

and often in a manner that was far below the beasts, and at the same time professing to be a follower of Christ, his words had no weight, but passed by me without making [*sic*] any impression.

I then gave him a lecture on the subject of the cross, and a life of self denial [*sic*] which was fully satisfying to all present, who had the right end of the story.—I stayed all day, and assisted them to settle their affairs.—I wrote for them two or three hours; and after I was thro' I took hold of the Elder and walked the floor, amusing [*sic*] him with a number of pleasant things; and lastly I repeated part of a verse of an old hymn, which reads thus,

“But now as I close
One thing I'll propose
To the man that salvation would find
No longer put your trust,
In a man that lives in lust,
For how can the blind lead the blind.”

At the recital of these words, he loosened his hold and made for the door, and here ended my labors for the Mormons for that time.

Ashbel Kitchel.

THE MILLER, THE BISHOP, AND THE “MOVE SOUTH”

William G. Hartley

When approximately 30,000 Saints deserted their homes during the 1858 “Move South,” most of their wagons contained sacks or boxes of wheat. In case Church leaders ordered torches and axes put to the fields and orchards north of Utah County to keep them from the hands of the U.S. Army Utah Expedition, the wheat supply would feed the refugees until new crops could be grown somewhere. As the endless stream of wagons rolled south from Great Salt Lake City along the State Road, one wagon after another stopped at a newly erected gristmill on Big Cottonwood Stream. Gladly the uprooted Saints paid miller Archibald Gardner to grind their wheat into flour. Among the millhands whom Archibald Gardner hired to help serve this sudden flood of customers was Warren Foote, a resident of Union. Brother Foote, later a pioneer in the Muddy Mission and leader in Kanab, recorded his reactions to his six or seven weeks of around-the-clock mill work. Particularly noteworthy are his concluding estimates of the huge quantity of wheat that the Gardner millstones “floured.”

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Not too far from the busy Gardner gristmill on State Road, Acting Bishop Joseph Harker prepared his West Jordan Ward members to vacate their properties. The short and direct daily entries of the bishop's diary show us quickly what day-by-day work the four months (March to July) of preparing, relocating, and returning required. Repairing wagons took much time. So did finding cattle. Bishop Harker made a scouting trip south to find a new location for his ward members. Then, relocated at Pondtown (Salem), they and he built shelters and corrals, planted crops, and erected a schoolhouse—in case the "Move South" proved to be of long duration. Joseph Harker, like Warren Foote, returned to home and work that summer. A year later Brother Harker was replaced as bishop of West Jordan by Archibald Gardner, owner of the mill which employed Warren Foote.

The originals of both of these documents are located in the Historical Department of the Church. The Foote record is handwritten in the back section of a diary book containing an earlier Foote diary and labelled on the cover "Emigrating Company Book." The bishop's handwritten diary is sandwiched in between family records in an oversized book called "Joseph Harker's Journal and Family Record Book, 1818-1895," and the excerpt included here is from pages 66-68. Both documents are reproduced by permission of the Church Archivist.

EXTRACT FROM WARREN FOOTE'S JOURNAL

March 1858. The forepart of this month it was the general talk among the Saints in Salt Lake, Davis and Weber Counties, that they would have to Move enmasse to the south, in consequence of Johnston's Army, which is camped at Green River, and are determed to come into the Valley this spring, or at least attempted to do so. Archibald Gardner hired me to run his Grist Mill located on the State road six miles south of Salt Lake City. I was to commence work on Monday the 22 of March. I was living in Union. I went down to the Mill early in the morning and as I went into the house, bro. Gardner and his family were eating breakfast. The first thing he said to me was, "Well, brother Foote, we have got to leave here. President Young preached yesterday at the Tabernacle, that he thought it best to move southward and, and if the United States were determined to send their army into the Valley without some treaty or agreement we will burn our houses, cut down our orchards, and make the country desolate as it was when we came here. He then called for a vote of the congregation. They all voted, aye. He then said that he wanted the poor to be helped first, and to begin tomorrow, and get into Utah County at least. He wanted the people to get all their wheat floured, and packed into boxes and hauled away." This is about what we have been looking for, for some time, consequently we were in a measure prepared for it. I went into the mill and commenced putting it in good order for business,

