color to the twenty-five thousand people in attendance.16 All in all it was a time of speeches, the glory of the church, and merrymaking.

In the midst of the celebration some men appeared. They seemed to have traveled a great distance. One of them had ridden all the way from eastern Kansas. They had information for Brigham Young that a large military expedition with a new governor was on its way to establish "Gentile rule" in Utah.17

Young sent word to all the district commanders of the Utah militia about the approach of an army to invade Utah.18 Then as governor, he declared martial law, and ordered the following:

First. All armed forces of every description [are forbidden] from coming into this Territory, under any pretence whatever.

Second. That all the forces in said Territory hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice to repel any and all such invasion.

Third. Martial law is hereby declared to exist in this Territory from and after the publication of this proclamation, and no person shall be allowed to pass or repass into or through or from this Territory without a permit from the proper officer.19

15Roberts, Comprehensive History, IV, 181.
16Furniss, 60.
17Furniss, 60.
18Roberts, Comprehensive History, IV, 239.
19Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, 166.
The Nauvoo Legion was made ready under the command of Lieutenant-General Daniel H. Wells. The men of the legion were instructed not to spill blood or risk their own life, but to watch and harass, "strike and retreat, but take no life; beat the enemy with fire and hunger; let him freeze in the mountains, as had the handcart companies the previous winter." Following these instructions, Lot played an important part in delaying the federal troops from entering the Salt Lake valley.

Lot, one of the district commanders, was asked to join in the call of all able-bodied men to defend Zion. Early in the war, he was ordered by General Wells to take a message to Colonel E.B. Alexander who was commanding the Tenth United States Infantry located at Camp Winfield on Ham's Fork. Lot was instructed to send the message by way of a Mexican if the camp seemed too dangerous to enter. This course was followed because of the risk involved in entering the camp. The Mexican delivered the message to Colonel Alexander and returned to Lot with the answer. Lot immediately relayed the answer to his commander, General Wells.

The message Lot had sent to Alexander contained orders to Alexander and his men not to enter Utah, since Young was still the governor and had not been removed by the President of the United States. However, Alexander was under orders of the President and could not reject the orders of his military commanders.

20Anderson, 175.
21Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, 171.
22Roberts, Comprehensive History, IV, 249.
23Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, 170-71.
24Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, 171.
Upon arriving back in Echo Canyon, where many of the high officials of the church were voicing their counsels of war, Lot was asked to have dinner with General Wells and his aides. There was a specific reason Lot was invited that night.

Among all the warriors of the Mormon Israel there was, perhaps not one so fitted to open this very peculiar campaign as Lot Smith. His lion-like courage and absolute fearlessness of personal danger, when most in its presence, marked him out as the man of men to execute an exploit of such daring as that designed—to astonish the American nation into a realization of the Mormon earnestness yet at the same time to do it without shedding a drop of "the enemy's" blood.25

The Echo Canyon War was about to begin. Lot was given command of the First Battalion, First Regiment of Cavalry, formerly of the Life Guards, and was promoted to Major by General Wells.26

On October third at four o'clock in the evening, Lot Smith led his forty-four men on their expedition. After riding all that night and much of the next morning, Lot came in sight of an ox train heading west. He decided to leave half of his men for breakfast and proceed with the rest to stop the train from going into Utah. Lot arrived at the ox train with his men and went straight to the captain of the train, a man by the name of Rankin. Rankin was an unsightly person who seemed to swear with every passing breath. Lot asked Rankin to turn his wagons around and go back to where he came. Noticing that Lot had no badge of the law, Rankin asked him by what authority. Smith informed him that his men were his authority. Rankin, not wanting any trouble and being slightly outnumbered, turned his team around and

25Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, 173.
26Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, 173.
headed back east. 27 Rankin's train was later met by the United States troops moving toward Utah. After removing the lading, the train was allowed to continue east. 28

Lot felt the approach used with Rankin might make little impression on other train masters. He decided to try a more effective tactic. He divided his command, sending twenty men with Captain Haight to capture the mules of Alexander's Tenth Regiment, while he headed to Sandy Fork with twenty-three men to intercept any trains coming in that direction. After traveling for a while, Lot's company saw a cloud of dust in the direction of Fort Laramie. Lot immediately sent scouts to investigate. When they returned, they reported that a train of twenty-six large freight wagons was approaching. Lot decided to camp for supper and continue his journey in the safety of darkness. 29

After traveling fourteen miles, we came up to the train, but discovered that the teamsters were drunk, and that drunken men were easily excited and always ready to fight, and remembering my positive orders not to hurt anyone except in self-defense, we remained in ambush until after midnight. 30

On nearing the wagons, I found I had misunderstood the scripts for instead of one train of twenty-six wagons, there were two, doubling the number of men and putting quite another phase on our relative strength and situation. There was a large campfire burning and a number of teamsters were standing around it smoking. I arranged my men, and we advanced until our horses heads came into the light of the fire. Then I discovered that we had the advantage, for,

27 Lot Smith's Story--Echo Canyon War, 8.
28 Lot Smith's Story, 8.
29 Lot Smith's Story, 8.
30 Vaux., "Echo Canon War," The Contributor, (Salt Lake City, Utah) III (1882), 273.
looking back into the darkness, I could not see where my troops ended, and could imagine my twenty followers stringing out to a hundred or more as well as not.31

Upon being spotted by some of the men of the train, Lot inquired after the captain of the train. A Mr. Dawson came forward to meet Smith. Lot immediately told him to get all of his men and their private property away from the wagon as quickly as possible. Lot's intention this time was to burn the whole wagon train. Dawson immediately shouted:

"For God's sake, don't burn the trains." I said it was for his sake that I was going to burn them, and pointed out a place for his men to stack their arms, and another where they were to stand in a group, placing a guard over each.32

As Lot was busy convincing the captain of the train to cooperate with his orders, an unsuspecting soldier rode into camp. Lot asked the soldier if there were any messages. The frightened soldier replied that there were no dispatches, but a verbal message.

His orders to the train men were from the commander at Camp Winfield, and were to the effect that the Mormons were in the field, and that they must not go to sleep, but keep guard on their trains, and that four companies of cavalry and two pieces of artillery would come over in the morning to escort them into camp.33

The Utah Expedition soon learned the folly of their error to let the supply trains get too far ahead of the main body of troops.

Lot took Captain Dawson and rode up to the second train. The wagon master of this train quickly got his men out of the wagons, had them stack their arms, and huddle together under guard. With both

31"Echo Canon War," 273.
32"Echo Canon War," 273.
33Lot Smith's Story, 9.
trains subdued Lot and some of his men, particularly an Irish Gentile, went from wagon to wagon to set them ablaze.

While riding from wagon to wagon, with torch in hand and the wind blowing, the covers seemed to me to catch very slowly. So I stated it to big James. He replied, swinging his torch over his head: "By St. Patrick, ain't it beau­ti­ful! I never saw anything go better in all my life." On completing this task, I told Dawsson that we were going just a little way off, and that if he or his men molested the trains or undertook to put the fire out, they would be in­stantly killed. We rode away leaving the wagons all ablaze.34

Many of the men handling the trains were civilian bull whackers whose only concern seemed to be with their own safety, and not so much of protecting the Army supplies.35

Leaving the Mormon Trail, Lot and his men rode to the Bluffs of the Green River. It was near a place called "Simpson's Hollow" on October 5 that Major Smith's company met a third train. Quickly dis­ar­ming the teamsters of the train, Lot inquired about the captain who was out after cattle. Lot rode out to meet the man about half a mile away from the train. When they met, Major Smith requested the cap­tain's revolver, but this caused the captain to be quite stern and he refused to give it up. Lot asked the man to ride back to camp with him and he would explain. Finding his men had surrendered, Simpson still thought that fighting could win the day for him. However, his men felt otherwise. They expressed themselves this way: "Not by a D--n sight. We came out here to whack bulls, not to fight."36

34Lot Smith's Story, 9.
35Lot Smith, "The Echo Canyon War," The Contributor, IV (1883), 27-29.
Out of respect for Simpson, Smith decided to give him two of Simpson's wagons loaded with provisions. Then Lot turned and burned the rest of the wagons. Leaving the wagons ablaze, the company rode off two miles to rest from their busy day's work.\(^{37}\)

Lot had destroyed seventy-four government wagons and had supplied himself and his men generously from their contents. There was enough food in those three trains to supply the entire expedition for three months that winter.\(^{38}\) Captain H.F. Clarke of the commissary department made a list of those supplies that were destroyed by Smith and his men.\(^{39}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2,720 pounds ham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92,700 pounds bacon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167,900 pounds flour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270 bushel beans</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8,550 pounds Rio coffee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>330 pounds Java coffee</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1,400 pounds crushed sugar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,970 gallons vinegar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800 pounds sperm candles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13,333 pounds soap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84 gallons molasses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134 bushels dried peaches</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68,832 rations dessicated vegetables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,781 pound hard bread</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>705 pounds tea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 lanterns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While General William S. Harney had been appointed to command


\(^{39}\)U.S. Congress, House, The Utah Expedition. Message from the President of the United States transmitting Reports from the Secretaries of State, of War, of the Interior, and of the Attorney General, relative to the Military expedition ordered into the Territory of Utah, Ex. Doc. 71, 35th Congress, 1st Session, 1858, 63.
the army to Utah, he shortly received orders to take a command in Kansas. This arrangement proved to be a problem because the vanguard companies of the Utah Expedition were heading across the Plains without a commander. Finally the War Department assigned Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston to direct the troops and to make sure Alfred Cumming took his proper place as the new governor of the Territory of Utah.40

The question seemed to be: could Lot and the other Mormon defenders of Zion stop this large expedition commanded by a fiery colonel?

Major Smith and his men had been successful in slowing the progress of the federal troops by harassment tactics. He had used the element of surprise very effectively against the Utah Expedition. He had approximately twenty men with him, but he knew how to deploy these men in strategic positions so that it always seemed to the enemy that he had one hundred men.41 He encountered federal troops many times, and even though their numbers were much larger, he always managed to use his military and environmental knowhow to outwit the federal troops and to get away without a shot fired or without injury to any of his company.

However, one incident did occur that could have meant the dispersion of the company. While camping along the Big Sandy, Orson P. Arnold, one of Lot's picket guards, dropped a pistol, and it discharged. The bullet broke the bone in his arm into jagged points; the wound bled profusely. A litter was made, and Arnold was carried to the Green River. By one of the picket guards, word reached the troops that two

40 Furniss, 96-101.
41 Lot Smith's Story, 8.
hundred cavalry men were close at hand. Some of Lot's men grew frightened, and a few proposed surrender or running in different directions. Lot threatened to kill anyone who dared to mention surrender or desertion. It was at this time Lot made his first war speech.

I told the men that we were not out here of our own choice, on our own business. Our people and their rights were being assailed. It was the Lord's work that they were engaged in, and we were called by Him to protect our homes and our religion. If He suffered those troops to come near us, we would trust in Him and whip them, no matter about their numbers.42

The men struggled on with faith in their leader, Lot Smith. Though it was a long and difficult journey with a wounded man, they managed to make it to the Green River. Here they met some mountain-eers who took care of Arnold until a team, sent by General Wells, arrived to convey him home. Finally, Lot came upon the troops that were chasing him. It was a happy moment when he found that the company of cavalry consisted of Captain Haight's men, who were not enemies but friends.43

Finding no more government trains to burn, Lot contented himself by making raids of the expedition's cattle herds. At Ham's Fork, Porter Rockwell joined Lot's forces. Together they burned the grass ahead of the Army at Ham's Fork.44 The company then encountered a herd of cattle numbering fourteen hundred. The herd was guarded by just a handful of soldiers. Lot's men succeeded in capturing the herd. However, they allowed the captured soldiers to keep some of the herd

44Furniss, 144.
to draw their wagons back to camp. Porter Rockwell, who had assisted in this operation, helped drive the remaining head of cattle to Salt Lake City. While he was taking the cattle to Salt Lake City, Rockwell left his troops to strengthen Lot's command.

