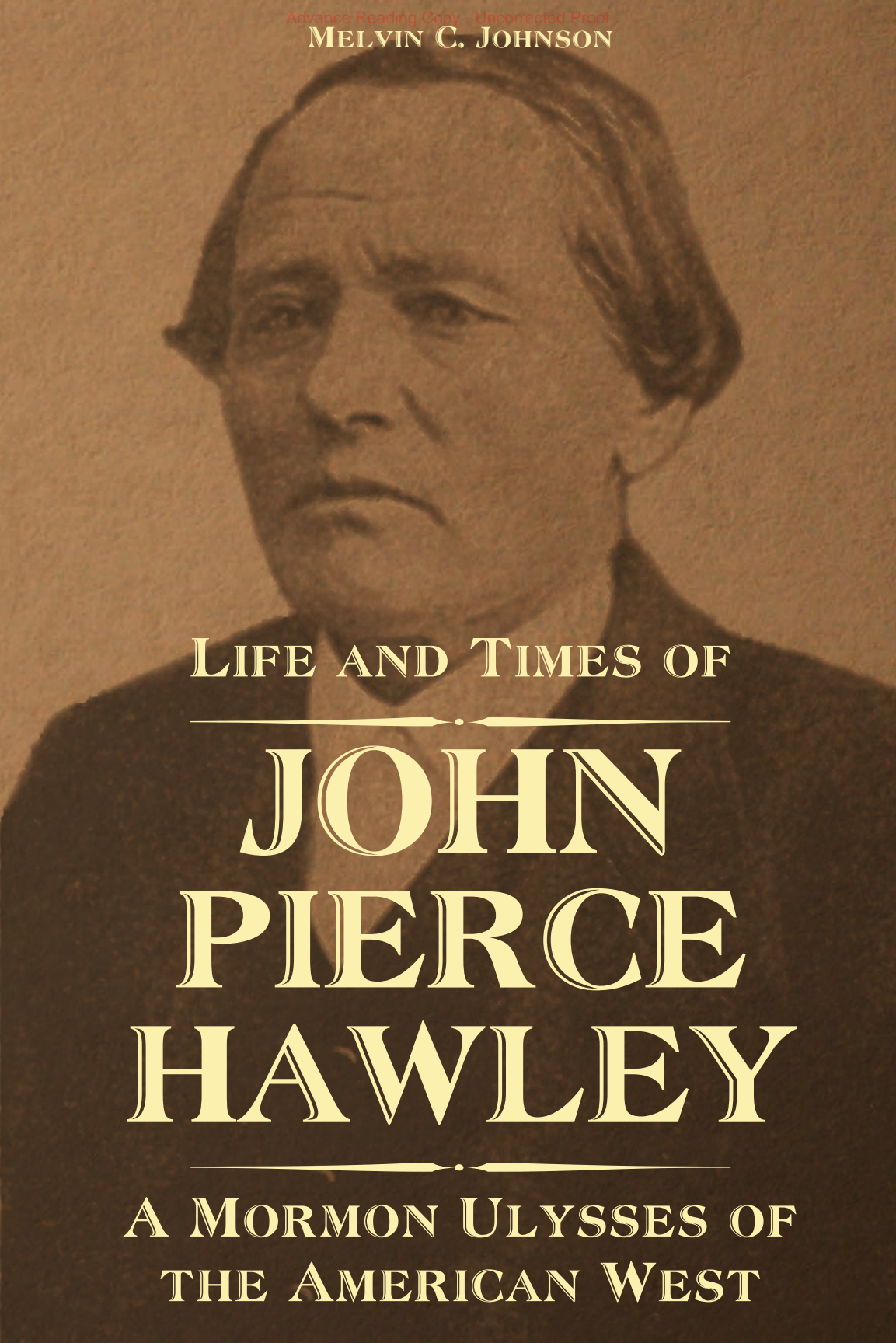


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MELVIN C. JOHNSON



LIFE AND TIMES OF

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JOHN  
PIERCE  
HAWLEY

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A MORMON ULYSSES OF  
THE AMERICAN WEST

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MELVIN C. JOHNSON

GREG KOFFORD BOOKS  
SALT LAKE CITY, 2019

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# Preface



History and baseball are my passions and have counseled me through the years. The first may describe the story of a person: his people, his tribe; and the myth and action of the second offer a window into American culture. John Pierce Hawley's forty-year odyssey in the American interior was in pursuit of his dream to find a true Mormon restoration faith. The story describes John Pierce Hawley and Mormonism, particularly the Latter-day Saints and the Wightites, and their cultural and geographic landscapes as the multitude of sects compete one with the other for converts and land. This story finishes in 1870 as John Pierce Hawley finds his final place in theological Mormonism, as the Mormon Diaspora has been permanently situated in the American landscape from the upper Midwest to the Rocky Mountains. During his odyssey, John has recorded his own myth and rationale for his life's religious journey in his writings.