expecting to be crowded in a few days. James C. Walker, who had been working for bro. Gardner was hired to assist me. He was a young man and had never worked at milling. I soon found him to be a good careful hand. In a few days the State road was lined with teams, loaded with families and provisions, going Southward, and within a week our large Mill was filled full of grists of wheat to be ground and packed. It required two more hands to help in the mill—one to help James, and one to help me. We ground on an average from 14 to 16 bushels an hour day and night, and then could not keep up with the custom. At one time there was hundreds of bushels stored in the barn close by. This was a very hard time for me. I had to do all the dressing of the burrs, (two run) and run the mill half the day and half the night besides. But I seemed to be strengthend for the task. I worked about 16 hours in 24. This rush continued about 6 or 7 weeks. We ground thousands of bushels of wheat the flour of which was hauled southward. Bro. A. Gardner declared that the mill was inspired, for he never had seen a mill grind so before. But I think the inspiration was caused by a powerful waterwheel, and plenty of water, and in keeping the millstones sharp. But I acknowledge ~~that~~ the hand of God in giving me strength to perform the labor I did, and preventing accidents to the machinery &c.

Teams were constantly on the road going and coming from the south, day and night. Some went as far as Fillmore, but the greater part stopped in Utah county. As the last families were about moving from Union I took my family to American Fork. I was absent from the mill two days. A. Gardner moved his family to Spanish Fork, and James C. Walker and myself were left alone at the mill. About three weeks after I had taken my family to American Fork, I went there, and moved them to Dry Creek, four or five miles below Mountainville, with some other families who were camped there.

There were no families left in any of the settlements, but the mails were still carried regularly in Utah I was Postmaster at Union, and after the folks had all left there I requested the mail carrier to stop at the mill. I took out the mail for Union, and sent it to the places where the Union folks were camped. The most of them were camped at Spring Lake; afterwards called Spring Lake Villa.

After the grinding slacked up at the Mill, I went to the City one day to look around. The City was as still as death—not a woman or child to be seen. Occasionally I saw a lone man walking the streets like a lonely sentinal. Grass was growing in the deserted door yards and streets, I had strange feelings and reflections. What had become of all those merry children who were wont to play in those deserted dooryards and streets? What had become of the blooming maidens, and the joyful young men who once promenaded these now desolated streets? Where are the middle aged, who once caused this City to resound with the busy hum of industry? Also the aged, who once leisurely walked these streets leaning upon the staff? What had caused all this terrible desolation? What has this people done that they must be harrassed, and persecuted in such a manner? What law have they broken?

The answer is, They have broken no law. They have not done anything that can justify the great Government of the United States in sending an army here to destroy us. The fact is the government has been deceived through the lying reports of their Judges, and being urged on by wicked and designing men who assured the President that the "Mormons" were in open rebellion against the Government, and was establishing an independant government of their own.

After viewing the loneliness of the City I went to the Post Office. The new Postmaster had arrived with the Eastern mail. I found several books in the office

for me which I had sent for some time ago. I found Mr. Morrell, the new P.M. very sociable. On learning that I was Postmaster of Union he inquired of me the the situation of the various Post Offices, especially those having local names different from the names of the post offices.

Soon after my return from moving my family to Dry Creek Utah Co. the two Peace Commisioners arrived in Salt Lake City. President Young with other authorities of the Church met them there to hold a conference with them. Bro. A. Gardner, happened to be at the mill at the time. He went to Salt Lake City to attend the Conference. But their meeting was held with closed doors, and he did not get in. On his return to the mill that night, he reported to us, that he interviewed George A. Smith, who told him, that they had a pretty warm meeting, and it looked very doubtful about peaceably settling matters, and it looked as though we would have to burn everything and flee to the mountains. On the second day's meeting, matters took a more favorable turn, and before night the treaty of peace was signed. This was joyful news to the Saints. I took my team and started immediately after my family. I started from the mill about sundown, and reached their camp a little after sunrise. I told my wife I had come to move her home. It was with a glad heart that she heard the joyful news. I moved her to the Mill till the Union folks returned, then I moved her to our home in Union.

