

# The Mormon Battalion: Conflict Between Religious and Military Authority

*by Susan Easton Black*

A comprehensive study of the Mormon Battalion reveals disagreement between the rank and file over religious authority and military leadership. Brigham Young asserted his authority early in the battalion's formation by recruiting and appointing religious military officers and ecclesiastical leaders to guide and father the enlistees. Government officials appointed military officers who viewed their leadership as superior to Young's. Conflict, bordering on mutiny, riddled the battalion march as religious authority clashed with military leadership in a verbal battle from Council Bluffs to California.

This essay will show the omnipresent influence and leadership of Young over the Latter-day Saint recruits. In addition, it will analyze the conflict over leadership by focusing on key individuals who fired the flames of continual strife by disregarding orders and counsel of the recognized Mormon leader.

\* \* \*

Young's directive to Jesse C. Little, Little's journey to Washington, his meeting with President James K. Polk, and Polk's offer to aid the pioneers by permitting them to raise a battalion, is well documented. Little's acceptance of Polk's offer committed a Mormon Battalion to join Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, Commander of the Army of the West, to fight for the United States in the Mexican War.

Kearny's designated leader, Captain James Allen, arrived at the Mount Pisgah encampment with three dragoons from the United States Army on 26 June 1846.<sup>1</sup> He was treated with suspicion as

many believed the raising of a battalion a plot to trouble the migrating Saints.<sup>2</sup> By 1 July 1846 Allen had allayed fears by giving the pioneers permission to camp on United States lands, if they raised the desired battalion.

### *Recruitment*

Brigham Young recognized the enlistment as a governmental effort to aid the Mormons. He vigorously endorsed the recruitment of volunteers. Young said, "Let the Mormons be the first to set their feet on the soil of California."<sup>3</sup> Young wrote to Samuel Bent on 7 July 1846, "This thing is from above, for our good." He later declared, "Hundreds would eternally regret that they did not go, when they had the chance."<sup>4</sup>

Young not only publicly endorsed enlistment, but personally visited with would-be recruits. For example, he asked Matthew Caldwell to volunteer. When Caldwell expressed hesitancy, Young's promised blessings encouraged him to enlist. Caldwell relates:

I did not see how it would be possible to go as I had nothing to leave for my family. Whereupon President Young replied, "I will tell you in the name of the Lord, if you will go, you shall have health, and strength to perform the trip, and you shall not have occasion to fire at the enemy, and you shall not be shot at, you shall return and find your family in a better condition than when you left them. "With that promise, I'll go," I replied.<sup>5</sup>

When volunteers wished to renege on their commitment to military service, Young took a firm stand. In the case of Matthew Fifield, who had enlisted to spite his father, Young would not allow sixteen-year-old Matthew to resign until his father enlisted in his place. Due mainly to Young's various recruitment efforts, on 16 July 1846 approximately 543 men were mustered into the Mormon Battalion.

From among these recruits, Brigham Young, not Captain James Allen, selected the commissioned officers. His selection of officers was not in accord with Allen's directive from General Kearny. Nevertheless, Young believed himself capable of nominating men for officers even though he, himself, had not enlisted. The enlistees voted unanimously that Young and his council should pro-

ceed as they thought proper.<sup>6</sup> Young's influence solidified as he hand-picked the officers.