As a Latter-day Saint convert from California, I knew very little about western Mormonism when I entered Dixie College in St. George, Utah. Dixie was then a two-year school, a very small world of academia, and Professor Pansy L. Hardy was my first professional mentor. She took kindly to me and guided me academically. I grew to love her, as so many of her students would over the years. She instilled in me a love for the English language. She also introduced me to an older cousin named Juanita L. Brooks. I had no idea who she was. I did think she was 'old.' Now I am almost the age she was then. I had no idea where Mountain Meadows was located or what had occurred there, although the killing fields were but some thirty miles north of St. George. A friend from college took me fishing at the reservoir in Pine Valley. I thought the little hamlet quaint as I did the house on the southeast corner of the burg's main intersection. I was not aware that George Hawley, a brother of John Pierce Hawley, had built it, or that George had three wives, or that John would struggle with plural marriage for decades before rejecting it and Utah Mormonism. Hawley took his large family away from Pine Valley, and George and his family as well, to Iowa and RLDS Mormonism (Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints of Jesus Christ, now called Community of Christ) in 1870.

After Dixie College, my four years at Utah State University found a much larger academic domain and new mentors: Ty Booth, Dean Skabelund, the great folklorists Austin E. and Alta S. Fife, Hector B. Lee, and Barre Tolkien. Gary Snyder convinced me I should never, ever consider being a poet. They all taught me about a larger world beyond Dixie and Logan and Utah. Twelve years followed in the United States Army. During those years I played baseball and softball, read a lot, and finally felt the need for graduate school in Nacogdoches, Texas. I earned graduate degrees in English and history at Stephen F. Austin State University. Archie L. McDonald mentored and guided me and helped me get my first professional history job with the Texas Forestry Museum at Lufkin, Texas. Carol Riggs, its director, was kind and generous, allowing me to develop the milltown and logging tram database research projects founded by Jon L. Gerland, now senior archivist of the Temple History Center in Diboll, Texas.

The database projects allowed me to unknowingly cross paths with John Pierce Hawley. The Mormon millers in the Hill County in pre-Civil War Texas became at first an intriguing side note in the museum's database collection. However, the Mormon millers' narrative fanned my need to know more. I read and researched and began writing. My fascination with Lyman Wight and his schismatic runaway Mormon colony from Wisconsin to Texas led to a series of papers and finally the work and publication of *Polygamy on the Pedernales: Lyman Wight's Mormon Villages in Antebellum Texas, 1845–1858* in 2006, published by Utah State University Press. That work featured at times John Pierce Hawley (1826–1909), whose personality and character fascinate me. His fluidity and interchangeability within the sectarianism and denominationalism that have dominated Restoration groups from 1845 until now have intrigued me. Just as importantly, John R. Alley, my editor at USU Press for the Wight book, taught me how to be a writer of history, and became my lifelong friend.

This book would not have happened without the dedication and friendship of John Alley and Brian Whitney. Will Bagley, my oldest friend from early days in Carlsbad and Oceanside, California, has inspired me, analyzed my work, and supported me in tough times, as I hope I have for him. Susan Louise Petty, the mother of my children and now long for the ages, always told me that my greatest challenge was to be “honest with yourself” and to the work I do. Time has proven her right. Art, Ben, Amber, and Julie, now with her mom, has their mother's glow. They are my heroes. Bill Shepherd, Mike Marquardt, Paul Reeve, Todd Compton, Joseph Johnstun, Chris Smith, Chris Blythe, Bill Russell, Ron Romig,

Lach Mackay, Steve Snow, Larry Morse, Rick Turley, and many others have contributed to forming, guiding, and encouraging the direction of my historical pursuits. Jenny Lund and Jen Barkdull at the LDS Church History Library have taken notice of my needs and provided critical assistance. Most of all, Halli Wren Johnson has supported me, listened to me, traveled with me, and never once have her eyes glazed over; she always has spoken the needed words when deserving, “Well done, Mel.” She has been my Liahona, my guide to my true path, without whom I would have lost my way a long time ago.

All errors and mistakes in this work are of course my sole responsibility.