On October 16, Lot learned that a group of government soldiers under the command of Captain Randolph Marcy, had left the main column to pursue those Mormons who were trying to prevent the expedition in reaching its objective. It was Lot's intention to run off Marcy's mules. When Smith thought he could steal the mules, he charged, only to find that Marcy and his men were waiting for him in ambush. Lot, realizing the predicament that he was in, ordered his men to get into a defensive formation. Then he decided to ride out and meet the captain to talk things over.

The conversation of the two men did not seem to lead anywhere. Marcy wondered what Lot was doing in this part of the country, and Smith inquired of the same thing from Marcy. The questions were ironic because both men knew exactly why the other was there. In their conversation, Marcy had regretted the whole situation but Lot replied:

I told him the Administration seemed to want to [fight], and that their coming here put us in the position of a man holding off the hand that clutched a knife with which to cut his throat. We had a good hold of that arm raised against us, and would keep it.

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45Smith, "The Echo Canyon War," IV, 47-50.
46Furniss, 144.
Lot decided to break free of the trap that had caught him. He fled across a stream and up a hill with a shower of bullets whizzing over his men's heads. Two horses were shot, and Mark Hall got a bullet through his hat, but that was the extent of damage in this skirmish. Captain Marcy did not continue the encounter and told his men to ride away slowly. This brief account between Major Smith and Captain Marcy has been written because of its significance as being supposedly the "only shots fired in the 'Utah War."

Lot learned quickly that he had been more successful in his earlier raids because the enemy Army lacked sufficient cavalry. However, since the coming of Johnston and better organization of the cavalry, the Army was now better equipped to protect itself, and even make some offensive gestures toward the Mormons.

Smith's men, eating what beef they could steal, now began to move toward Fort Supply and Fort Bridger. These were the only two forts in the area and they had already been burned by the Mormons. Winter was coming on, and Lot was given orders from General Wells not to molest the army if they wished to go into Winter Quarters.

The raids of the Lot Smith Company, the Army's tardy departure from Fort Leavenworth, the lack of supplies, and the beginning of winter forced the federal troops to make camp for the winter. Lot watched Johnston's troops move slowly toward Ham's Fork.

Our duty was to watch the troops as they slowly came up to the ruins of Bridger and went into winter quarters. I

50Smith, "The Echo Canyon War," IV, 167-169.
51Roberts, Comprehensive History, IV, 290.
52Furniss, 145.
suppose that it was this position, which the "London Punch" so graphically pictured in a cartoon in which the flower of the American army is being herded by ten Mormons.

It soon became evident that the army would settle for the winter.53

When the Mormons saw the troops making camp for the winter, they withdrew most of their troops from Echo Canyon on November 29, 1857.54 However, the Lot Smith Company was assigned to stay and watch the federal troops. Adjutant-General James Ferguson cheerfully reported to Brigham Young about the U.S. Army at winter quarters:

Without the firing of a single gun on our part, they were most effectively defeated, and all their loud bravado epi-

logued into a cold seat around the ashes of Forts Bridger and Supply.55

Though the Army had been stopped, there was no loud cheering among the Mormons. By January 1858, Buchanan was making preparations to attack Utah from the west.56 Many of the newspapers in the East were very critical of Buchanan's administration. Some criticized the government's handling of the Utah War, but nothing really materialized to help the Mormons fight this war publicly in the papers.57

During those winter months the federal army dispatched patrol parties that were prepared to shoot at any Mormons when the opportunity presented itself. In fact, the Indians seemed to be on the warpath again in Rush and Tooele counties, and the Mormons felt sure the Army was behind it all. It was reported that the expedition had issued

53Lot Smith's Story, 23.
54Arrington, 178.
55Furniss, 125.
56Furniss, 125.
57Furniss, 125.
ammunition and other military supplies to the Indians. The Army went even so far as to offer rewards for the killing of Mormons ranging from one hundred fifty dollars for a common soldier to $1,000 for Lot Smith.58

Everyone in Salt Lake Valley wondered what might happen that spring when the snows would melt in the canyons and the troops would begin to move again. John Pulsipher on April 12, 1858 referred to this feeling that spring:

It is expected that the army will try to force their way into the valley and if they do, we are determined to stop them. If they can't do without Salt Lake City, they can wait 'til we move our families away--or by the help of the Lord we will make them wait. There are now about six-hundred men out, guarding the different passes, two-hundred in Echo, two-hundred on the Indian trail leading thru Last Creek Kanyon, Captain Lot Smith with one-hundred--we keep Uncle Sam's army in their same old camp where they wintered. Sometimes we get pretty hungry before our supplies arrive from the Valley, as the road is still bad--but our brother soldiers don't complain as hired soldiers do, on short rations.59

Lot Smith and the entire Mormon people were ready to fight the United States government for their homes, their families, and their Kingdom, or burn the whole thing to the ground so that no one would ever want to settle there again. Tension filled the air.

Lot did not spend the entire winter in Echo Canyon. After seeing to it that his men knew what they were to do in watching the troops, Lot occasionally returned to Great Salt Lake City. In fact, upon his return to Salt Lake that Christmas and New Years, he married a fourth

58Furniss, 159.

wife on January 3, 1858. Laura Louisa Burdick was from Quincy, Illinois, and was twenty years old when she married Lot in President Young's office. Lot was sealed to Julia Ann Smith, Laura Louisa Burdick, and Jane Walker on March 2, 1858, in the Endowment House in Salt Lake.

The Mormon settlement program had been hampered by the Utah War. Settlements in California and Carson Valley, Nevada were abandoned. In fact Indian problems were becoming numerous in the Salmon River Mission in Idaho. The Shoshone and Bannock Indians had made frequent attacks on the settlers there, and many of them feared for their lives and their property.

It was during Lot's return to the valley that Young asked the victorious Major Smith to help out the Saints near Fort Limhi. Lot was chosen for this mission because he was one of the few men who was familiar with the area, since he had been there in 1855. Lot accepted this call from the head of his Church and recruited some of the men from the militia to go with him, since he felt that this mission might be similar to the one in the Provo River area. By the time Lot and his men arrived at the Salmon River Mission, the Indians had stolen most of the settler's cattle and horses. Although the

60 Genealogical Records of the Lot Smith family.
61 Genealogical Records of the Lot Smith family.
62 Genealogical Records of the Lot Smith family.
63 Anderson, 185.
64 Journal History, October 8-9, 1855.
troops received little contact with the Indians, it took time before they were brought under control. When the region was again secured, Lot returned to his men in Echo Canyon.

A peaceful end to the Utah War was to come from another quarter. Thomas L. Kane had befriended the Mormons many times, and in some respect, represented them in this difficult period. Realizing the need for negotiations between Young and the newly appointed governor, Alfred Cumming, Kane proceeded to arrange a meeting between the two. After Kane explained the situation to Cumming, Cumming decided to go and meet Young. Cumming told Johnston on April 3 that he would leave for Salt Lake City on the 5th of April without the presence of any troops.66

As Governor Cumming, escorted by Porter Rockwell and his men, rode through Echo Canyon toward the Salt Lake Basin, he noticed that many of the Mormons were preparing for evacuation.67

After arriving in Salt Lake, Cumming quickly began to change his attitude toward the Mormons. He felt that only in compromise could a solution to this problem be met. He even went so far as to praise Brigham as "a good man and an excellent leader."68 By April 15, Cumming had come to some definite decisions which he expressed in part to General Johnston:

I have been everywhere recognized as the governor, and am gratified in being able to state to you that I have been universally greeted with such respectful attentions as are

66 Furniss, 182.
67 Furniss, 184.
68 Furniss, 185.
due to the representative of the executive authority of the United States in the Territory. 69

Many of the Mormons had evacuated the northern settlements to live in the central part of the territory until news came from the church. When Brigham saw the sincerity of Cumming's peaceful gestures and the guarantee that Johnston's Army would not molest them, he ordered his people to return to their homes. 70 Johnston's Army was allowed to march through Salt Lake but not to stay. The Army agreed not to establish their military post in Salt Lake to insure a lasting peace. The troops marched south watching the Mormons move north on the Provo Road. 71 The troops established themselves at Camp Scott.

Delana R. Eckels was appointed chief justice under Cumming. While at Camp Scott, Eckels impaneled a grand jury and indicted Joseph Taylor, Brigham Young, Daniel H. Wells, and Lot Smith for treason. 72 Brigham Young defended the activities of Lot and the charge of treason by saying:

> It is true, Lot Smith burned some wagons containing Government supplies for the army. This was an overt act, and if it is for this we are to be pardoned, I accept the pardon. The burning of a few United States wagons is a small item, yet for this, combined with false reports, the whole Mormon people are to be destroyed. 73

69 Furniss, 185.
70 Furniss, 202-203.
71 Furniss, 202.
72 Furniss, 166-167.
73 Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, 217.
In 1858, President Buchanan issued a proclamation of pardon to the Mormons, and that ended the matter.74

With the conclusion of negotiations between Young and the government officials, it seemed that the Mormons had in essence met the principal demands of the government.75 There was no victory demonstration for either side in this indecisive war. The Mormons knew now that Zion was no longer theirs alone. But Lot Smith, and men like him, had shown that the Saints possessed self-respect and were united with courage to dispel any danger or threat of danger. Lot seemed to be the essence of this idea. The Mormons and the government remembered well what Lot had done.

74Furniss, 166-167.
75Furniss, 200.
CHAPTER VI
CALLED TO WAR
THE CIVIL WAR AND LOT SMITH

Major Smith was almost twenty-nine years old now. He was no longer Sheriff of Davis County; his term in office ended in 1859.¹ He returned to his farm to be with his four wives and six children.²

Lot became concerned with conditions at home and participated in many local and territorial activities. On January 16, 1859, Lot joined the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society.³ At first the society's main function was to improve the breeding of livestock, particularly sheep.⁴ Lot showed a great interest in animals especially horses. Since Davis County was used as a grazing area in the early days of Utah, Lot probably owned some livestock which grazed on his 160 acres.

Shortly after joining the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society, Lot was persuaded to run for representative to the Legislative Assembly from Davis County. He became the duly elected representative to the Legislative Assembly from Davis County on August 6, 1860.⁵

¹Ogden Standard Examiner, May 17, 1966.
²Smith, "Chronology," 2.
³Original certificate in possession of Al Smith, Kingman, Arizona.
⁴Wain Sutton, Utah: A Centennial History 2 Vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1949), I, 158. The Society was later changed to the State Fair Board in 1907 and served as an organizer of fairs throughout the area.
⁵Original certificate in the possession of Al Smith.
Governor Cumming was still the governor of the Territory of Utah, and Lot became a representative of a body headed by a man he had tried to stop coming into Utah.