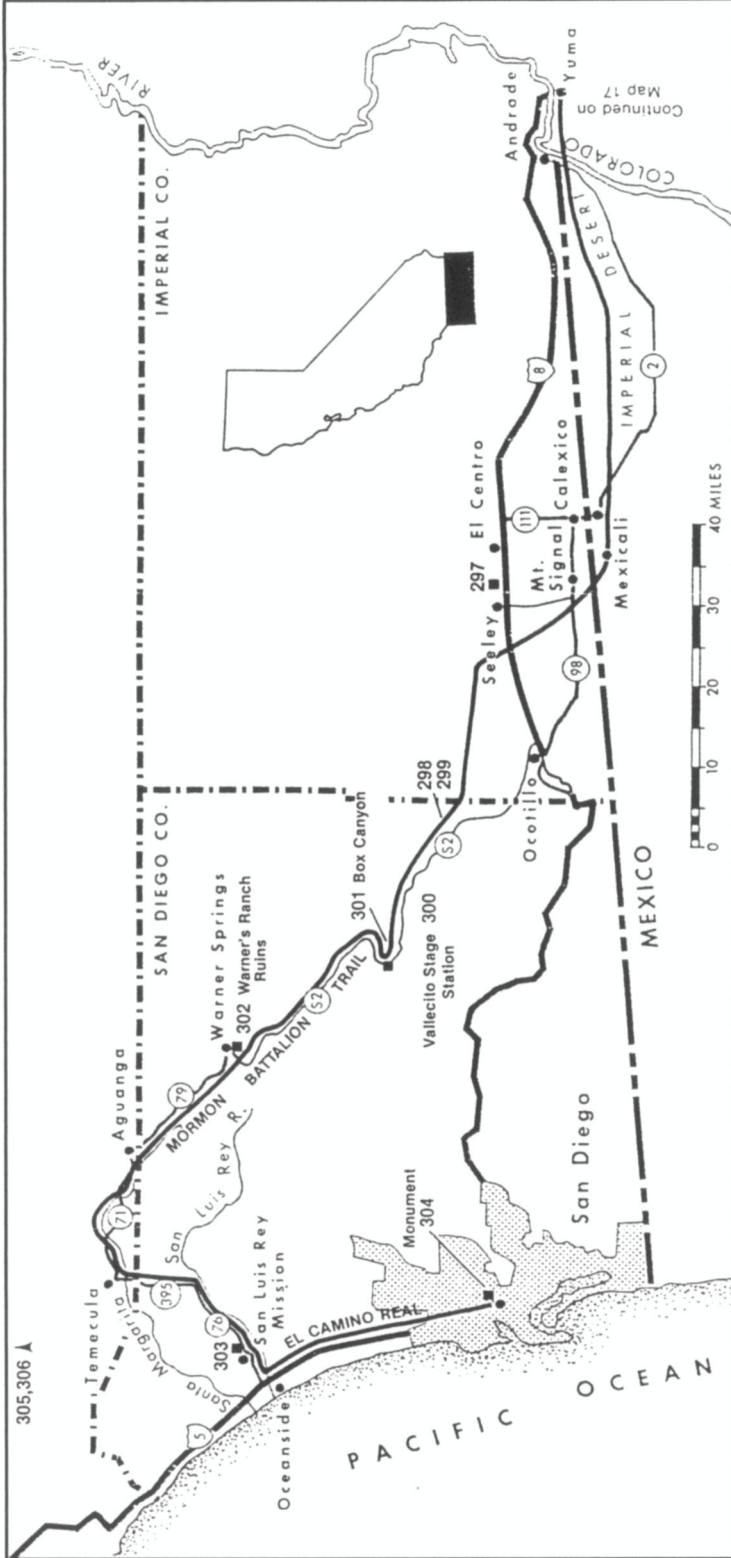
On 18 July 1846 commissioned and non-commissioned officers gathered to receive counsel and instructions from Young and other Church leaders. Officers were advised, "To be as fathers to the privates, to remember their prayers, to see that the name of the Deity was revered, and that virtue and cleanliness were strictly observed." Young also cautioned the men to "manage their affairs by the power and influence of the Priesthood," with the realization that, "a private soldier is as honorable as an officer, if he behaves as well."<sup>7</sup>

It is reasonable to assume that Young's role diminished when the battalion, accompanied by approximately 33 women and 51 children, left Council Bluffs on 20 July 1846. But such was not the case. On 21 July 1846, word was received from Young that he reserved authority over the Latter-day Saint officers. It appears this authority was solicited and supported by Mormons and non-Mormons alike.

For example, word from Young was needed to settle the confusion of battalion leadership after Captain Allen's untimely death. A council of officers had agreed that the senior Mormon officer, Captain Jefferson Hunt, should assume the command.<sup>8</sup> A few days following this affirmation, Lieutenant A. J. Smith claimed command by authority of the commandant at Fort Leavenworth.<sup>9</sup> Given two viable candidates, the question of leadership could only be solved by Brigham Young, not the government.