## PROLOGUE

## The Start of a Trek

“THE MOST IMPORTANT REASON OF ALL THAT [BIOGRAPHY] IS AN IMPOSSIBLE CRAFT IS THAT YOU CANNOT KNOW WHAT SOMEONE ELSE’S LIFE WAS LIKE.”



*Life and Times of John Pierce Hawley: A Mormon Ulysses of the American West* fits within the latter day religious movement of Joseph Smith Jr. That is where John defined his identity. The more I researched Lyman Wight and his colonies in Wisconsin and Texas, the more the Pierce Hawley family story and that of John Pierce Hawley emerged from the Wightite story. I became intrigued by John P. Hawley. His record in the West and his interaction with major sects of Mormonism rival that of Bishop George Miller and Zenas Hovey Gurley Sr. Hawley exemplified ordinary peoples’ struggles of the Mormons in the nineteenth century. Although he had his secrets and did not easily share them, I believe I have uncovered most of them.

A biographer wants to tell the whole story and clarify the narrative’s important details. And most importantly, he or she must accept that one cannot know completely what someone else’s life was like. The historian can only hope to come close. Because biography is an art, conclusions will be imprecise. Gathering data is critical. Just as important is that the quality of this type of research and writings develops with the laborer’s growing skill over the decades in appraising the data and interpreting the story. The historian should quarry all evidence, no matter how contrary or opposed or kindly or reassuring, and fairly assess it. Not all the evidence, most likely, will be found about a complex subject. Thus, the writer’s objective professionalism and experience and talent can only mitigate the inexactness of biography.

An incredible assemblage of writers and researchers have stepped forward these last decades in the field of Restoration Studies. They have produced wonderful readings. Many have overcome the tendency to create dualistic interpretations of belief and experience, and many surrendered to the desire to separate “us” from “them.” Dualism regrettably satisfies some readers, the kind who will agree to take evidence screwed onto a preconceived position, rather than alter the viewpoint to fit the data. A history of



the faithful, a category into which John Hawley fits, can too often devolve into a faithful history. Such a concept of barrel and hoops will constrain the arts of history and biography and trap the dialogue of both readers and writer in corners of classification that warp interpretation.

Research and narrative can operate along an axial integration of opposites: liberals, conservatives; east, west; true believer, no believer; democratic, republican; Dodgers, Giants; Mormons, gentiles; FLDS, everybody else. Hawley struggled within a polygamous society of conferred authority while he increasingly yearned for a monogamous culture of patrilineal authority. He would weave those opposites and their data points on the axis into patterns and perspectives both complex and nuanced. I have tried my level best to know John Hawley and what his life was like. I have been sympathetic where sympathy is due, honest about his human failings, and flexible to fit the emerging theme to the data.

John Hawley was an average person who climbed to uncommon heights. Lay persons and scholars of Mormonism are privileged that Hawley, despite his lack of formal schooling, recorded his life and times. He wrote well for a man who was born, raised, and lived on the moving frontier of nineteenth-century America. I have been faithful to his spelling. He began writing his story more than fourteen years after leaving Utah Territory, and at times he was recounting events almost five decades earlier. However, after Hawley joined the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS, now Community of Christ) in 1870, he at times clouded or deliberately falsified issues about Mormon leaders and controversies. I note where I think Hawley purposely confuses these subjects.

Let's compare our trials to Hawley and his companions.

Have any of us as a small child ever been so hungry as to cry tears of joy at finding a rat-gnawed molded rind of bread?

Have any of us traversed by horseback or on foot out under the vaults of Heaven or the vast, rising plains and the rolling hills of Indian Territory and Kansas and Nebraska, or scaled the staggering mountains of the West? Hawley crisscrossed the American interior at least five times.

Some of us have endured the horror of losing a child. Sylvia and John Hawley buried four little ones in nine years in the wild beauty of Pine Valley, Utah Territory. Their losses were not rare, not even uncommon in that time and place.

At what costs have we responded to moral challenges in our lives? Hawley came close to being slain for opposing the horrific events at Mountain Meadows in 1857, while two of his brothers lived the rest of

their lives with a memory of their presence on those bloody fields. George Hawley certainly participated, perhaps using John's revolver. John D. Lee's accusation that John Hawley was at the massacre is the only one we have, and it is unsupported by other statements. Uncle Billy Young (a distant Hawley relative by marriage and who had been on or near the killing ground) warned John to be quiet about the massacre, or he would be put out of the way. The facts give Hawley the benefit of the doubt, but new evidence could alter that verdict.