We all felt truly thankful to get home again, and praised the Lord for His mercies to us, in softening the hearts of our enemies, and overruling all things for our good.

General Johnston established his camp in Cedar Valley and named it Camp Floyd. Day after day for several days their baggage and provision trains, hauled by 4 and 5 yoke of oxen passed the Mill on their way to Camp Floyd. As they ascended the hill south of the Cottonwood bridge, I could hear their teamsters crack their big whips, and yell out, "Get up there Brigham," "Get up there Heber" &c. They had named their oxen after our leading brethren, in derision. These yells were generally accompanied with profanity.

Peace being now restored the people returned to their homes, and settled down again to their daily avocations. In consequence of moveing there had not been as much grain and vegetables planted as usual, and what was put in, had not received much care, and the prospect now was, that the crops would be very light. But the most of the people had enough breadstuff ground up to do them a year, but it was all in the South, consequently they were obliged to haul it back.

I will now make an estimate of the amount of flour made, and hauled south, from the Cottonwood Mills during the six or seven weeks in the beginning of the "Move."

As has been stated we ground from 14 to 16 bus. per hour day and night, and made on an average 38 lbs to the bushel. The amount of flour ground in 24 hours would be— (say 15 bus wheat ground per hour, and 38 lbs of flour per bus.) 13680 lbs. One week's grinding (6 days.) would be 82080 lbs.

Six weeks grinding would be; 492480 lbs. or 24624 tons. Now, as a ton was about as much as one span of horses, or one yoke of oxen could haul at a load, it is very easy to be seen how many loads of flour was hauled south from this one mill. At this time very few persons owned more than one span of horses, or one yoke of oxen.

How much was hauled from other mills I do not know. But as the Cottonwood Mills was situated on the State road I presume that we done the greater part of the grinding.

Now as the greater part of this flour had to be hauled back again, it can be seen what a vast amount of labor the "Big Move" cost, say nothing about the moving of families and household goods. All this labor was performed willingly, apparently, as I heard no one murmur or complain.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF JOSEPH HARKER

- March 21 I went to Herriman and heald two meeting at night I met with the Brethern at the mill Branch the word came for to Leave the Valley
- March 22 I was at home with my family a Snowy day
- March 23 I went to the City to see Bishop Hunter on bisness of the Ward
- March 24 I went to the Bishops meeting
- March 25 I was ploughing in evening I was at the mill Branch the Brethern wished the Ward to move together
- March 26 I was reparing my waggon
- 27 I was reparing my waggon
- March 28 I was at a meeting in the Schoolhouse
- March 29 I was reparing my waggon
- March 30 I was at the Bishops meeting in the City
- March 31 I was reparing my waggon for moveing South my family
- April 1 I was at the mills Branch meeting and made arrangements to move the poor of the Ward South
- April 2 I was reparing my waggon
- April 3 I was reparing my waggon
- April 4 I met with the Teachers At the mill Branch
- April 5 I was reparing my waggons
- April 6 I was called up before day to go out to meet our enemys I made ready and went to the City Prest Young Said we Should move South and leave our homes to make our enemys the agressers all the time
- April 7 I was at mill I called at Wm Hickmans to do some bisness on way home
- April 8 I was hunting Cattle
- April 9 I was reparing my waggons I Wrote a Letter to F.D. Richards to have Samel Bennion Released from his military Dueties to move his family south
- April 10 I was planting Potatoes
- April 11 I was at meeting in the City
- April 13 I was reparing my waggons and I called at Wm Hickmans
- April 14 I Started out with S Bennion and Wm Hickman to look out a location for the Ward at night we stoped at Springvill
- April 15 We went over to Spanish fork and Pontown and found farming land and a good range for Cattle and night we Stoped at Provoo with W.G. Smith we came home from Provoo and we met Some Thousand teams
- April 17 and 18 It was Rainey days
- April 19 I was at the City on bisness
- April 20 the Ward turned out to hunt Stray Cattle, at night I had two horses foundered with eating bran
- April 21 I was Sick in bed
- April 22 I was making waggon bows
- April 23 I was at Alx Becsteads mending waggons