Hunt wrote to Young and was informed it remained with them to settle the question of leadership. The non-Mormon Smith also wrote to Young, "If it is the wish of your people that I should take charge of the Battalion and conduct it to General Kearny, I will do it with pleasure and feel proud of the command."<sup>10</sup> Young responded: "Sir, on the subject of command we can only say, Col. Allen settled that matter at the organization of the Battalion; therefore, we must leave that point to the proper authorities, be the result what it may."<sup>11</sup> Yet Young did not allow it to be "what it may." He wrote to Samuel Gully:

You will all doubtless recollect that Colonel Allen repeatedly stated...if he fell...sick...the command would devolve on



The Mormon Battalion trail in California westward from Yuma. Reprinted from Stanley B. Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers Along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails* (Urbana and Chicago: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1981), p. 20, by permission.

the ranking officer, which would be the Captain of Company A, and B, and so on...consequently, the command must devolve on Captain Jefferson Hunt.<sup>12</sup>

John D. Lee, in an attempt to follow Young's instructions, was so overbearing in pressing the issue of Mormon leadership that he was threatened with being placed under guard. His manipulative efforts antagonized both Mormon and non-Mormon officers. Concerned that Lee would distort events to Young, religious officers wrote Young to justify previous and current actions as supportive of Young and to indicate their continual allegiance to his leadership.<sup>13</sup>

Young instructed his officers by correspondence throughout the march. For example, Young wrote, "If you are sick, live by faith, and let the surgeon's medicine alone if you want to live, using only such herbs and mild foods as are at your disposal." In another letter, Young counseled, "remember the ordinances in case of sickness."<sup>14</sup>

Most of Young's correspondence was addressed to the Latter-day Saint military leader, Captain Jefferson Hunt. It could be assumed that Hunt was viewed by the men as their religious leader. However, the enlistees saw Hunt's actions as incongruent with those expected from a man of God. For example, one evening Jefferson Hunt was approached by Private Erastus Bingham requesting an exchange of rations for another. Hunt exclaimed, "I'll give you your rations when I get ready." His remark so angered Erastus that the private retorted, "I'm not afraid of any Hunt that God ever made." Hunt immediately jumped through the campfire and hit Erastus. They exchanged punches until comrades calmed them. The bruised captain then stammered, "You may come and get your rations."<sup>15</sup>

Hunt's lack of recognition was due more to the presence of Levi W. Hancock, one of seven Presidents of the Seventies, than from his sporadic fisticuffs.<sup>16</sup> Apparently Hancock could dictate to Hunt in ecclesiastical matters. For example, on 20 August 1846 Hancock recorded, "I called upon Capt. Hunt and told him we ought to have some meetings and he then appointed me to take charge of the same."<sup>17</sup>

With two strong Mormon leaders emerging, one Young's des-

ignated military leader and the other his appointed religious spokesman, Young's influence continued to permeate the battalion during and after the march. Continual correspondence and directives served to increase his influence. For example, 1) the letter from Lorenzo Clark written on 14 May 1847 to Young sought instructions for what the battalion men should do while stationed in California;<sup>18</sup> 2) Young's correspondence to Captain James Brown, the senior military leader at Pueblo, and to A. Porter Dowdle, ecclesiastical leader at Pueblo, advised, "Throw all the Gentile officers out of the Battalion when you come up to it;"<sup>19</sup> and 3) on 31 July 1847, "Brigham Young personally assumed command of the soldiers [in the Salt Lake Valley] and ordered them to gather brush for the bowery."<sup>20</sup>

As late as August 1847, James Brown and others were sent by Young to collect back pay for the sick detachment and to secure the soldiers' official discharge. In these directives, Young was not representing General Kearny or any other United States recognized officer, but only himself. It was Brigham Young, who never enlisted or marched with the battalion, who was the actual leader of the battalion for the Latter-day Saint recruits.

Conflict over authority developed when leaders of the battalion went against the counsel and direction of Brigham Young. Obviously, military appointees did not concur with his dominant leadership role. Lieutenant A. J. Smith, Dr. George Sanderson, and Adjutant George P. Dykes best illustrate this conflict. These officers challenged Young's authority again and again from Kansas to Santa Fe.