Hawley's story trails the western frontier and backcountry; he was a true believer in search of the right path and legitimate authority of the Mormon restoration. Priscilla Hawley Young, one of John's sisters, wrote in her ninety-third year, bearing witness to her brother's as well as her own struggle: "[A]dmonish both the young and old to study the history of the struggles of the early church to establish the truths of this religion. Such study will give us courage to battle with the problems of today." Priscilla and John's narratives can verify how their struggles gave purpose to their lives and validated for them "the truths of this [their] religion."<sup>1</sup>

Hawley encompasses his encounters with man and nature among the various offshoots of the Mormon diaspora. Diverse expressions of the nineteenth-century Mormon Restoration created the track of Hawley's journey. From 1837 on, he followed its sinuous paths until his death seventy-two years later. Either as an associate or as a member, Hawley affiliated with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) until the murder of its founder, Joseph Smith. He then was an associate or supporter of Brigham Young's church in the west (Brighamites); Lyman Wight's in Wisconsin Territory and the Republic then State of Texas (Wightites); as a missionary to and later as a potential convert of James J. Strang's church (Strangites); and, finally, in the end, a member the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS or Josephites), now known as the Community of Christ. I use these various parenthetical terms neutrally for identification, although members of the various denominations have used them derisively at times to refer to the other sects.<sup>2</sup>

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1. John Hawley, "Autobiography of John Hawley," 13. Priscilla Hawley Young, Statement, 1923.

2. The official name of the Church assigned by Joseph Smith in 1838 was the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints." The hyphenated "Latter-day Saints" was later adopted by those who followed Brigham Young but not by other churches that descended from Joseph Smith such as the "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints." This writing will prefer the nomenclature

The first two chapters of this biography, from 1826 to 1854, focus on John Hawley's experiences in Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Texas, with the Restoration as the stage to his story.<sup>3</sup> America's antebellum frontier and backcountry fashioned young Hawley's life from birth in Illinois (1826) onward. John Hawley's parents converted to the LDS Church in 1833 and always followed its founder, prophet, and president: Joseph Smith Jr. They endured the driving of their people in Missouri. There John was baptized and confirmed. The Hawleys later moved to Montrose, Iowa, across the Mississippi River from Nauvoo. The family joined Lyman Wight and the Black Pine Mission in the wilds of Wisconsin Territory (1843); there John Hawley and his brothers learned the logging, milling, and woodworking industries. The Mormon millers rafted the timber down the Mississippi for the Nauvoo Temple and Nauvoo House.

After Joseph Smith's death, Hawley family members developed a dislike and distrust of Brigham Young as he and the Quorum of Twelve Apostles succeeded to the leadership of the major body of Mormonism. The Hawleys and many of their neighbors followed Apostle Lyman Wight's exodus to Texas in 1845, whereas Brigham Young and his fellow apostles fashioned in the Rocky Mountains a theocratic, millenarian, polygamous Kingdom of God as they awaited the imminent coming of Jesus Christ. Some of Wight's colony, including most of the Hawley family, joined the LDS church in Utah Territory.

John Hawley stated that he believed Joseph Smith was the fount and founder of polygamy yet would qualify that statement later that he first became aware of plural marriage among the Wightites. As a young man, he courted a young woman without being aware that she was the plural spouse of another colony member. One of his sisters married Wight as a

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contemporary to John Hawley: "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," "Latter Day Saint," or "Saint."

3. For a fuller narrative of Wight and his colony, in which Hawley participated as a teenager and as a valued adult member, see Melvin C. Johnson, *Polygamy on the Pedernales: Lyman Wight's Mormon Villages in Antebellum Texas, 1845–1858*; Melvin C. Johnson, "'So We Built a Good Little Temple to Worship In': Mormonism on the Pedernales Texas, 1847–1851"; Melvin C. Johnson, "Wightites in Wisconsin: The Formation of a Dissenting Latter Day Community (1842–1845)"; Melvin C. Johnson, "The Mormon Cowboys of Bandera County and the Texas Hill Country"; Melvin C. Johnson, "Bishop George Miller: A Latter Day High Priest and Prince on the High Plains"; and Melvin C. Johnson, "John Hawley, Mormon Ulysses: His LDS Mission To Iowa And Eventual RLDS Conversion."

plural wife. The Wight colony settled in four western Texas counties and built the villages of Zodiac, Mormon Mill, Medina, and Bandera. John married Harriet Benton, who later deserted him. Then he married his true love, Sylvia Johnson, a member of the George Miller Company that had trekked to Zodiac from the Missouri River. Hawley traveled to East Texas and along the Missouri River on Wightite missions to other Latter-day Saints and Strangites, guiding new immigrants of the William Smith-Lyman Wight church from Galveston to Zodiac.