By 1860 it looked as if the Union might be divided, and the Saints in remote Utah were naturally concerned about what was occurring in Washington. Though Brigham was no longer governor, he kept in close communication with Utah's delegate to congress, William H. Hooper.6

Utah was in the midst of a divided west. Many states questioned where their loyalties belonged. Some were loyal to the Union while others tended to lean toward the secessionists. Many of the Saints came from New England ancestry and had a deep feeling for the northern view of the Constitution. But others felt very strongly about state's rights and the right of Utah to protect the institution of polygamy.7 Many wondered where Utah's loyalties would be, since the overland mail and telegraph routes went through Utah. The transcontinental telegraph had been completed on October 18, 1861. It was much too late and too expensive for the federal government to build a route to the north away from the Mormons.8 Brigham Young expressed the Saints' attitude about the events that were progressing in 1861: "Utah has not seceded but is firm for the constitution and the laws of our once happy country."9


7 Larson, "Utah and the Civil War," 58.

8 Larson, "Utah and the Civil War," 58.

9 Larson, "Utah and the Civil War," 86.
The Military Department of the Pacific, which had been under Albert Sidney Johnston and was now under Winfield Scott, was directed to protect and patrol the overland mail route. However, because of delays and transfers, the troops from the Pacific were never gathered to protect the overland route. Thus again it looked like the Mormons, the only ones left, might be asked to render service to a government which, four years earlier, had sent their Army against Zion.

The worst enemy of the overland mail route was the Indians who interfered frequently with mail and telegraph service. The Indians had threatened people in the territory, and a great economic loss of merchandise had been evident. Acting Governor Frank Fuller (Alfred Cumming had resigned to return to the states after the start of the Civil War) urged the War Department to send soldiers to protect this great lifeline between the east and the west. Young constantly wired Delegate Hooper to tell the government that Utah was ready to protect the mail line.

Finally when no response seemed to come from the federal government, Young instructed Lt. General Daniel H. Wells, commander of the Utah Militia, on April 24, 1862, to send a detachment of militia to escort a passenger and a mail train for the eastern states. A day later, Acting Governor Fuller made the same request. Wells sent Colonel Robert T. Burton with twenty men armed and equipped for thirty days. They were to guard the coaches and wagons which carried the mail. Upon arriving with the train at North Platte River Bridge,

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10 Larson, "Utah and the Civil War," 59.
11 Larson, "Utah and the Civil War," 59.
Burton's company returned to Salt Lake without incident. They were then mustered out of the service by Governor Fuller. They had been gone the full thirty days.\textsuperscript{12}

President Young knew if his plans for the Kingdom of God were to come about successfully he needed to keep both the mail route and the stations along that route opened and protected for the emigrants coming west.\textsuperscript{13}

Troops from the United States Army had been directed to relieve Burton's company, but had been transferred elsewhere. Then President Lincoln wired Brigham Young, instead of Governor Fuller, on April 28, ...authorizing him to raise, arm and equip a company of cavalry for ninety days' service, to protect the property of the telegraph and overland mail companies between Forts Bridger and Laramie, and to continue in service until the United States Troops shall reach the point where their services are needed.\textsuperscript{14}

On that same day, Lieutenant-General Daniel H. Wells sent Lot Smith special orders from the headquarters of the Nauvoo Legion. At this time Lot was Major in command of the 1st Battalion, 1st Regiment of Cavalry, 1st Brigade, 1st Division of the Great Salt Lake City Military District, which had been known up to this time as the Life Guards.\textsuperscript{15} In part, the orders requested him as Major of the Life Guards to enlist volunteers for ninety days service to protect the


\textsuperscript{13}Boyd Eddins, "The Mormons and The Civil War" (M.S. thesis, Department of History, Utah State University, 1966), 56-57. To Eddins, Brigham Young's motive in volunteering the militia was to keep the Kingdom of God intact and to avoid an alien armed regiment from interfering with Young's plans.

\textsuperscript{14}Journal History, April 30, 1862, quotes Deseret News same date.

\textsuperscript{15}Gardner, "Utah Territorial Militia," 451.
telegraph and overland mail companies, to be relieved by Colonel Con­nor coming with his men from California, and to direct himself and his men in orderly conduct and friendliness with the Indians.16

Within forty-eight hours of delivery of the special orders, Lot received his needed volunteers. There were one hundred and six men in Lot's company—twenty-three officers, seventy-two privates, and eleven teamsters.17 On April 30, 1863, Lot's company assembled on Temple Square to hear Chief Justice John F. Kinney administer the oath of enlistment to the men.18

Lot's one hundred and six men were divided into two main groups. Lot was under the command of Colonel Collins, but Brigadier-General James Craig was commanding the operations in the field.19

On May 1, Lot Smith led his men to Parleys Canyon but found it impassable because of the spring floods. Then Lot received word from President Young and General Wells to proceed to Emigration Canyon where the two men met Lot and gave him orders to march his men through Emigration Canyon to Fort Bridger.20 He soon found it difficult to move in Emigration Canyon. Roads were very muddy, and in some places it took four hours to travel one mile.21

16Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, 255.
17Margaret M. Fisher, Utah and the Civil War (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1929), 28.
18Gardner, "Utah Territorial Militia," 453.
19Fisher, 28.
21Fisher, 39.
Lot received word to pursue any Indians hampering the mail routes or cutting the telegraph lines. Smith's orders were so broad that he had a fairly free hand in the way he maneuvered to his destination after Emigration Canyon. The company had no further problems along the way to Fort Bridger and arrived there on May 11. There his men set up camp less than one mile from the fort.

On our arrival within one-tenth of a mile of the fort we were met by one of the mail company, Mr. Hugh O'Neil, who informed us we were just in time, that the Indians had attacked a mail carriage four miles below Bridger. The men saw an Indian squaw, fired at her, turned their horses round and fled back to the fort.22

When Lot met the regular army near Fort Bridger, he was immediately given a portion of the liquor in their possession. He remembered Young's warning at Emigration Canyon to make sure he and his men left liquor alone. Upon receipt of this liquor he removed the corks from the barrels and allowed the liquid to run out on the ground.23 (At least this is what was officially reported!)

Colonel Collins' arrival at the scene only complicated matters, for he wondered what kind of men were these who did not partake of the "spirits of good times." An account written by Louis A. Huffaker, one of Lot's men, relates how Colonel Collins found the worth of these Mormon men in Lot's company.

Colonel Collins approached Captain Smith one day and said, Captain Smith I would like to try a test to see whether your men are best adapted to remain here in the West to protect the mail route.

Colonel Collins ordered a detachment of his men, double quick time up the side of a mountain and down again. The Eastern soldiers were unacquainted with Western life. They

22Fisher, 30-34.

went up and down in great confusion. The Lot Smith men went up and down in perfect order; we were used to such places, we gave our Indian ponies the reins, the horses themselves avoided the sagebrush and gopher holes.

Colonel Collins remarked, "Captain Smith, I would rather have ten of your men than my whole regiment. We will send the Eastern men to the front." When his men heard that they were to be sent back to the front, a number of them deserted and made their way to the Pacific Coast.24

Lot's "Utah Volunteers," as they became known, went to camp at Independence Rock shortly after relieving Burton's troops. Brigadier General Craig came to inspect Lot's men and later Lot wrote to Brigham Young what had taken place.

I had an interview with Brigadier General Craig, who has just arrived by stage at this point. He expressed himself much pleased with our promptness in responding to the call of the General Government, with the exertions we had made in overcoming speedily the obstacles on the road to reach this point and spoke well of our people generally. He also stated that he had telegraphed President Lincoln to that effect and intended writing him at greater length by mail, and I received later word that he had placed the whole Nebraska Territory under Martial law. He also remarked that the Utah Cavalry were the most efficient troops he had in the service, and he proposed to recommend that our service be extended an additional ninety days.25

After the inspection by Craig, Lot received word from him to accompany a group of fifty men toward Ham's Fork. It had been reported that Indians had stolen approximately fifty horses from that general area.26 On May 30th, Lot moved his troops out in search of the rene­
gade Indians.

24Fisher, 96-97. Lot was commissioned Captain in the United States Army, a commission which came from President Lincoln through General Wells, Deseret News, "Scene Today," March 11, 1961.

25Lot Smith to Brigham Young, June 16, 1882, L.D.S. Church Historian's Office (CHO).

26Fisher, 50.
Finding very few Indians to pursue, it became evident to Lot that he should go back to Fort Bridger and guard the mail and telegraph line from the Green River to Salt Lake City as ordered by General Craig. Lot knew that his company's enlistment would be up in August, and he felt that his men could place the mail and telegraph stations in perfect working condition before returning home.

However, on July 3, Lot received word that five soldiers from the United States Cavalry company stationed at North Platte, had deserted from their base camp with horses, saddles, blankets, and arms. Captain Smith called upon Lieutenant John Quincy Knowlton and Sergeant McNeil to take nine men...

to trail and capture the deserting troopers from Colonel Collins' command, to seek to discover the location of Chief Washakie who was supposed to be camped somewhere on the southeast shore of Bear Lake, and instructions were given to have a friendly talk with this Chief of the Shoshones, and induce him, if possible, to call home his young Indian warriors and prevent their further participation with other hostile Indians in making raids upon the emigrant trains, and destroying the government mail stations and telegraph lines, and by his influence, for the future, prevent the destruction of these lines of communication across the continent and counsel his young men to cease their war upon the white people generally.

Lot waited eight days before Knowlton returned to Fort Bridger. He had not found the deserters but did get to talk to Chief Washakie. Lot's message had been delivered with a general satisfaction that Washakie would try to keep his braves under control.

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27Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, 257.
28Fisher, 60.
29Fisher, 61.
30Fisher, 68.
On the fifteenth of July, word reached Fort Bridger that a small band of Indians had driven off three hundred horses and mules from Jack Robinson's ranch. Lot immediately ordered sixty men to mount up with ten days' provisions. He led these men outside the gates of Fort Bridger to Robinson's ranch which was about six miles from the fort.\textsuperscript{31}

Lot Smith and his men had pursued these Indians toward the Snake River and Teton Mountains region, when Lot realized that ten days of provisions would not be sufficient for this seemingly long expedition. Besides, many of the horses had become lame by this time.\textsuperscript{32}

Lot then decided to split his large company into two groups. He ordered one of these companies with twenty men to return to Fort Bridger with the lame horses. Captain Smith and Lieutenant Knowlton led the rest of the men in trying to procure provisions from emigrant trains heading west. They went to Lander's Cutoff, five miles below the Green River, in hopes of getting provisions from the emigrants encamped there.\textsuperscript{33} However, they could not procure the needed supplies from the various wagon trains because the trains were low in their provisions, and also, mistrust had circulated concerning these Mormon soldiers. This mistrust came about as the result of rumors circulating through the trains that the Mormons had been connected in some way with the Indian raids.\textsuperscript{34}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{31}Colton, 163.
\item \textsuperscript{32}Fisher, 75.
\item \textsuperscript{33}Fisher, 73.
\item \textsuperscript{34}Fisher, 75.
\end{itemize}
Smith realized that his men would have to live on half rations and learn to live as much off the land as possible if they were to accomplish the task set before them. They were in the Snake River country; an area that had been little explored.

Upon reaching the Teton Mountains, the men were drawing near to the Indians. The Indian trail was fresh and it seemed the Indians had crossed one of the streams, swollen this time of year by melting snow. The stream had to be crossed by Lot's men. The river was dangerous because the current was swift. Lot had to lead his men across. Donald McNicol, one of Lot's men and an excellent swimmer, was quickly swept under by the flowing torrent. When the company reached the other bank, Lieutenant Knowlton and Corporal Young were missing. Lot immediately asked for volunteers to search for Knowlton and Young. Sergeant Spencer volunteered and set out in search of the missing men. Knowlton and Young were found by Spencer a little way down the stream in a wet but healthy condition.