As Andrew J. Smith took command, the transition in leadership proved difficult for battalion privates, who blamed their officers for not consulting them on his military appointment. This cancer festered slowly at first as Smith, unaware of growing sentiment, wrote, "We are getting along very well so far."<sup>21</sup> Daniel Tyler contrasted these sentiments by bitterly claiming that, "foolish and unnecessary forced marches of Lieutenant Smith...utterly broke down both men and beasts, and was the prime cause of the greater part of the sickness and probably of many deaths."<sup>22</sup> Smith's policy of "punishing privates for the merest trifles, [while] officers could go where and do what they pleased, without any notice being taken of

them,”<sup>23</sup> mushroomed sentiment against Smith as such practice was in opposition to Young’s advice. Tyler penned, “I am satisfied that any other set of men but Latter-day Saints would have mutinied rather than submit to the oppressions and abuse thus heaped upon them.”<sup>24</sup>

This growing division filtered through the ranks, until any excuse to bring difficulty to Smith’s life became the tactical effort of many. For example, sentinel guard Thomas Howell imprisoned Smith for giving the wrong countersign. From the incident, Smith believed that Howell would just as soon kill him as look at him. Yet Smith’s cruelties towards the men did not cease. He pulled the sick from wagons because they neglected to report to the doctor. Smith shouted horrid oaths, threatened his soldiers, and on one occasion drew a sword and vowed to run Thomas S. Williams through if he allowed the sick to rest in his wagon without permission. Smith reduced the men to two-thirds rations and forced brackish water on the thirsty.

Smith was not the father-figure Brigham Young had advised the officers to be. Perhaps William Follet’s derogatory nickname for Smith, “Negro Driver,” was not far from the truth. John D. Lee’s reference to Smith of “little wolfish tyrant” reflected many men’s feelings for this government leader who attempted to force his authority above Young’s.

Dr. George B. Sanderson, recognizing the important role of Brigham Young in the Battalion, wrote to Young, “I am in hopes, in fact I have no fears...your people will be taken care of.”<sup>25</sup> Even though Young responded, “We doubt not your services to the Battalion will be duly appreciated,” such was never the case.<sup>26</sup> Some might claim that Sanderson never received the proper respect due a surgeon because he was a Missourian and punctuated his speech with vulgar, profane innuendos. But these were the obvious reasons for his lack of due appreciation, not the main cause.

The core issue was that of medical treatment versus Young’s remedy of faith healing. Pleas to discontinue medical treatment were answered with antiquated prescriptions of arsenic and calomel for rheumatism, boils, lameness, and other unrelated diseases. Faith healing lost in favor of medication as the sick were compelled to take the medicine quietly, have it forced down them

with a rusty spoon, or be left to perish on the plains. So adamant and confident was Sanderson of his generic remedy that he “threatened with an oath, to cut the throat of any man who would administer any medicine without his orders.”<sup>27</sup>

The physical side effects of consuming the poison-laced prescriptions were not only debilitating on the march, but allegedly caused suffering long after the march. Abraham Day claimed his teeth became loose and some even dropped out because of this medication.<sup>28</sup> Joseph Bates testified that Dr. Sanderson’s treatment for an “inward rupture” resulted in his kidney disease.<sup>29</sup> Jonathan Callahan claimed the doctor’s treatment for a “displaced ankle bone” caused “lameness which afflicted him the rest of his life.”<sup>30</sup> Amos Cox concluded his sentiments regarding the malpractice of Sanderson by stating, “I am an Invalid.”<sup>31</sup>

Yet, even worse than the incapacities and loss of health resulting from his malpractice were his threats of death. Private John Calvert recalled having typhoid on the march and being so ill that he could not move. He claimed that while in this weakened condition, he overheard Dr. Sanderson boast, “I’ve given this G— D— Mormon enough calomel to kill a horse but it looks like the stubborn cuss is still alive.”<sup>32</sup>

Calvert did survive, unlike privates Alva Phelps and David Smith, who lost their lives following treatment. Phelps begged Dr. Sanderson not to give him any strong medicine, as he needed only a little rest and then would return to duty. Relentlessly, the doctor forced the medication upon him until he died. The sentiment at the funeral was that “the doctor had killed him in premeditated murder.” David Smith’s condition worsened until two days before his death, when he became speechless. All attending him concurred, “His death was the result of medicine given him by Dr. Sanderson previous to the command leaving that post.”<sup>33</sup>

Dr. Sanderson, aware of being nicknamed “Doctor Death” as early as 10 September 1846, was afraid to sleep near the men for fear of his life.<sup>34</sup> This fear rose from the men’s reaction to his consistent efforts to force medication on the sick, disregarding Young’s remedy of faith healing.