The Wightite community at Zodiac, Texas, built the first Latter Day temple west of the Mississippi. John recorded that “Lyman told us we must build a house for to attend to the baptism for the dead and the ordinance of washing of feet and a general endowment in the wilderness. So, we . . . built a good little Temple to worship in.”<sup>4</sup> John Hawley received his endowments and was sealed to Sylvia Johnson for time and eternity on the second floor of the large, two-story log building. He also officiated as proxy baptisms for the dead. More than forty years later, in a witness deposition in The Temple Lot case and elsewhere, he compared the Zodiac temple ritual and regalia with the ceremonies of the Endowment House in Salt Lake City. His commentary adds insight about the LDS first and second anointings in territorial Utah.<sup>5</sup>

The Wightite Colony was wracked with schisms in 1853 and 1854, so by the end of the troubles, Patriarch Pierce Hawley, John’s father, with most of the family, excepting son Aaron and his family who remained with Wight, moved north of the Red River into the Indian Nations. The Strangite and LDS missionaries in the Territory competed for converts among the former Wightites. Many joined the LDS Church. The Hawley families traveled to Utah Territory in 1856, but Pierce Hawley and his wife would

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4. Hawley, “Autobiography,” 7.

5. Richard E. Bennett, in his Presidential Address at the San Antonio Mormon History Conference (2014), stated that “Melvin C. Johnson in his fine study *Polygamy on the Pedernales* offers convincing evidence that Lyman Wight’s Zodiac Community near San Antonio, Texas, completed a two-story log temple in February 1849. Ordinances performed in the Zodiac temple from 1849 to 1851 included baptisms for the dead, washing of feet, a general endowment, adoption, and the marriage sealing of men and women for time and eternity. Wight believed that all ordinances performed in the Nauvoo Temple after Joseph Smith’s death were unauthorized and that he, ‘not Brigham Young, was the Lord’s appointed messenger’ and that his temple at Zodiac was the only ‘acceptable’ place for such ordinances.” Richard E. Bennett, “‘The Upper Room’: The Nature and Development of Latter-Day Saint Temple Work, 1846–55,” 5.

not join his sons' families. He held his grudge against Brigham Young for taking his property in Lee County, Iowa, and depriving the Wight Colony of the steamer *Maid of Iowa*. He believed that the sons of Joseph Smith Jr. were the patrilineal leaders of the Restoration church and rejected the conferred authority claims of the LDS Church. When Jacob Croft, the Hawleys' wagon train captain to Utah, wrote and asked the elderly Hawley to reconsider and join them, Pierce Hawley replied that the Utah faction had no authority and that Brigham Young was a pretender and an imposter. Pierce Hawley counseled all to wait "till the Lord raises up the man to lead us to sion [*sic*]."<sup>6</sup> Hawley died two years later in the Indian nations.

The members of the Croft Company moved out in the last week of June 1856. The Hawleys, without incident, arrived in Salt Lake City and were rebaptized and tithed, deeding over their excess property for consecration. They moved on to Bingham Fort in Weber County but were not destined to stay. Brigham Young, aware that many of the Company had proven frontier experience, called John Hawley, George Hawley, and some of their relatives the next spring to Washington County in southern Utah.

The atrocity of the Mountain Meadows Massacre caught up to John, George, and William Hawley, as well as others of their Texas companions. In September 1857 Mormon militia members, many dressed in feathers and paint, aided by a few local Native American freebooters, destroyed a wagon train a few miles north of Pine Valley. The killers then butchered 120 of the California-bound immigrants, many of whom had surrendered. John Hawley angrily denounced the killings of those who had surrendered to the militia under the protection of local religious and military leaders. Hawley's LDS opponents in Washington Ward wanted to "use him up" and plotted to kill him until an express rider from Brigham Young arrived, too late with instructions to let the wagon train pass unmolested, but in time to save John's life.<sup>7</sup>

The Hawleys and other Texans in 1858 joined Mormon settlers at the lumbering and milling community in Pine Valley, a day's ride west of Cedar City, Utah. John was among the first settlers, served as Presiding Elder, and was a primary mover in that most beautiful location in Utah's Dixie. Pine Valley possesses the oldest standing LDS chapel in Utah and produced

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6. Pierce Hawley, Letter to Jacob Croft, June 6 1856; Elsie Hawley Platt and Robert Hawley, *House of Hawley*, 49; Hawley, "Autobiography," 13.

7. Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows*; Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*; Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*.

the major pipes for the magnificent organ of the Salt Lake Tabernacle. The Utah leadership sent John Hawley on a mission in 1868 to Iowa to convert his RLDS relatives, but he ended up eventually a convert to the Reorganization. Before leaving Pine Valley, he wrote to RLDS President Joseph Smith III in June 1870 that he enjoyed defending “the Book of Mormon, and Covenants, and the history of your father, as well as the Bible.” He condemned LDS polygamy, being perplexed exceedingly for twenty-five years by it. He also cast aside Brigham Young’s Adam-as-God teachings. John and George Hawley’s families were baptized members of the RLDS church and left Utah to join friends and relatives in Iowa. This was the last conversion for John Hawley. He remained an active RLDS elder, high priest, and missionary until his death in 1909.

John Hawley’s search for the authentic Restoration finally ended with the RLDS Church. The histories of Pine Valley generally ignore the Hawleys, while he and his brothers still figure in their roles at Mountain Meadows. This book of John Hawley’s faith odyssey through the American West concentrates primarily on his life to the age of forty-four. He would yet live another thirty-nine years, more than half of his adult life, active in the service of RLDS Mormonism.

The historian Judy Nolte Lensink offers a cautionary note on the importance of heritage: “If we kill off the sound of our ancestors, the major portion of us, all that tis past is . . . lost and we come historically and spiritually thin, a mere shadow of who we were, on the earth.”<sup>8</sup> This narrative of John Hawley is an attempt to catch his sound and tone and voice, and to reveal his humanity as he journeys the West in search of an authentic Mormon faith.

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8. Judy Nolte Lensink and Christine M. Kirkham, “‘My Only Confidant’—The Life and Diary of Emily Hawley Gillespie,” 289.

## CHAPTER 8

## The Hawleys of Pine Valley

## Part II

“SOMETIMES DURING A DANCE, A PAIR OF SHOES WOULD PASS FROM ONE PAIR OF FEET TO ANOTHER SO MANY TIMES THAT AT THE END OF THE DANCE THE OWNER OF THE SHOES COULD NOT FIND THEM.”<sup>1</sup>



While on business in Beaver in 1862, John and George Hawley met and became “acquainted with a man by the name of Stephen Farnsworth, the man that had the great vision at Nauvoo before Joseph’s death.” This was a prophetic vision tale that was apparently known at the time locally but has not had much of an impact in histories and family records. More than foretelling of the Mormon saga coming west, the Farnsworth Vision superbly illustrates the need to create a sanctified, millennial people.

Farnsworth used terms that millwrights, woodworkers, and coopers, such as the Hawleys, instinctively understood. The vision heralds the Twelve’s rigorous preparation of both church and members for the coming hardships and persecutions and depicts the Church triumphant and apocalyptic in the final days. Farnsworth, on his way to the temple at Nauvoo, remembered

that a drizzling rain set in and as far as his eyes could extend, he saw the Saints moving west, but he did not see Joseph or Hyrum in the move. He saw the twelve with Brigham at their head and they went west a long ways in the wilderness and he saw the twelve with a mallet apiece and the church in a long tub. And the twelve whooped the church with iron hoops and commenced driving these whoops with their mallets. So tight did they drive these hoops that it seemed to him that they would soon be squeezed to death. He saw some break the ranks and they fled to our enemies, but the majority stuck to the tub and those that would stand squeezing was the ones that was prepared to redeem Zion. He saw them go up to the Center Stake of Zion and the people

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1. Quoted from William A. Wilson, “Folklore in Dixie: Past and Present,” 524.

of that land sunk in the earth so terrible was there [*sic*] presence. The earth opened and swallowed them up and in this way Zion was redeemed.<sup>2</sup>

John noted that Farnsworth had told the narrative in various ways.

The vision reinforced the Twelve's authority as legitimate heirs to Church leadership following the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. The prophetic vision required them to fashion the Church members in the west (the tub) with mallets (the priesthood authority). The "iron hoops" are the guidance and direction given by the priesthood, and the "hoops" were so tightened that Farnsworth thought that church members "would soon be squeezed to death." Some members did fall away and join the Saints' opponents. Bishop Joseph Lee Robinson recorded that in the vision that Brigham Young and the Twelve had been hammering on the hoops holding the barrel, which represented the Latter Day Saint church and membership. The barrel burst. Nearly one-half of the members of the church ran away.<sup>3</sup> However, "the majority" that stayed with the Church and endured the contraction and compression "was prepared to redeem Zion," wrote Hawley. The "Center Stake of Zion" was so powerful that "the people of that land sunk in the earth so terrible" as if swallowed by it, so that "in this way Zion was redeemed." The power of the vision narrative so impressed Hawley that he could record it clearly twenty-three years later.<sup>4</sup>