After the men returned to camp, Lot decided because of the weariness of the men and the lack of supplies, the men should decide what course of action should take place. Smith called the men together and proposed: "to pursue the Indians to their stronghold and take chances on fighting them with weary mounts and wet and rusty arms; or to follow the river in quest of food." The men decided to search for food.

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35 Fisher, 79.
36 Fisher, 80.
37 Fisher, 82.
Mr. Hereford, son-in-law of Mr. Robinson, who had gone along to recover the horses believed that "under the circumstances it was the only thing they could do." After making this decision, the company headed down the river and soon met a wagon train. The train sold the men provisions; Lot paid for them in United States government notes which he hoped the government would honor.

Lot led his men back to Great Salt Lake City through southern Idaho and northern Utah to be discharged. When the Utah Volunteers finally reached Salt Lake City on August 9, 1862, they were relieved by Colonel Patrick Edward Connor and his California Volunteers who were garrisoned near Salt Lake City. The Utah Volunteers were released from the service of the United States on August 14, after 107 days of service.

Lot's men were given $146 a month and 25 cents per day for use of clothing and bedding, and 40 cents per day for use of horses and equipment for their almost four months of duty. The total pay for the seventy-two privates, twenty-three officers, and eleven teamsters consisted of $13,835.

Lot's brief job was now over for the United States. The Civil War was still being fought in earnest, but Utah was fairly removed

38Fisher, 82.
39Fisher, 92.
40Deseret News, August 9, 1862.
42Larson, "Utah and the Civil War," 59.
from it all. During the rest of these war years, 1863-1866, Lot lived at his home in Farmington with his four wives and sixteen children.\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{43}Genealogical Records of the Lot Smith family.
The settlement program of Brigham Young had met both success and failure. Some settlements prospered well, while others failed completely.¹ One of the constant problems was Indian depredations.

The Indian problem had not ended with the Fort Utah skirmish, nor had the various incidents during the Civil War ceased the conflict. The northern settlements were fairly protected from the Indian raids because of the well administered military districts in those areas. However, problems appeared in central and southern Utah as early as 1847-1849. In 1864 problems began near Manti and Salina in San Pete county, where both Indians and white men had disagreed about shooting stock and killing white men.² The hostilities that continued were more disastrous to the people of southern Utah than all of the Utah Indian Wars.³

Many counties in southern Utah had to be abandoned--Sevier, Piute, San Pete, Iron, Kane, Washington, and Wasatch counties.⁴ Each of the Indian attacks required the calling of the Nauvoo Legion to capture and punish the leaders of these raids.⁵ The fighting still

¹Arrington, 169-170.
²Roberts, Comprehensive History, V, 150.
³Roberts, Comprehensive History, V, 150.
⁴Roberts, Comprehensive History, V, 152.
⁵Anderson, 240.
threatened the completion of settlement programs and the Deseret Telegraph lines.6

In an election held March 9, 1866 in Farmington to determine the commander of the Davis County Military District, Lot won the election, and was promoted three grades from major to brigadier-general.7 A commission later came from Charles Durkee, governor of the Territory of Utah, in February 1868.8 Brigadier-General Smith was now commander of the First Brigade of Infantry and Cavalry of the Nauvoo Legion in the Davis Military district.9 Lot's first task was to gather a company together at Farmington for combat in the Black Hawk Indian War.10

The governor of the territory called for men to go to Sanpete to protect the lives and property of the Saints located in that area. The first company of militia sent from Salt Lake City to the area had some minor skirmishes with the Indians which resulted in the loss of some men. However, with the entrance of some of the other military districts the picture changed.

Colonel Connor and his troops had been asked to help protect the settlers and capture the renegade Indians.11 Though Black Hawk promised early to stop the war, about fifty or sixty renegade Indians

6Arrington, 229.
7Gardner, "Utah Territorial Militia," 528.
8Original certificate in the possession of Al Smith, Kingman, Arizona.
10Roberts, Comprehensive History, V, 154.
from his tribe joined with other Indian tribes, mostly Navajos from New Mexico, to battle against the southern settlers. The fighting continued many months after Black Hawk's surrender. The militia from the northern colonies, Lot's company included, was sent to defend the southern colonies from the Indians. In the entire Black Hawk War, which continued from 1865-1867, twenty-five Mormons and seventy-five Indians were killed.

Lot's company, along with other companies that participated in the war, had to take upon themselves the burden and cost of the whole affair. They pressed for financial compensation from the federal government. The cost was estimated at $1,190,000 for the three year war, and an estimated $170,000 worth of livestock were killed or stolen by the Indians. Most of the Black Hawk veterans never received any compensation from the federal government for their work until about 1912-1913.

Farmington was still growing when Lot returned from the war. The Willard Richards family had bought a whole block in Farmington to settle their large family since the death of the head of the house. Lot was soon to meet and become very interested in one of Willard's daughters, Alice Ann Richards.

13Roberts, Comprehensive History, V, 153.
14Gottfredsen, 198.
15Anderson, 240.
16Anderson, 240.
17The Living Words of Alice Ann Richards Smith, 9, compiled by the Lot Smith Organization using information mainly from the diary of Alice Ann Richards.
Alice had lived near Temple Square in Salt Lake City before her family moved to Farmington. She was a well educated and refined young lady who was quite concerned when she found that Farmington had no Sunday School, or much of a day school to speak of. However, the scenery was beautiful, which made the area more appealing to her. Alice describes the school she attended before she married Lot at the age of nineteen.

We had a little old school house--adobe, one room. Windows nearly all broken out, benches made of slabs and poles with sticks through large holes. The boys would pull them out when the teacher's back was turned and it would send the pupils all rolling on the floor. The stove was a huge box which stood in the middle of the floor, and the pipe kept falling down. There was a door in the end of the stove and the wet, soggy wood was about twice or three times too long and the fire was mostly smoke. Very few people could educate their children; some couldn't afford the tuition, and few had books. The teacher had to collect his own pay and take it in anything he could get--pork, molasses, corn wood, flour, a young pig. If he was lucky he got butter or eggs and an order in the shoe shop to have his family's shoes repaired. Most of my education was attending Brother Jacob Miller's school when I was pretty much grown. Farmington had awakened then to the necessity of using the upper part of the court house, which was also the meeting house and dance hall, for a school room and to employ Brother Miller as teacher. He conducted a really good school, and the room was large, warm and comfortable.

Alice Ann Richards was asked to teach the school for younger children in Farmington. She accepted the job and taught for one term. However, after the first term, she married Lot on May 30, 1868. She may have met him through his own children whom she probably taught in school since Lot's oldest boy was sixteen.

The marriage ceremony was conducted by Brigham Young in the

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18 Alice Ann Richards Smith, 9.
19 Alice Ann Richards Smith, 10-11.
Endowment House in Salt Lake City. After the ceremony, Lot took Alice to his large home in Farmington where she lived with Jane and Laura, Lot's second and fourth wives. Lydia, his first wife, was now at Fillmore, and Julia, his third wife, was living in Morgan in Weber County. 20

The late 1860s marked a dramatic change for the Latter-day Saints. The catalyst for this change was the coming of the railroad. In 1867, Brigham decided to organize the School of the Prophets as one measure of countering the economic condition that might develop with the completion of the railroad. 21 Each of the principal settlements had a branch of this school, which was centered in Salt Lake City, and consisted of about five thousand priesthood members. Since Lot was the president of the 74th Quorum of Seventies (set apart by Joseph Young on March 24, 1868), 22 and because he had acquired a well-known reputation, he was asked to be a member of the School of the Prophets. 23

It was the custom of the Mormon Church to send men on missions to various parts of the world, particularly Europe, to teach the gospel and convert souls to Mormonism. Though Lot was busy with his civic and religious endeavors, he was still asked by Brigham Young to go on a mission in 1869.

Alice Ann's first child was born three months before Lot's call came. Nannie Amelia was born in February 1869. 24 Before Lot could

20Alice Ann Richards Smith, 11.
21Arrington, 245.
leave for England, he had to settle affairs as commander of the Davis Military District. Colonel George Chase succeeded him. Lot also had to settle personal affairs.

On May 29, 1869, Lot was set apart by Wilford Woodruff for a mission to England. He left Salt Lake City with Elder John B. Knowlton and arrived in Liverpool on July 11, 1869. Lot was assigned as a traveling elder in the northern district near Glasgow. During his first year in the mission field, Lot frequently told the presidency of the mission that he felt the people here were very lukewarm in their feelings about the Church.

After his first year, Lot was transferred to Birmingham and proved to be a success there. He became president of the Birmingham Conference. His primary duties were to direct the missionary work and to read both financial and statistical reports at the mission conferences.

During his mission, Lot did convert a large number of people, and he also presided over the Glasgow Conference in Scotland and the Birmingham Conference in England. After exactly two years, in 1871, he returned from Liverpool on the ship S.S. Nevada leading a company

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26Smith, "Chronology," 3.
28Latter-day Saint Millenial Star, XXXII (September 25, 1870), 633.
29Latter-day Saint Millenial Star, XXXIII (July 25, 1871), 476.
of ninety-three converts to Salt Lake City. They arrived in New York on August 7, and in Salt Lake on August 16.30

While Lot was on his mission, it became very difficult for Alice and the rest of Lot's wives to run the farm themselves.

While Lot was absent we were eaten out both years with the grasshoppers. We fought them day after day from A.M. until night, often with our babies in our arms. We dug trenches and drove them in and drowned or burned them. We sold cows to buy flour at twenty dollars a hundred which came from the states and was not fit to eat.

I quilted quilts, took in sewing and knitting and did all kinds of work to support myself and babe when Lot was on his mission.31

When Lot returned in August 1871, he was elected by the people of Davis and Morgan counties to represent them in the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah.32 He served in this capacity until 1876.

Some of the Mormon missionaries came back with a surprise—they wanted to marry one of their converts. Lot had met Alice Mary Baugh in England and converted her to the Mormon faith. She came to Salt Lake in August 1871 with Lot and his company of converted Saints. In less than a year after his return Lot married Alice Mary in the Endowment House on April 29, 1872.33 It may be significant that Alice Mary did not live in Farmington but went to live with Julia in Morgan county in 1873.34

30Jenson, Church Chronology, 53.

31Alice Ann Richards Smith, 11.

32Original certificate in the possession of Al Smith signed by George A. Black, Secretary of the Utah Territory.

33Smith, "Chronology," 2.

34Smith, "Chronology," 2.
In 1876, Lot Smith's family was living in three different places; there were five wives and about twenty-eight children. Smith had his job in the legislature and worked in various community and church projects.
CHAPTER VIII
THE ARIZONA MISSION

Lot's life in Farmington centered on his family and his horses. He had developed a fondness for horses from the beginning of his adventurous life. Many times he would accompany Brigham Young and others to Antelope Island to round up the wild horses located there. Young made it a point to invite the territory's most noted horsemen, and Lot was always invited to be a part of that select group.¹ Lot loved horses and took many opportunities to show people his skill in handling them.