Adjutant George P. Dykes proved to be the Judas Iscariot of the



battalion.<sup>35</sup> He first demonstrated his break from Young's leadership at a council meeting held on 3 October 1846. Dykes opposed Brigham Young's advice to keep the battalion together. He justified his stance by reasoning that Young did not know their present circumstances and thus should not have counseled the men against separating.

Such an affront to the prophetic leadership of Young was noted by faithful stalwarts. Sergeant William Hyde wrote, "It was plainly manifest that Lieutenant Dykes sought to gain favor of and please the wicked rather than favor his brethren."<sup>36</sup> A fellow officer stated, "[Dykes'] conduct has rendered him odious to the whole Mormon Battalion."<sup>37</sup> Although Latter-day Saint officers bickered among themselves, it was an unwritten rule that no one opposed the absentee leadership of Young.

Dykes continued to undermine Young's counsel and to discredit his appointed leaders. His accusations earned him the nickname, "accuser of the brethren," and led to the loss of rank for Sergeant Jones and Corporal Lewis and the resignation of Samuel Gully. As government appointed leaders welcomed Dykes into their inner circle, Dykes became boastful and pompous. When privates Philander Fletcher and Boyd Steward neglected to salute him, they were forced to march behind an ox wagon in unfavorable weather conditions.

Before long, government appointed officers recognized Dykes' chameleon character. Colonel Cooke stated, "Officers and men were abused and ill treated by a man called 'Talebearing Dykes'.... He has been a trouble-maker all the way...he had to look to members of the Battalion for protection, he made so many enemies."<sup>38</sup>

The commonalities between Smith, Sanderson, and Dykes were their efforts to thwart the leadership of Brigham Young in the battalion. Their efforts instigated bickering and conflict which grew until all three men were fearful of death from all ranks of the battalion.

The lessening of these conflicts began when the first division of the Battalion approached Santa Fe on 9 October 1846. In Santa Fe, Lieutenant Smith was relieved of his command by

Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke.<sup>39</sup> Cooke, aware of the rugged trail between Santa Fe and California, ordered most of the women and children to accompany the sick detachment to Fort Pueblo. There conflict and bickering continued, but without the key players it lessened.

The remaining soldiers, under the leadership of Cooke, left Santa Fe for California on 19 October 1846. During this leg of the march, Cooke's leadership was viewed by some as superior to that of Smith. Tyler penned, "We found the judgement of Colonel Cooke in travelling much better than that of Smith, in fact, it was first-class. He never crowded the men unnecessarily."<sup>40</sup> Cooke's theory that officers obey and set an example for privates was in accord with Young's counsel. Captain Jesse D. Hunter was arrested on 21 October 1846 and forced to march at the rear of his company for returning towards Santa Fe without Cooke's permission. Such impartial treatment of an officer did not go unnoticed by the subordinate rank and file.

Nevertheless, the Mormon enlistees often questioned Cooke's sentiments toward them. His strict discipline, stern appearance, and overheard doubts regarding the battalion's capability caused many to reserve judgment of his character. Others, like William Coray, named him, "old culprit."<sup>41</sup> James Pace wrote, "Cooke...was abusive to officers & soldiers seeming to drive round as tho he was before a set of wild goat."<sup>42</sup> Elijah Elmer recorded, "The Colonel is as cross as hell, all the time and crabbed and overbearing."<sup>43</sup> Levi Hancock concurred as he penned his journal entry on 26 January 1847, "He is a miserable creature and often curses and damns the soldiers. He is as mean as I ever saw a man. Smith who led us is a gentleman to him—he is a small, low lived cuss."