John Hawley as presiding elder exemplified the religious and secular power of Farnsworth's vision as an instrument of redeeming the citizens of Pine Valley for Zion. He preached on a short mission that year with "others of like authority" to exhort and teach in the northern settlements. The presiding leadership in Salt Lake City apparently thought "a change in preaching" in the various communities was beneficial from time to time. Hawley, conforming to his understanding of his role in the church, instructed his audiences "to live to the law of God and to keep the commandments and to honor the authority."<sup>5</sup>

Hawley had no difficulty in tightening the hoops of religious authority. One example involved Lorenzo Brown, a friend of his brother George. On January 12, 1864, John Hawley, as presiding elder, interviewed Brown, who complained later in his diary that he thought Hawley was

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2. Quoted in John Hawley, "Autobiography of John Hawley," 19. See also Stephen Farnsworth Vision, 1844.

3. Joseph L. Robinson, *Autobiography and Journals*, 20–21.

4. Quoted in Hawley, "Autobiography," 19; Farnsworth Vision.

5. Hawley, "Autobiography," 19.



prejudiced against him. John did not hesitate to give counsel when he felt it was needed. On another occasion, concerned that the morning services were sparsely attended, John requested “all hands” come to service that evening. John spoke at length and “requested the abolishing of card playing.” Toward the end of April 1866, Brown got into a brawl with George Bryce over mill business. They paid fines of \$2.50 and \$1.00, respectively. The next Sunday Presiding Elder John Hawley used Lorenzo’s name and the incident as examples to avoid. John never mentions Lorenzo Brown in his writings, while the Brown’s index to his diary mentions the various Hawleys no less than seventy-two times in five years.<sup>6</sup>

Hawley also preached in St. George when called to do so. In November 1866, Charles Lowell Walker noted in his diary that Hawley, D. H. Cannon, William P. McIntire, J. W. Crosby, and Jacob Gates spoke from the bowery. Cannon and McIntire “spoke on the rise and progress of the Church.” Hawley preached that keeping the covenants would lead to the Saints having “the spirit of them” to “live them.” That evening Crosby talked about Conference and matters in Great Salt Lake City, while Jacob Gates spoke on a variety of topics, including Joseph Smith, “the Book of Mormon, [and] setting up the Kingdom of God on Earth.” He said seeking happiness in the world “without the aid of the Holy Ghost” was folly.<sup>7</sup>

The life of the Utah Territory pioneers, however, was not all work and no play. The people of Dixie were not shy when it came to entertaining themselves. Several days after the pioneers’ arrival, the men put a large tent belonging to Asa Calkins up on the Adobe Yard in St. George. William Wilson reported the bowery “was also their first dancing place,” and “the pioneers danced at Christmas” in 1861. Not only were Church meetings held there but also the first Christmas social “with wrestling matches, hop-step and jump contests, foot races, and a program of singing. Later that evening a dance was held, with Oswald Barlow’s orchestra that provided the music for this first dance.” William Cowley played snare drum in Barlow’s band. Barlow, a fine dancer as well, could play fife and drums. While the “older people danced inside the tent . . . the space outside the tent was cleared for the young people to dance.”<sup>8</sup>

The pioneers of Dixie loved to dance. They danced “in church buildings, schools, the social hall, and private homes,” and they danced “the polka, the scottische, the quadrille, the Virginia Reel, six nations, the two-

6. *The Journal of Lorenzo Brown, 1823–1890*, 153, 165–66, 167–68.

7. *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*, 271.

8. Oswald Barlow, “History of Oswald Barlow, St. George Pioneer.”

step, the snap waltz, the spat waltz.” A “polygamy waltz” was for the “men with more than one wife.” For both young and old, dancing was a favorite recreation, and the 4th and 24th of July celebrations always ended in a dance. Lorenzo Brown noted that July 4, 1863, in Pine Valley was celebrated by “all hands [having] a game at ball,” an early version of baseball, followed by a “dance in evening.”<sup>9</sup>