Lot had accumulated a number of horses by buying them on his trips to California and back east. He would then breed them with local stock. However, many of the horses that Lot owned were given to him in gratitude for favors that he performed for people.²

One of Lot's favorite horses was named Stonewall, once owned by Brigham Young. Brigham had problems breaking this wild animal until Lot rode the horse.³ Later in his life, Lot even became known as a tremendous roper. Some dared to say that he could outrope Buffalo Bill.⁴ But Lot's main significance to Utah was the fact that he

²Brown, 30-32.
⁴Fisher, 101-102.
introduced to northern Utah and southern Idaho, as well as northern Arizona, some of the best breeding horses that the territory had ever seen. All in all Lot's success as a rancher and a military leader qualified him for a special job that the church was about to give him.

A plan inaugurated by Brigham Young early upon arrival in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake was the settlement program. The Mormons immediately began to expand their settlements throughout the territory. Irrigation methods had proved to be a valuable tool in settling many difficult locales in the territory by 1870. By 1875, settlements in Idaho and Wyoming were more permanent. The Mormons began going further south into Arizona and the Colorado River region. The Arizona Mission was a plan of expanding Zion as far south as the mouth of the Colorado River. Jacob Hamblin had been laying a foundation for such a migration into the area by constructing roads and building ferries and bridges over the Colorado for future emigrant trains.

In 1871, a drought in southern Utah and northern Arizona was so severe that it delayed any attempts at establishing permanent settlements into the region. However, the practice of exploration before permitting migration to an area was continued. In 1876, James S. Brown led an exploring party to the Little Colorado River area to look for some suitable location sites for settlements in northern Arizona.

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6Anderson, 282.

7Pearson H. Corbitt, Jacob Hamblin (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1952), 383.
In the last part of January 1876, Lot received a letter from Brigham which called him to go on a mission to Arizona. The purpose of the mission was to settle the Little Colorado area and to convert and civilize the Indians. Lot left immediately for Salt Lake where he received instructions. He would be the captain of one of the four companies that were to make the journey south with approximately two hundred people. The companies were to depart from Salt Lake City on February 3, 1876. The reason for such an early start, particularly since winter still had its grip on the valley, was to avoid the spring run-off which might raise the rivers so high that they would be impassable.

Soon after Lot received his call and instructions, a letter arrived from Presiding Bishop Hunter with a list of provisions that Lot was to take on the journey to Arizona.

The teams were to be mules or oxen, the wagons new and with strong bows and double covers, hobbles, nose-sacks, halters, ropes, water kegs, canteens, dutch oven, frying pan, camp kettle, brass buckets, tincups and plates, flour, sugar, beans, rice, salt, dried fruit, dried beef, bacon, stout shoes and clothing to last a year. Indigo, seeds, nails, guns, ammunition and a small amount of medicine...

The Smiths had ten days to prepare for their trip. Among other preparations, new clothes had to be made for the climate. Lot quickly went to Weber Valley to settle up and arrange his affairs. He had to make provisions for the families he would leave. The only wives

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8 Alice Ann Richards Smith, 23.
9 Alice Ann Richards Smith, 23.
10 Alice Ann Richards Smith, 23.
11 Alice Ann Richards Smith, 13.
12 Alice Ann Richards Smith, 23.
he planned to take with him on the journey were Alice Ann and Alice Mary, along with their children.\textsuperscript{13}

A great part of his interest was in Morgan, Morgan County, and two of his families were living there. You can imagine his feelings in leaving his wives and children from whom he had previously been separated a great deal in performing his duties and answering the call of the church and state. Now it was an indefinite period, but when duty called Lot Smith never hesitated.\textsuperscript{14}

Alice Ann, the only wife living in Farmington to go on the mission, went to Salt Lake and bought the needed supplies. While Lot was in Weber Valley, Alice Ann took the children to her mother's home and waited there for the time to depart. Meanwhile, she sewed and knitted all day and night "as there was no ready made clothing in those days."\textsuperscript{15}

It was a great trial for all of us to be separated for we didn't know for how long and perhaps forever. We started from Salt Lake on the 3rd of February, 1876. It was the saddest day of my life, to bid mother and the folks good-bye.\textsuperscript{16}

The four companies going to the Arizona Mission were under the leadership of Lot Smith, Jesse O. Ballenger, George Lake, and William O. Allen. Many of the people in these companies resided in the northern counties of Utah; therefore, it became necessary for the companies to depart from separate locations but to meet at Kanab.\textsuperscript{17}

Lot's company left Salt Lake early on February 3, 1876. Two

\textsuperscript{13} Smith, "Chronology," 3.

\textsuperscript{14} Alice Ann Richards Smith, 23.

\textsuperscript{15} Alice Ann Richards Smith, 23.

\textsuperscript{16} Alice Ann Richards Smith, 24.

\textsuperscript{17} Corbitt, 383.
feet of snow lay on the ground when the company pulled out of Salt Lake. It was slow-moving and cold. The route went through Utah, Juab, and Sevier counties, and finally through Circleville and Panguitch. When they reached Panguitch, they found no more snow, but the weather was still very cold. 18

Knitting was a favorite hobby and helped pass the time for the women of the company. Since walking was a much faster means of transportation than the wagon, many women walked ahead of the train, stopped, and knitted until the wagons caught up to them. It was a rugged journey over much of southern Utah. It was not uncommon to see a woman walking in the dust and cold of the trail carrying her baby. 19

We didn't lay up a day only on Sundays, and we always started before light. Those hot breakfasts—we never had anything during the day—and hot suppers were meat, hot bread, beans and rice. Often some one of the single men ate with us, and when the guides met us they boarded with us all the way. Brother Smith was a good cook, but he had to direct everything. He used to take my sick baby and go the rounds. The children would gather wood, and while Brother Hatch was with us he would get water and make a fire. ... Brother Smith was always in the lead, working with shovel, pick, or axe,... 20

The route they followed crossed over the meandering Sevier River several times. Seeing that the river had already risen by February, the company realized the wisdom of starting their journey early. 21

Around the area of Panguitch, Lot's company was met by their guides, Ira Hatch, Andrew Gibbons, and Luther Burnham, who were to

18Alice Ann Richards Smith, 24.
19Alice Ann Richards Smith, 14.
20Alice Ann Richards Smith, 14-15.
21Alice Ann Richards Smith, 24.
guide them to their destination. These men took the lead and the company began to move toward Arizona.

While they were traveling, the company stopped at various ranches (owned and run by Mormons) which were serving as way stations for the wandering travelers out to extend Zion. The group crossed over the divide between Panguitch and Long Valley and soon reached Kanab. At Orderville Lot saw for the first time the United Order in operation. The four companies met in Kanab. They were now in Indian territory and knew they would have to keep close together, hobble their horses at night, and place night guards around each camp for protection.

The company reached Lees Ferry where Warren Johnson ferried them across the Colorado River. Following a number of washes, they came to the Little Colorado River about thirty miles south of the main Colorado River. Moving down the stream to their destination, they finally arrived at Sunset Crossing on March 24, 1876, six weeks from the time they had left Salt Lake City. Brigham had directed them to settle here. Their mission was to help the Lamanites (Indians) receive the Mormon gospel and to cultivate the earth.

22 Alice Ann Richards Smith, 24.
23 Alice Ann Richards Smith, 24.
24 Brigham Young to Lot Smith, April 26, 1876, Utah State Historical Society (USHS), file A1101.
26 Alice Ann Richards Smith, 25.
27 Brigham Young to Lot Smith, May 14, 1976, USHS.
Upon their arrival, the four companies had a meeting to determine where and how they were all to settle. Lot Smith was to settle north of Sunset on the east side of the river. Ballenger's group was to go further south on the west bank of the river. Allen's company was to settle about twenty-five miles up the east side of the river. George Lake's company was to settle on the west side, exactly opposite Allen's settlement. Lot's settlement was called Sunset; Ballenger's settlement, Brigham; Allen's settlement, St. Joseph; and Lake's settlement, Obid.

Eliza Ellen Parkinson Tanner, who made the long journey to Arizona at a later date, gives this recollection of the journey and what followed afterwards.

Usually three months were required to make the journey here, this in covered wagons drawn by horses, or, in some cases, oxen. Their wagons were their only homes and continued to be until forts were built into which they could move. Then, the only difference was that the wagon boxes were removed from the running gears of the wagon and placed in a more accessible position on logs or rocks to make them a little more safe from snakes, centipedes, tarantulas, etc., and so that getting into one's house didn't necessitate climbing over a high wagon wheel.

They made the best possible use of everything man or nature provided. The wool from sheep was used for mattresses and corded for quilts. When wearing apparel could be no longer worn, it was dyed, torn into narrow strips and woven into carpets or braided into rugs to cover the rough pine and dirt floors.

Perhaps it was this need for human resourcefulness which made these women strong not only in things requiring physical strength but in things requiring spiritual greatness as well.

Everyone who ever lived on the Little Colorado River knows the problem they had trying to settle the red brackish water sufficiently for use. It was hauled from the river two miles away in barrels, on low sleds. Plaster of paris and buttermilk


were used to settle it. Probably six inches of clear water could carefully be dipped from the top of the barrel, then the remainder would have to be emptied and the process repeated. In spite of this terrible handicap, Eliza's laundry always looked white and clean.30

The first years on the Little Colorado River were hard years. In Sunset, Lot's company lived on mostly what had been brought with them. By winter, provisions were getting low and Lot sent four wagons to Kanab for supplies to get the company through the winter.31

Just before the settlements were officially organized into a stake, Lot sent a report concerning the mission to the presidency of the church. He reported that the mission was developing better, and that there were the following numbers of people in each settlement: Allen's settlement consisted of fourteen men, thirteen women, twenty-one children, with a total of forty-eight in the settlement; Lake's settlement consisted of seven men, seven women, fifteen children, with a total of twenty-nine; Ballenger's settlement consisted of sixteen men, nineteen women, forty children, with a total of seventy-five; and Lot's settlement had sixteen men, twelve women, twenty-two children, with a total of fifty. The whole mission consisted of two hundred and two people.32

It should be noted at this time, since we will deal primarily with Lot's settlement, what took place in the other three. The year after they arrived, Obid had sickness enter the settlement forcing the settlers to move to another location. Ballenger did not like Arizona,

31Lot Smith to Brigham Young, December 8, 1876, CHO.
32Lot Smith to John Taylor, September 28, 1877, CHO.
returned to Utah. Levi M. Savage was bishop of Sunset, and George Lake became Bishop of Brigham City. Allen also left, leaving John Bushman bishop of St. Joseph while John Kartchner was presiding Elder of Taylor. Lot was sustained as president of the Little Colorado Stake from 1878 to 1887. Lorenzo Hatch and Jacob Hamblin were his counselors. His stake included the following settlements: Taylor, Brigham City, Sunset, and St. Joseph.

Being impressed with the way the United Order was working in Long Valley, the four settlements decided to organize themselves into a communal arrangement. Levi M. Savage, bishop of Sunset, wrote in his journal concerning this:

All who join us turn all of their possessions into the compact, and labor and share equally in the profits, if any. Each man is expected to do as much as he can reasonably perform of the work; and all eat at the same table, each fares as well as the other. We consider it the way of the Lord to live in this manner. Otherwise we would prefer to live in the old style, for there are a great many trials connected with this style of living and not known to the other. ... It is truly a work of love and kindness, but our weaknesses are so many, and our natures still strong and selfish that it often requires a great deal of patience and forbearance.

All four settlements tried the United Order in hopes that it could be successful.