These murmured sentiments were countered by Cooke writing, "[Mormons] exhibit great...ignorance and some obstinacy."<sup>44</sup> It was not until 17 December 1846 that, "Cooke proudly proclaimed that at last he was convinced that the Mormons would fight for the United States Army."<sup>45</sup> On 30 January 1847, he praised the Mormon Battalion, writing, "History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry."<sup>46</sup>

Upon arrival in California, the influence of military leaders

declined. This decline was a direct result of the varied assignments which separated the battalion. Some members were assigned to garrison duty at San Diego, San Luis Rey, and Ciudad de los Angeles, while others were designated to accompany General Kearny back to Fort Leavenworth. With the dissipation of the battalion, the strict leadership and conflict lessened. Henry Standage, noting the change, wrote:

Our officers are becoming more and more like men, giving us as many privileges as they can conveniently. They have not been more than half as strict for a few days past. In fact, they seem to realize that their power as military commanders will soon be gone, and that their influence will be gone too. Inasmuch as they know that there are men in this battalion who stand as high and much higher in the Priesthood, therefore it seems as though they wished to restore the confidence in some measure which they well know that has departed during the last 12 months.<sup>47</sup>

As the military leadership waned, the authority of Levi Hancock and father-figure David Pettigrew increased, even though little mention of this gradual change appears in journal entries. Latter-day Saint military officers often regarded Hancock's and Pettigrew's zeal and diligence as officious, and entertained feelings of jealousy towards them. For example, Hancock's climb of 500 feet to "Point of the Rocks," where he built an altar and prayed in the name of the God of Israel, seemed to some a showy pretense. Hancock's and Pettigrew's escapade of going from tent to tent, and in a low tone of voice counseling the men to pray to the Lord to influence the colonel's thinking, was viewed as officious. Meetings of washing feet which excluded military leaders were tolerated with suspicion. Hancock, aware of unfavorable comments of zeal, wrote to Brigham Young:

A jealousy arose among us; some of the officers said that there was a secret conspiracy in the camp. I then called on all the brethren to bear testimony that I had taught nothing but against wickedness, and that I had a perfect right to do it wherever I was in any part of the earth.

Yet despite jealousies, the privates increasingly turned to religious leaders for justification to oppose the religious military leaders.

By April 1847, it was obvious that Hancock and Pettigrew had assumed leadership and had received the respect of the men. Their triumph is best illustrated by studying the attempt made to re-enlist the battalion for another term. Colonel Stevenson arrived in Los Angeles on 28 June 1847 to re-enlist the battalion. Officers encouraged re-enlistment, but the men resisted, as if waiting to hear from privates Hancock and Pettigrew.

Captains Hunter, Hunt, and Davis, and Lieutenants Canfield and Dykes, appointed by Brigham Young to be military leaders, spoke strongly in favor of re-enlistment. David Pettigrew, the father-figure religious leader, countered:

[It was] our duty to return and look after our outcast families; others could do as they thought best, but he believed that we had done all that we had set out to do, and that our offering was accepted and that our return would be sanctioned by the Church leaders.

The meeting was then adjourned to avoid the heat of the day, with another meeting scheduled in the big tent at the fort.

This second meeting revealed that most of the men preferred to take the advice of Pettigrew and Hancock and other faithful priesthood holders. They viewed it as more religious to look forward to reuniting with their families than to re-enlist. Suspicions of Hancock and Pettigrew influencing the men against the wishes of officers were openly raised. Yet, some of the officers bowed to ecclesiastical position as superior to their appointed military position. Sergeant William Hyde rose, stating that:

...he had but little to say, but what he should say would be at the risk of all hazard. This was that Levi Hancock was his file leader and that he would obey his counsel, let the circumstances be what they may.<sup>48</sup>

This clear transfer in leadership authority occurred because military leaders failed to be fathers to their brethren as advised by Young. Their lack resulted in only 81 men choosing to re-enlist and serve an additional eight months of military duty under Captain Daniel C. Davis in Company A of the Mormon Volunteers. The clear majority followed the counsel of religious

leaders and began migration to the Salt Lake Valley, where they reunited with their pioneering families.