- April 24 I was at Alx becksteads mending waggons
 April 25 I was at home no meeting
 April 26 I was helping J Bennion to wash Sheep
 April 27 I was Shearring Sheep
 April 28 I was shereing Sheep
 April 30 I was reparing my waggons
 May 1 I Started with my Wife Eliza to move South with her Children we traveled 28 miles
 May 2 we traveled 24 miles and camped at Pontown the wether is fine I laid of a place for the Ward to camp on and a correll and commenced to dig a house in the Bank for my family
 May 4 I Returned for the Rest of my family
 May 5 I was at Salt Lake City
 May 6 I was a Loading my waggon
 May 7 I was hunting a hefer
 May 8 I left my home with my family and camped at the warm-spring near the point of mountins
 May 9 We traveled 20 miles and camped on Provoo bench
 May 10 We traveled 22 miles and camped with Ward in Pontown City my Wife was very sick
 May 11 in the evening we held a meeting and made some arangement for making a correl and heard my own Cattle Bro. Harris had left the Ward and I chose Wm Hickman in his place
 May 12 we went into the Kanyon to get poles for a correl
 May 13 was making a cerrel
 May 14 I was making arangements for to start a Ward heard
 May 15 I was hunting cattle and hearding
 May 16 we apointed a capt of the gard and heard
 May 17 I was at the Spanish fork planting potatoes and seeds
 May 18 I was at the Kanyon hauling ples [poles]
 May 19 I was makeing a correl
 May 20 I was planting peas and beets
 May 21 I was explouring the Kanyon for water for the Cattle
 May 22 I was at the Kanyon
 May 23 I was at the meeting
 May 24 I was at work getting water out of the Kanyon for the Cattle to drink
 May 25 I was covering my shanty
 M 26 I was fixing my shanty
 M 27 I was at the Kanyon
 May 28 I was ploughing at Spanish fork
 M 29 I started to Provoo and met Wm Hickman turned back with him
 May 30 I was at meeting a good Spirit prevailed
 May 31 I was Planting Potatoes
 June 1 I was in the Kanyon getting logs
 June 2 I was puting up a School House in Pontown
 June 3 I was in the Kanyon getting logs
 June 4 I was reparing my waggon
 June 5 I was at work on the Schoolhouse
 June 6 I was at meeting Preaching by Orson Hide, W. Woodruff Bishop Smoot was ordained Bishop over the Pontown Ward

June 7 I was repairing my waggon in the evening I was at Ward meeting to do some business the Bishop left Brother Eldrege and me to attend to the business his family was sick

June 8 and 9 I was repairing my waggon

June 10 I was in the Kanyon getting logs to make a bowery

June 11 I was at work on the bowery

June 12 I was at work on the bowery

June 13 I was at meeting

June 14 I went to Spanish fork to water my Potatoes

June 15 I started to West Jordan Ward with orders to move the families

June 16 I visited the families and found them very loaffull [loathful?] to leave

June 17 I came home in a heavy rain

June 18 and 19 I was at home

June 20 I was out with the Bretheren hunting a range for the Cattle

June 21 I was at meeting

June 22 we moved our camp to the south end of Utah lake

June 23 I was loading my waggon

June 24 I was hauling logs from Pontown

June 25 I was making a shanty for my family

June 26 I was at home with my family

June 27 I was at home with my family

June 28 I was at meeting I was apointed by a vote of the meeting to act as Bishop of the camp

June 29 I was helping to move our Schoolhouse from Pontown

June 30 I was hunting my calf

July 1 I attended a council at the Indian farm at Spanish fork Governor Commings made a treaty with Indians

July 2 I was mending my waggons

July 3 We returned home to our farms

July 4 Returned home this morning we had lost some of our Cattle we traveled 18 miles.

July 5 this morning we lost four Horses

July 6 We arived Safe home in good halth

July 7 I was making a mud work

July 8 I was making a mud work and planting Potatoes

July 9 I was making a mud work

July 10 I was making a mud work

July 11 I was harvisting Wheat

July 12 I was at home no meeting

July 13 I was harvesting Wheat 3 days

July 16 I was at work at home

July 17 I was at work at home

July 18 I was making a mud work

July 19 I was at the mill Branch meeting