The land Lot's company settled on had never been surveyed, and so they had only squatter's right. The only one of the four settlements

33Jenson, Church Chronology, January 27, 1878, 101.
34Jenson, Biographical Encyclopedia, I, 803.
35Jenson, Church Chronology, 101.
36Jenson, Encyclopedic History, 437.
37Anderson, 381.
to succeed in making a permanent claim was St. Joseph.38

Smith immediately had a well dug at Sunset since water seemed to be the number one problem.39 Later, the Indians proved to be a problem. Lot's family lived in a bowery and in their wagons until November when the communal dining room, kitchen, commissary, and long table were completed.40 Each family lived in a separate room with a fireplace, and the doors and windows were all made out of Navajo blankets. The floors were dirt and the only furniture they had was crude and home-made. The weather seemed to be a constant menace to the settlers. The hot sun, cold winds, and sand storms made it disagreeable for everyone.41

After about a month, when things around Sunset became a little more settled, Lot wrote a letter to the editor of the Deseret News giving a description of the country they were settling. His purpose was to relieve the minds of many of the settlers' relatives who still wondered about the welfare of their loved ones.

Many of my friends wished me to send them a description of this country and I thought I might comply with their wishes, as far as I was able, through the News. To begin with, this is a strange country, belonging to a people whose land the rivers have spoiled. This is an old land; the evidences that it was inhabited thousands of years ago are abundant to me. It is a dry land, not what you call well watered. The Little Colorado runs in a northwest direction, is large at high water, but quite small again when the snows have melted; then again a mighty rushing torrent when the rains commence in summer, with the appearance of being 25 miles broad, and the Indians tell us that if we

38Alice Ann Richards Smith, 29.
39Brigham Young to Lot Smith, July 20, 1876, USHS.
40Alice Ann Richards Smith, 27.
41Alice Ann Richards Smith, 27.
intend to live where we are encamped, we had better fix some scaffolding in the trees, for the river gets very mad sometimes.

Our relations with the natives so far have been of the most friendly nature. One of them said he had been told we were coming and had little children, and thought they might be hungry. If so, he had come. Who could express more kindly feelings? This was the Moquis chief. The Navajo chief Comah said he was pleased to have us come and live here. They came with a white man interpreter, and went away well pleased, even the white man saying he hoped God would bless us. I thought good also for a white man.

The land along the river is good. If I am a judge, the supply of water is not abundant. Whether we shall have the faith to increase it, as our fathers did in Utah, will remain to be seen. The cottonwood on the river is quite plentiful; 35 to 37 miles will bring you pine, yellow, in abundance, the country where it grows being as level as the site of Salt Lake City. A good smooth road all the way, with but slight exceptions. That this is a grazing country there can be but little doubt; there are no mountains near us, the Mongolan being the nearest, 45 to 50 miles distant. There appears to be plenty of game, elk, deer, antelope, turkey, and the smaller kinds. Now I hope all the old turkey hunters will not come at one time, unless they are prepared to stay and relieve some of those who are already homesick, for there are some in that fix.

There are some advantages here, and a great many disadvantages to contend with. All the brethren, as far as I am acquainted, who came to do their duty, are satisfied. Those impelled by other motives perhaps do not feel quite so much so. We have succeeded in damming the river, our dam being over 200 yards long, our ditch near three miles long, some declaring it an uphill business. But to convince them we ran the water through the camp, which did not have the effect of cooling the sisters, when they had to wade to get out of the wagons. All is health and peace in the camp, as far as I know.

It is raining while I write, the first we have had for some time.42

Only four months later Lot again wrote to Salt Lake City to express his feelings about colonization attempts, but this time he wrote to his faithful friend and leader of his church, Brigham Young.

The other day it rained here, which caused the river to rise very high and do considerable damage, by washing the

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42Manuscript History of the Colorado River Stake, April 28, 1876, in Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historian's Office.
low bank away on one side of the dam and thinking we would be unable to get the water into the ditch again in time to benefit the crop, we are turning our attention to building a stockade, and houses and to the digging of the wells. We are irrigating at present with water coming from the dry Cottonwood wash, which is very red and thick. Our corn promises to make something and we have about five acres of wheat sown late that will perhaps make half a crop. The rains seem to fall more in the foothills than the bottoms, and the grass in the former is fresh and green and our animals are consequently doing well.

The health of the camp is good, the brethren and sisters generally feeling pretty well. We have had no deaths but one birth. The weather has been cooler than in Utah, judging by the sense of feeling having no thermometer.

There remain in this camp 22 men, 15 women, and 20 children. As we were running short of provisions, those who wished to have the privilege of returning to Utah to bring their families, and some will probably get back this fall, while some may not return at all.

Our arrangements for the postoffice have been completed and Brother Alfred M. Derrick has been appointed postmaster and only awaits his commission. The mail will be semi-weekly.

Major Oglesby, from Camp Apache, was sent here by General Cortes to tell us they have heard the Indians were dissatisfied with our presence here, and that trouble might arise between us and them. He wished to ascertain our ability to defend ourselves in case of emergency, and stated that if we would communicate with the Major he could give us all the assistance we might need. We returned thanks and informed them that we were on the most friendly terms with the Indians. The Navajo Chief Comah and the Moquis Chief Nahie having visited us sometimes since, expressed their pleasure at our presence and a hope that the land would suit us. We have no fears whatever that the Indians will trouble us, believing the Lord will preserve us.

From recent explorations we find that we can reach a fine body of timber at a distance of 30 miles, but not in the vicinity of running water. But I think plenty of water can be got by digging wells or forming reservoirs. Some of the brethren report splendid dairy ranches, in the Mokoine range and prospectors report the range as being fine in the San Francisco Mountains, in the vicinity where the Bostonians made a temporary camp.

We have sent men and teams to the ferry, in time to meet the saw mill by the 1st of September.43

43Manuscript History of the Little Colorado Stake, August 28, 1876, CH0.
The saw mill did arrive safely, but in October and not in September as Lot had hoped. The mill was situated about in the middle of the four colonies.44

Everyone worked for the good of one another. Brigham City and St. Joseph operated the ranch, dairy, sawmill, tannery, and grist mill.45

We were self-sustaining, manufacturing our cloth, hats, shoes, stockings, lace, artificial leather, soap from wood ashes, molasses, butter and cheese. We raised our own meat and vegetables. Dried peaches, grapes and raisins were brought from St. George by young couples when they were married in the temple.46

Lot had learned the Spanish language while he was with the Mormon Battalion in California.47 This proved valuable because the Indians spoke some form of Spanish. The Indians were friendly at first, but problems started to appear. Trade with the Indians began right from the start. They received an annuity from the government in the form of calico, yarn, and mutton which they traded to the colonists for flour.48

Shortly after getting settled, Lot's Sunset colony was visited by Daniel H. Wells and Brigham Young, Junior. They were sent by President Young to see how things were getting along in the settlements. They also came to explore a better route to the four settlements.

44Manuscript History of the Little Colorado Stake, October 5, 1876, CHO.

45Alice Ann Richards Smith, 28.

46Alice Ann Richards Smith, 28.

47Alice Ann Richards Smith, 26.

48Alice Ann Richards Smith, 27.
companies by way of the Old Spanish Trail. It was felt that a better road was needed than the one used by the companies. The new route would be beneficial to livestock that would travel on the trail, because of better grazing areas and more water located along it.

Many more settlers were sent to the northern Arizona mission. President Young hoped that the railroad would be advanced sufficiently to bring the emigrants by train to further expand the four colonies.49

From the very first, many of the settlements began to have problems. Allen's camp had been "weak-handled" and it was suggested that they combine with Lake. A common problem for all the settlements was the Mexicans and Indians. The settlers decided to build one of four forts between the settlements for security.50

Another problem was economic in nature. While living the United Order, it became necessary to petition the governor and the Legislative Assembly of Arizona Territory for exemption from any taxation upon the settlements, or at least immunity from territorial and county taxation. A move was begun by Lot and the rest of the officials of the stake to consolidate the three existing settlements into one to accomplish this purpose.51 Some felt that the church was putting too much authority into the hands of a few men. The only way for the order to become a success, however, was to place the leadership in strong-willed men.

As in many communal orders there occurred a need, particularly

49Brigham Young to Smith, Lake, Ballenger, and Allen, July 15, 1876, USHS.

50Brigham Young to Lot Smith, November 25, 1876, USHS.

51Brigham Young to Lot Smith, November 25, 1876, USHS.
for young families, to branch out on their own. Many of the people asked permission to spread to different locations to establish ranches for themselves. Some of the leaders of the settlements, particularly Lot Smith, had already started their own ranches.\textsuperscript{52} Those who may have questioned this policy sometimes found themselves with a call to go on a mission to Mexico.\textsuperscript{53}

Lot's experience raising stock, particularly cattle, horses, and sheep in Farmington, proved very valuable in his experiences in Sunset. The terrain and climate in Arizona was such that Lot suggested to Brigham Young that the raising of sheep might be a worthwhile industry in the Little Colorado Stake.\textsuperscript{54}

About a year after Lot's arrival at Sunset a sad event took place. Lot had always been close to Brigham Young as his personal papers will indicate. However, when Brigham died on August 29, 1877, something seemed to "snap" in Lot.\textsuperscript{55} In his journal, Price W. Nelson, member of the Sunset Mission, wrote about this change in Lot's personality. "When Brigham Young died, Lot died in the Gospel."\textsuperscript{56} Soon after this event, the Sunset Mission became plagued with discord, mistrust, and complaints.

In 1878 problems started to multiply faster than ever before. In a letter to John Taylor, Lot inquired about the collection of tithing

\textsuperscript{52}Brigham Young, John W. Young, and Erastus Snow to Lot Smith, January 10, 1877, USHS.

\textsuperscript{53}Brigham Young to Lot Smith, January 10, 1877, USHS.

\textsuperscript{54}Lot Smith to Brigham Young, June 28, 1877, CHO.

\textsuperscript{55}Anderson, 296.

\textsuperscript{56}Anderson, 303.
in a United Order settlement and asked for clarification. There were complaints by some of the members of the communal order about the undue pressure of the stake and general authorities of the church to get work done and pay tithing. The leadership of the whole Sunset Mission rested in the hands of Lot, and his mission seemed to have more order in it than many of the other settlements founded on the Little Colorado. However, some felt that Lot used too much military discipline in the administration of the mission.

Smith, who was both president of the order and its business agent, was hardhanded and tactless in his administration. In his determination to make a success of the United Order as he conceived of it, he showed little concern for the rights and freedoms of his associates. This was a continuing source of concern to church authorities. As early as April of 1878, John Taylor cautioned, "We wish liberty given to all, as far as righteousness will permit, that they may not have cause to complain of undue pressure. ... this law of heaven [the United Order] has to be accepted freely."

With the beginning of bickering between members of the settlements and the increase of people populating the area, it became necessary for the church to divide the settlements in eastern Arizona into two presidencies with Lot in charge of all settlements lying west of the Little Colorado and Kanab. Lot was also warned by President Taylor to keep better records of transactions within his settlement because

57John Taylor to Lot Smith, April 17, 1878, USHS. Also Lot Smith to John Taylor, December 6, 1878, CHO.


59Peterson, 204-205, also John Taylor to Lot Smith, April 17, 1878, USHS and University of Arizona Library.
complaints had reached Salt Lake of people not leaving the settlements with correct compensation.\textsuperscript{60} Even so, Lot's problems with the Sunset Mission were just beginning.