Such transfer of power to ecclesiastical position was noted by Colonel Stevenson, who wrote:

My intercourse with the Mormons has satisfied me that the great mass of them are...entirely under the control of their leaders, and that in every community or association, there is some one man who is the controlling spirit, and that all are under the direction and control of some one Master Spirit. In the Battalion were two men, one of which was a private soldier—who were the chief men, and but for them, at least, three companies would have reentered, but they opposed, and not a man would enter, and I do not believe we should have succeeded in getting one company, if they had not given it their countenance or at least made no formal objection.<sup>49</sup>

In a final effort to increase re-enlistment, Stevenson appealed to the true Latter-day Saint leader of the battalion, Brigham Young, on 8 February 1848 expressing his hope, “I therefore ask you.”<sup>50</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The men of the Mormon Battalion are honored for their willingness to fight for the United States, their march of some 2,000 miles from Council Bluffs to California, their participation in the early development of the West, and making the first wagon road over the southern route from California to Utah in 1848. However, their greatest honor came from their religious leader, Brigham Young. Redick Allred, at a celebration held in the log tabernacle in Kanesville, Iowa, recorded in his diary that Young said to Heber C. Kimball and others, while pointing to the members of the Mormon Battalion, “These men were the salvation of this Church.”

After Young arrived in the Salt Lake Valley he called the men of the Battalion together and blessed them in the name of the Lord for their fidelity to the kingdom of God. “It was to the praise of the Battalion that they went as honorable men, doing honor to their calling and to the United States, and he was satisfied with all of them. If some had done wrong and transgressed and been out of the way,”

Young exhorted them to, "refrain therefrom, turn to the Lord and build up His kingdom."<sup>51</sup>

This praise surpassed the honors of men, for it was given by their true leader who had not been in conflict, and who had never doubted his position nor varied from his stance as leader of the Latter-day Saints in the Mormon Battalion.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Captain James Allen was born in 1806 in Ohio. He graduated from West Point Academy in 1829. He served as a lieutenant in the infantry until 1833 when he joined the 1st Dragoons, to serve the remainder of his career as a cavalryman. Most of his career was on the frontier at Fort Riley and Fort Leavenworth, where he was stationed with the 1st Dragoons. Colonel Allen died at 6 a.m. on Sunday, 23 August 1846, of congestive fever.

<sup>2</sup>Wilford Woodruff wrote, "I had some reasons to believe them to be spies & that the president had no hand in it." Wilford Woodruff, *Journal*, 27 June 1846.

<sup>3</sup>Brigham Young, *Brigham Young Manuscript History*, July 1, 1846. Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

<sup>4</sup>*Journal History*, July 7, 1846 and July 17, 1846. Microfilm. Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

<sup>5</sup>Robert Lewis Woodward and Lucinda Uzella Caldwell Koch, "The Life Story of Matthew Caldwell: A Member of the Mormon Battalion Company E." n.p., n.d., pp. 7-8.

<sup>6</sup>The commissioned officers included Jefferson Hunt, Captain of Company A; Jesse D. Hunter, Captain of Company B; James Brown, Captain of Company C; Nelson Higgins, Captain of Company D; and Daniel C. Davis, Captain of Company E. These officers were entrusted with religious leadership as well as military supervision of the men.

<sup>7</sup>*Journal History*, July 18, 1846.

<sup>8</sup>Jefferson Hunt and two of his sons, Gilbert and Marshall, enlisted in the Mormon Battalion. His two wives and five additional children elected to accompany them on the march. At the time of Jefferson's enlistment he was 6', 180 lbs., with a light complexion, dark hair, and blue eyes. Pension File of Jefferson Hunt.

<sup>9</sup>Andrew Jackson Smith was born on 28 August 1815 in Pennsylvania. He graduated from West Point in 1838 and was the highest ranking officer at Fort Leavenworth following the death of Captain Allen. Prior to his military involvement with the Battalion, he was a lieutenant of the 1st Dragoons in the West. During the Civil War he served as a cavalry commander.

<sup>10</sup>Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, 1846-1847* (Chicago: Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1964), p. 154.

<sup>11</sup>Brigham Young to Andrew J. Smith, Camp of Israel, Omaha Nation, August 27, 1846, as cited in *ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>12</sup>John F. Yurtinus, *A Ram in the Thicket: The Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1975), p. 113.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 152.

<sup>14</sup>Tyler, *Concise History*, p. 146.

<sup>15</sup>Cedenia Bingham Hale, "Biography of Erastus Bingham, Jr. 1847." n.p., n.d.