Lot decided to marry a seventh wife, Mary Merinda Garn. Her father, Samuel Garn with his wife, three sons and daughters, was a member of Lot's company at Sunset. He had settled near Lot upon arriving at Sunset.\textsuperscript{61} The church had given permission for those wanting to get married to be married by the authorities of the church in Arizona instead of going to St. George.\textsuperscript{62} This was done because of the long distance to the temple. However, Lot was a high official in the church and so when he asked for Mary's hand in marriage, they proceeded to the St. George Temple. There they were married on June 13, 1879.

The next year Lot married the daughter of an Indian missionary sent by the church to the Sunset Stake to convert the Navajos. Diantha Elizabeth Mortensen married Lot Smith in the St. George Temple on October 21, 1880.\textsuperscript{63} This was Lot's eighth and last wife.

Ranching seemed to be a worthwhile and beneficial enterprise of the mission in northern Arizona. Lot followed the occupation of ranching with all earnestness. He loved livestock and the Sunset Order built up some fine herds. Lot's first love was horses, and he gathered a reputation well known in northern Arizona.

\textsuperscript{60}John Taylor to Lot Smith, November 27, 1878, USHS.

\textsuperscript{61}Alice Ann Richards Smith, 30.

\textsuperscript{62}Wilford Woodruff to Lot Smith, April 12, 1880, USHS.

\textsuperscript{63}Genealogical Records of the Lot Smith family.
He had very fast horses. I understand that he imported some blooded stallions from Kentucky and crossed them with the range mares. His brand was the Circle S (the S inclosed by a circle). There were no better horses ever in Arizona than those Circle S. According to well authenticated stories Lot Smith would ride one of those horses from Mormon Dairy to Fort Moroni in one day and then go on to Tuba City the next.64

According to some authors, "Smith's love for livestock came between him and the church."65 One member of a committee that settled the financial mess of the Sunset Order, John Bushman, wrote that people "found him basically willing to cooperate in the adjustment but hot headed and prone to anger because he thought so much of the beautiful stock that he could not bear to see them branded and drove away."66

With the rise in arrests of polygamists, many of the general authorities of the Mormon Church made more frequent visits to the various missions. Wilford Woodruff made such a visit to Lot's home in 1880, where he stayed for some time.67 Lot had always received respect from the high officials of the Mormon Church, and because of his dedicated work in the church they may have overlooked many of his irregularities. One of those irregularities was that Lot was a poor bookkeeper. The church constantly told him to send in the tithing receipts of his stake, which he seldom did. The church never seemed to know what transactions were taking place in the Little Colorado

64Peterson, 206. Letter to Dr. Peterson from Earle Forrest, a student of Arizona's range wars, February 6, 1966.

65Peterson, 207.

66Peterson, 207.

67Peterson, 183.
Stake, and when complaints started flowing in from members of the mis-
sion, they began to wonder.68 Usually the charges were that settle-
ments were made without the aid of accurate accounts, and that when a
member left the order, he received no interest on his investment or
credit for his labor while in the order.69

Those who leave are not allowed anything for the use of
their property and means while with them, nor for labour,
however faithfully performed, except what they eat, and
if their stock, teams or other property is used up in the
company or damaged, they lose it, but if their labour helps
to make improvements or increase accrues to the company--
and when parties become dissatisfied, they must take what
is left of their effects and go to some other part of the
country because...these companies wish to monopolize all
around them whether they need or can use it or not.70

Fridhoff Godfred Nielson, who went with Lot Smith from Farming-
ton to the Northern Arizona Mission, kept a close record of Lot in
his journal. He was later clerk for the Northern Arizona Mission and
relates many times how Lot always insisted upon being the leader and
instructing the people in all things. Lot would give the orders and
then expected his people to obey. After Young's death, Lot seemed to
be an entirely different personality in Nielson's eyes. Lot seemed to
be more stern and militant in his actions as a leader.71

Not only were economic problems facing Lot and his mission but
also personal ones as well. For some unexplained reason, Lot became
very jealous about the loyalty of his wives and accused them of

68Wilford Woodruff to Lot Smith, April 21, 1880 and June 19,
1880, USHS.

69Peterson, 207.

70Peterson, 208.

71"Journal of Fridhoff G. Nielson," on microfilm in the Utah
State Historical Society.
constantly finding fault with him. He was warned harshly many times by Wilford Woodruff to conduct himself in the right manner concerning his wives.  

Members leaving the mission again complained bitterly to the authorities of the church that when they left Sunset, they left with less than they came with in the first place. Wilford Woodruff's letter to Lot expresses the dissatisfaction felt by many.

Now I think that a man who has done as much for Israel as you have in your day, can afford to be generous with those who leave your settlement, and let them have as good as they bring to you, in as much as they get no increase. There is hardly a man who speaks well of you, who leaves your settlement. They generally go away dissatisfied.

Women along with the men, began to rebel against the bondage they felt under Lot Smith. Some members even accused Lot of placing his personal brand on cattle that belonged to the cooperative. One by one people left the cattle cooperative until it was abandoned to keep them from leaving the Northern Arizona Mission entirely. In order to keep things cooler in the Little Colorado area, the church sent Lot, as part of an exploring and purchasing committee, to find new settlements as far south as Mexico that could expand the mission program.

With the idea that perhaps some of the settlements along the Little Colorado might be abandoned, Lot did three things. First, he bought a lot of property at Moencopi, located twenty miles north of

72 Wilford Woodruff to Lot Smith, January 31, 1882, USHS.
73 Wilford Woodruff to Lot Smith, October 23, 1882, USHS.
74 Anderson, 303, 381.
75 Jenson, Historical Record, V, 256.
Sunset. Second, he bought large strings of valuable horses. On January 15, 1883, he bought from Mark W. Dunham of Wayne, DuPage County, Illinois, some Percheron Norman horses which had been imported from France. Lot wanted to use these horses for breeding. Third, he won again the glory he had received during the Utah War. He was asked by the church to write his account of the Echo Canyon War. They were later printed by the church in The Contributor magazine.

While Lot was moving from place to place, hiding from the deputies, exploring down south in Mexico, visiting various settlements, or expanding his line of horses, his wives seldom saw him. Alice Ann Richards left Arizona to visit her family in Farmington and Salt Lake while Lot was away. She was in no hurry to return to Arizona, but did eight months later. When she returned she found that by 1885 most of Sunset had been abandoned, and her husband had gone to Mexico with Diantha and Alice Baugh to escape the persecution in Sunset and the deputies searching for polygamists. Alice Ann stayed near Sunset to look after the land and property there. Finally, after being gone almost two years, Lot returned and moved the family to Moencopi near Tuba City, Arizona.

76Alice Ann Richards Smith, 16.
78Wilford Woodruff to Lot Smith, November 10, 1882, USHS.
79Smith, "Echo Canyon War," The Contributor, IV (1883).
80Alice Ann Richards Smith, 16.
81Alice Ann Richards Smith, 16.
82Alice Ann Richards Smith, 16.
The abandonment of the Sunset Mission, and other missions in Lot's stake, brought a quick investigation. Though the Little Colorado Stake was the first established in northern Arizona, it never seemed to flourish.

Headed by Lot Smith, its leadership had little chance to escape the rawness of its frontier before division over the United Order and the decline of the lower river villages combined with Smith's shortcomings as an administrator to sap its vitality. It nevertheless kept the lines of communication open and provided a minimum of organization until 1887 when it ceased to exist.83

The investigation was headed by Erastus Snow with a committee consisting of Lot Smith, Fridhoff Nielson of Ramah, Thomas W. Brockbank of Sunset, Hubert R. Burke of Alpine, and John Bushman of St. Joseph who was chairman of the committee.84 Lot asked to be excused from serving on the committee, and David K. Udall of St. Johns substituted for him.85 The purpose of the investigation was:

1) List and appraise all property belonging to the United Order of Sunset including that which is in possession of, or under the general control of President Lot Smith or other agents of the company.

2) Assume control of property in behalf of all those who have unsettled accounts on the Company Books, all who have invested in, or continued to labor in the Order.

3) Settle all unsettled accounts--make best disposition of joint property, sell perishable property and convert to cash.

4) Distribute by taking into consideration the labors of the men and women involved.

5) The labor and expenses which have been incurred by Lot

83Peterson, 447.


85Peterson, 209.
Smith and his employees in handling and caring for the joint property since the separation of the company should be allowed by the committee; but any property disposed of by him or his family in the meantime should be taken into consideration as offsets. 86

The committee met and appointed a sub-committee consisting of Bushman, Nielson, and Burke to go to Sunset Dairy Ranch and take charge of the property there. They stopped at Sunset on their way to the ranch and were kindly treated by Alice Ann and her family. When they reached the dairy, they explained their mission to Jed, Lot's son, because Lot was not home at the time. Jed told them to go ahead and assisted them in gathering up the stock. They had already listed some 600 head of cattle and 2400 sheep when Lot arrived the afternoon of the 27th from Mexico. Lot "was very much annoyed that we [Bushman, Nielson, and Burke] had done anything before he came, saying that you [Apostle E. Snow] had insisted upon his being present and taking part in the matter." 87 Lot refused to stop at the dairy, but drove back about a mile and stopped in an enclosure where the animals used for work were kept. The committee approached Lot and explained their position to him, and he became more calm and mild. He gave as his reason for not stopping that they had with them two young men (whom he chose to call rascals). These two young men were of families that had been identified with the Sunset United Order and had come up on business of their own. Lot requested that they be sent away, but the three men on the committee did not see any reason for the young men to leave until

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86 "Journal of Fridhoff Nielson."

87 John Bushman, Nielson, and Burke to Erastus Snow, September 9, 1886, USHS.
they had completed their business. The committee did inform the two young men that their presence was distasteful to Lot, but they remained until they were ready to go which was after Lot left.⁸⁸

The next morning Lot came to talk to the committee. He spoke to them in the same manner he had used the previous evening only a little more mild and good natured. The committee tried to be courteous to him and careful in their conversation so that they would not upset him. Lot stayed with them all day and made a proposition first to John Bushman and then to all three men.

That he would brand to us 1,000 head of horned stock, furnish us with 20 riding horses, and more from time to time if needed to take care of the stock, us to receive all outstanding accounts and orders and settle all outstanding debts, due by the company and he to keep the sheep, the horses estimated by him and his sons at about 150 head, and to keep the Dairy Ranch, the Brookbank spring five miles west, and the Grapevine Spring twelve miles southeast as his share of the property and settle himself with his boys for taking care of the stock and him and the boys to have any stock they might find over 1,000 head or if under he would make it good.⁹⁹

The three men told Lot to make his proposition in writing and they would present it to the whole committee at their next meeting. The following Sunday, Lot brought the books and papers he had from Mexico over to the committee. After learning from them that they would continue listing the property, "he went back to his camp and left for Sunset as much annoyed and with the same spirit he came with."⁹⁰ Bushman, Nielson, and Burke record further problems they had with Lot in obtaining needed information.

⁸⁸Nielson, Bushman, and Burke to Erastus Snow, September 9, 1886, USHS.
⁹⁹Nielson, Bushman, and Burke to Snow, September 9, 1886, USHS.
⁹⁰Nielson, Bushman, and Burke to Snow, September 9, 1886, USHS.
The following day brothers Nielson and Burke came to Sunset for the purpose of securing some books and papers there and attending to other business pertaining to their duties as a sub-committee. Before they had approached brother Smith he came and in a boistrous uncivil manner ordered them out, accused them of having lied, refused to listen to any reply they would make and when afterwards approached by them would lock himself up in his room and did not answer, when asked about some books and papers of the company.

Two days afterwards, however, he sent up to us here three more of the company books. Under these circumstances we're left with the feeling that in the future it would be difficult if at all for us to approach him on any subject pertaining to the adjusting of the Sunset United Order affairs.91

Though Lot had been a poor bookkeeper, what books were available were consulted by the committee. John Bushman began appraising the property of Sunset and the Mormon Lake Ranch. He states that 1,012 head of cattle were tallied and valued at $20 per head totaling $20,240. Sheep were also on the ranch that totaled 2,400 at two dollars a piece or a total of $4,800. However, many of Lot's horses, numbering 175 and valued at $50 a head which totaled $8,750, were turned over to Lot personally. Lot received one-fourth of the livestock which had a total value of $33,690.92 Lot and a few others, however, did come out of the investigation with less than they had held previously.93

Though Lot was not well liked by everyone on the committee, David Udall did have some sympathy for this man.

My sympathies at times were drawn out to this man, a warrior by nature and often misunderstood, but a true friend to the people over whom he presided. He sat at the common table for years eating humble fare with this group of saints. He was a natural economist and home-builder of the old Mormon type.

91Nielson, Bushman, and Burke to Snow, September 9, 1886, USHS.
92Peterson, 210.
93Peterson, 211.
Through his thrift and foresight he was truly the leading spirit in an organization which built up great flocks and herds and ranches, mills and farms. Had they been able to continue on unitedly and have stayed with the "order" they would have become a great and wealthy people. ... He must have been a great man, a great spirit, to have been called by President Young to lead the brethren who went out to meet Johnston's army. I have been told that President Young, after being disappointed in the efforts of the church to colonize Arizona, said, "I will send a man who will stay there," and the man chosen was Lot Smith.94

With the abandonment of the Sunset Mission, and Lot released as President of the Little Colorado Stake after 1887, he retired to his ranch at Moencopi, Arizona. The deputies were still pursuing him as a polygamist, but he managed to stay out of their reach. Alice Ann Richards and Mary Garn, who had stayed near Sunset until Lot's return from Mexico, were now with him after being separated for a long period of time. Diantha and Alice Baugh were also with Lot, but it is not known if all four wives lived at the same ranch. It is probably more accurate to say that Alice Ann was the only wife at Moencopi, because records of birth show that all her children except one were born at Moencopi.95 Alice Baugh's children were born at Tuba City, while Diantha and Mary Garn's children were born near Tuba City.96

Alice Ann Richards describes her experiences at Moencopi:

It was lovely at Moencopi. The Indians lived about a block away and farmed part of our land. We had lovely apricots and apples here. While at Tuba we had peaches and grapes, so we were plentifully supplied with fruit, milk, and butter. We grew lots of corn and alfalfa and choicest melons I ever saw. Also squash and all kinds of garden stuff. The Indians [Navajos] raised the nicest onions I ever ate, which they traded with us for flour or sugar.

94Udall, 201.

95Genealogical Records of the Lot Smith family.

96Genealogical Records of the Lot Smith family.
They would steal you blind, but they returned everything they borrowed. Their houses were scrumptiously clean, but they had dirty ways. I could never eat with them, though some of their food looked very tempting. Maywee Chechenann and Masemian baked their bread in our oven. They would bring it in the mixing pan and always forget to bring flour to mix it out on or grease for the drippers. They would carry off our spoons and scissors and if you asked about them, they would bring them back and say another Indian had stolen them. It was impossible to keep a tool unless it was under lock and key. They were lots of provocation, but we got along nicely with them.97

Lot was content to be at his ranches tending his horses, cattle, and sheep. By this time, he had almost fifty-two children scattered from southern Idaho to Arizona. He was retired from the adventurous life he had once lived.

During the years after 1887, the Circle S Ranch began to grow from Mormon Lake and Fort Moroni on the south and west to Tuba City on the north. Lot's final home was at upper Pasture Canyon or Reservoir Canyon a few miles east of Tuba City. Here, he built a home near a flowing spring. He also owned a colorful stone house in Moencopi made of red and gray stone.98

By this time a few of the Navajos started giving some of the settlers around Tuba City and Moencopi some trouble by breaking fruit trees, stealing horses, and destroying irrigation dams. A few said that a Gentile trader had come through the two towns and stirred up some renegades against the Mormons.99 This conflict between the Indians and settlers developed many problems.

97Alice Ann Richards Smith, 17.
98Peterson, 212.
One day in June 1892, some Indians decided to break down one of the settler's fences to let their sheep pasture on his field. The field they picked for this invasion of property was Lot's ranch near Moencopi. Finding sheep in his pasture, Lot went to his house, secured a pistol, and shot the sheep. The number of sheep killed varies depending on who is telling the story, whites or Indians. The Indians claimed that Lot killed seven and twenty-seven other died of wounds. The Indians retaliated and killed six of Lot's cattle grazing nearby. It is believed that while all the shots were being fired, one was fired at the Indian Chachos who were killing Lot's cattle.100

Lot, disgusted, climbed upon his horse and started home. Just as he neared one of the reservoirs, built by the Mormons, the Chachos fired twice, mortally wounding him.101 He rode home one-half mile to Diantha where he died six hours later. His last words to his wife were: "This is the last of me. God bless the wives and children."102

It was June 21, 1892; Lot had fought his last battle and now lay dead from a bullet wound.

100 R.E.L. Michie, 1st Lt., 2d Cavalry, to Asst. Adjutant General, Department of Arizona, July 13, 1892, File 2875/1892, Navajo Series VIII, No. 82, Record Group 98, Records of the War Department, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Copy in Church Historian's Office.

101 R.E.L. Michie to Adjutant General.

102 Jenson, Biographical Encyclopedia, I, 805-806.
CHAPTER IX
LOT SMITH--THE MAN

It is difficult to separate the myth and legend of Lot Smith from the reality of the man. However, the myths and legends are important for they express a view of the personality of the man. It has been eighty years since his death, but the stories about the man live on in the minds and hearts of many Utahns. Though some stories are obviously fictitious, they give a picture of the reputation of the man.

One story relates how Lot outroped Buffalo Bill. Another story takes place at a Mexican bullfight. Just when this could have happened is not known. During the course of the bullfight, Lot watched the matadors kill the bull, to express their bravery. Lot could not restrain himself, he was so disturbed at this act of butchery. He jumped into the arena, shouting that bullfighting was a cowardly sport, and began trying to induce the bullfighters not to kill the bull. Lot felt that to show one's bravery, one should ride the bull instead of killing it. The Mexicans protested that no one could ride a bull, but Lot assured the crowd that he could. The Mexicans thought Lot to be a braggart and decided to test him to see if he could accomplish this feat. They brought a bull for Lot to ride. He climbed upon the bull's large, strong back and for a time it seemed that was where he was going to remain. However, the bull soon sent Lot flying through the air right into the laps of the ruling family. The Mexicans felt Lot was
brave to attempt such a feat, and he became the hero of the day.¹

Lot Smith was determined to complete any task he started no matter what the consequence. A case reported in the chapter on the Utah War relates how he threatened to kill any one of his command who even mentioned the words surrender or desertion. His determination to make the Arizona settlement program a success resulted in its partial failure because he tried to run the whole affair with an iron hand. Even when the Little Colorado Stake was dissolved, he stayed there to settle.

Lot is remembered best as a soldier. He was a soldier in a real sense and loved the adventurous life, whether fighting Indians, harassing Johnston's army, or defending the Mormon cause in other ways. As a disciplined soldier who knew how to carry out orders, he expected others to obey orders when given. Lot was so successful in his military campaigns that he employed the same method of giving orders and expecting strict obedience from the Arizona saints. Some of the people rebelled against his authoritarian ways, and this hurt the Arizona Mission.

Lot, the Utah War soldier, was made into a hero for his deeds. Amasa Clark of Farmington tells a story of a difference of opinion between Smith and O. Porter Rockwell. Lot met him one day at the Point-of-the-Mountain south of Great Salt Lake City. Words were exchanged between the two men, Rockwell began to draw his pistol, but Lot cracked his whip and hit Porter right out of the saddle before he

could fire his gun. Rockwell was so embarrassed by the incident that he got up on his horse and rode off.

One difficult problem is Lot's relationship with his wives. The doctrine of polygamy played heavily on his mind and heart as he began to marry his wives. However, his relationship to each wife is vague because Lot never mentions them in his writings. The only two wives with autobiographical sketches, Alice Baugh Smith and Alice Ann Richards Smith, both refer to their husband as "Brother Smith," a customary convention, and mention him only a few times. They seem to have great respect for their husband, but their marital relationship seems quite distant and formal. Lot's wives were left to take care of themselves and their children most of the time. Lot's life took him away from a stay-at-home family life with its responsibilities. It is hard to determine how Lot treated his wives although later in his life he is reprimanded by the head of his church on the matter and admonished to treat them right. Lot had some concern for his wives and children because his last words before his death were about them.

He is a strong willed person, set in his ways. His personality made him both a hero and a villain at different times in his life. Perhaps his arrogance grew as he grew older because he seemed to need to remind those around him that they were dealing with no ordinary man.
Lot was buried in Tuba City, Arizona. He had died before Utah became the forty-fifth state in the Union in 1896, but men did not forget what Lot had done for his state and church.

Both his church and the men who had served with him, in the many campaigns he had fought, wanted him to be brought back to Farmington. The Mormon Church authorized President Jesse N. Smith of the Eastern Arizona Stake (with a payment of ninety dollars) to exhume the body and bring it to Farmington, Utah, for burial.¹

Lot had been buried at his own request near the Upper Pasture Canyon house. Some of Little Colorado Stake oldtimers became concerned that their comrade was buried in such a lonely canyon. Particularly important to them was the fact that a reservoir was about a mile and a half from the canyon, and when the water table rose it inundated Lot's body. Jesse N. Smith gave the money the church had sent to David Brinkerhoff, Bishop of Tuba City, to exhume Lot's body. As the body was dug up, water flowed from the casket, "washing whiskers from his long red beard with it."²

Lot was brought by train for the special burial services conducted in the Farmington Tabernacle on April 8, 1902.³ Many of the

¹Journal History, March 10, 1902.
²Peterson, 213.
³Deseret News, April 8, 1902.
men who had served with Lot were there to pronounce eulogies over their dead hero's head.

Ten years have elapsed since the death of Lot Smith, the famous pioneer and soldier, yet at the memorial services held over his remains at Farmington yesterday it seemed as if the heroic spirit was hovering near to stir up in the breasts of his old comrades, that love and devotion with which he inspired them half a century ago.4

"Utah's bravest of the brave" had finally come to rest, was the thought of many of those old veterans remembering this remarkable man.5 One man at the funeral, President Joseph F. Smith, seemed to express the theme of the significance of Lot's life:

...history will record the fact that Lot Smith was one of the notable figures of the past. In every instance, he discharged his duty to the best of his ability.6

Some may say that all Lot was was a six foot, two hundred pound, red-bearded soldier, and nothing more.7 He was much more than that. Lot was so much a part of the history of the Territory of Utah and his church's history. When a man of the hour was needed, men called on Lot Smith.

Many men have never heard of Lot Smith; others vaguely knew his name, but the pages of history can never forget him. As history marched by Lot Smith was there to take his part and make his place.

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4Deseret News, April 9, 1902.
5Deseret News, April 9, 1902.
6Deseret News, April 9, 1902.
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