<sup>16</sup>Levi Ward Hancock was born on 7 April 1803 in Springfield, Hampden, Massachusetts. He was ordained a seventy on 28 February 1835 by Joseph Smith and selected a member of

## The Mormon Battalion

the 1st Quorum of the Seventy. Soon afterwards he was chosen one of the seven presidents of that quorum. He functioned in that calling for 47 years. Levi was the only general authority to enlist in the Battalion. He died on 10 June 1882 in Washington, Utah at the age of 79.

<sup>17</sup>However, it does appear that officers listened to and did accept Hunt's counsel on religious issues also. Sergeant William Coray wrote, "[Hunt] advised the Captains of the companies to get their men together frequently and pray for them and teach them the principals of virtue and be united with each other."

<sup>18</sup>Kate Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (17 vols.; Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1968), 11:357, 389.

<sup>19</sup>*Thomas Bullock Journal*, June 3, 1847.

<sup>20</sup>Norton Jacob, *The Life of Norton Jacob*, Typescript, July 31, 1847; Joel Terrel, *The Journal of Joel Judkins Terrell, being a daily record of the Mormon Battalion from July 16th, 1846 to July 28, 1847, July 31, 1847*, as cited in Yurtinus, *A Ram in the Thicket*, p. 333.

<sup>21</sup>A. J. Smith to Adjutant General Roger Jones, Camp near Council Grove, September 2, 1846, ms., Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, as cited in Yurtinus, *A Ram in the Thicket*, p. 122.

<sup>22</sup>Tyler, *Concise History*, p. 174.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 174.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 153.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>28</sup>Grace Candland Jacobsen, "A Short History of the Life of Abraham Day," n.p., February 1936.

<sup>29</sup>Pension File of Joseph Bates.

<sup>30</sup>Pension File of Jonathan Callahan.

<sup>31</sup>Pension File of Amos Cox.

<sup>32</sup>Pension File of John Calvert.

<sup>33</sup>Tyler, *Concise History*, p. 158.

<sup>34</sup>*William Coray Journal*, September 10, 1846.

<sup>35</sup>On the march George P. Dykes served as an adjutant from 16 July 1846 to 15 October 1846. He resigned the adjutancy to assume command of the company on 1 November 1846.

<sup>36</sup>Tyler, *Concise History*, p. 187.

<sup>37</sup>Jefferson Hunt, Daniel C. Davis, Jesse D. Hunter, William W. Willis, to Brigham Young, Santa Fe, October 1846 (Brigham Young Papers: HDC), as cited in Yurtinus, *A Ram in the Thicket*, p. 186.

<sup>38</sup>Life Sketch of George Dykes, n.p., n.d.

<sup>39</sup>Subsequently Smith was appointed quartermaster. Philip St. George Cooke was born on 13 June 1809 near Leesburg, Virginia. He graduated from West Point Academy in 1827. He was commissioned as a brevet 2nd Lieutenant of Infantry and also 1st Lieutenant in the 1st Dragoons.

<sup>40</sup>Tyler, *Concise History*, pp. 184-185.

<sup>41</sup>*William Coray Journal*, November 4, 1846.

<sup>42</sup>*Autobiography and Diary of James Pace 1811-1888*, March 5, 1847.

<sup>43</sup>Elijah Elmer. *Journal of Elijah Elmer 1st Sergeant, Company "C" Mormon Battalion 1846-47*, San Diego Historical Society, San Diego, CA, January 3, 1847.

<sup>44</sup>Philip St. George Cooke, "Cooke's Journal of the March of the Mormon Battalion, 1846-1847," ed. by Ralph P. Bieber and Averam B. Bender in *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854*, vol. 7 of *The Southwest Historical Series* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1938), p. 69.

## *Southern California Quarterly*

<sup>4</sup>David Pettigrew *Autobiography*, December 17, 1846, as cited in Yurtinus, *A Ram in the Thicket*, p. 412.

<sup>4</sup>Tyler, *Concise History*, pp. 254-255.

<sup>4</sup>Journal of Henry Standage.

<sup>4</sup>Journal of William Hyde.

<sup>4</sup>J.D. Stevenson to R.B. Mason, Los Angeles, July 23, 1847 (10 Military Department Letters:NA), as cited in Yurtinus, *A Ram in the Thicket*, p. 601.

<sup>5</sup>J.D. Stevenson to Brigham Young, as cited in *ibid.*, p. 605.

<sup>5</sup>Tyler, *Concise History*, pp. 343-344.