George Hawley and Lorenzo Brown were close, despite the latter’s dislike of John Hawley. For example, on Sunday, May 31, 1863, the Hawleys took supper with the Browns. Two days after that, George rode north with Brown to Little Pinto, and “there struck up the kanyon 5 miles [east] then down [southeast] through a very rough kanyon to J D Lees 5 miles [at Harmony] then 4 miles farther to Hills & stopped for Night.” On Christmas evening that year, after sawing at his mill, Brown attended a “very good” dance at the George Hawleys, and another one on New Year’s Day 1864.<sup>10</sup>

Remembering these times, Jennie B. Miles recalled: “At the dances some were barefoot, some had cow-hide boots, or heavy shoes. A piece of tallow on the shelf was used to minister to stubbed toes or bruised feet so they could go on with the dance.”<sup>11</sup> Folklorist William A. Wilson wrote that “those who had shoes would lend them temporarily to those who were barefoot. Sometimes during a dance, a pair of shoes would pass from one pair of feet to another so many times that at the end of the dance the owner of the shoes could not find them. He would have to wait until the next day when he would find them in the window of the tithing office.”<sup>12</sup>

A more substantial material culture replaced the dugouts and the shanties at Pine Valley during the 1860s. Some historians disagreed on who built the “first real house in the valley.” Both John and George Hawley had their champions. John “sawed logs and finished the inside with plaster.” Wanda Snow claimed it was George Hawley who built the first house on Spring Branch near the mill, so well-built “that it could be moved later to the lower part of town without falling apart.” Time and memory conflated the narrative to one in which the Hawleys built “theirs of sawed logs which were plastered on the inside and boarded up on the outside with vertical boards and batts.” After the flood in 1865, John Hawley, William R. Slade, and Joseph Hadfield moved their houses farther west from the mill

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9. Wilson, “Folklore of Dixie,” 524; Brown, *Journal*, 149.

10. Brown, *Journal*, 152.

11. A. K. Hafen, *Dixie Folklore and Pioneer Memories*, 32, quoted in Wilson, “Folklore of Dixie,” 524.

12. Quoted from Wilson, “Folklore in Dixie,” 524.

on Spring Branch, across from the Old Cemetery. Everyone seemed to remember the quality of the Hawleys' woodworking and house building.<sup>13</sup>

The world of Mormon plural marriage appears strange, even wondrous to the modern reader, and trying to comprehend George Hawley's married life perhaps even more so. A Latter-day husband and father's patriarchal relationships to his wife and children in Utah during the second half of the nineteenth-century was a world apart from American social norms. Every worthy Mormon man held the priesthood and stood at the head of his family; his wife or wives remained subordinate to his religious leadership. Presiding Elder John Hawley dealt with difficult issues concerning his brother's wives in Pine Valley. Brigham Young twice instructed Bishop Zadok Judd of Fort Clara, John's religious leader, to resolve George's quarrels with Sarah and Jeannette, his second and third wives. One of Young's admonitions directed, "If br. George Hawley's second and third wives' statements are correct, as set forth in your letter of Jan. 17, I wish you to request br. Hawley to give each of them a bill of divorce, and if he refuses so to do, disfellowship him." Another instructed the bishop to have George fill out "a blank bill of divorce" from "Jenet" [Jeannette Goudie], pay for it, and file it. George did so. Jeanette married Joseph Hadfield, a long time Hawley clan member, that year on December 25, 1860. The ceremony was performed by Presiding Elder John Hawley, brother of Jeanette's former husband.<sup>14</sup>

The settlers in Pine Valley observed the fulfillment of Young's vision of a city near the confluence of the Santa Clara and Virgin rivers in late 1861. A large company from Salt Lake City came south to found St. George. John Hawley happily noted that the "gathering made lumber business good for us and then we could get a little money occasionally." Two apostles, Orson Pratt Sr. and Erastus Snow, supervised the operation, creating a stake and organizing a high council. Robert Gardner was appointed the presiding bishop for the region. John concluded to pay a good

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13. Hazel Bradshaw, ed., *Under Dixie Sun: A History of Washington County by Those Who Loved Their Forebears*, 351; Wanda Snow Petersen, *William Snow, first bishop of Pine Valley, A Man without Guile*, 121; Elizabeth Beckstrom and Bess Beckstrom, *O' Ye Mountains High: The Story of Pine Valley Utah*, 24, 183.

14. Brigham Young, letter to Bishop Zadok K. Judd, February 24, 1860; Freddijo Passey Burk, *Joseph Hadfield Story: An Incredible Odyssey*, 188, 362. For a fuller treatment of divorce in plural marriage, see Eugene E. Campbell and Bruce L. Campbell, "Divorce among Mormon Polygamists: Extent and Explanations," 181–200.

sound sum as tithing, for the people of St. George needed it to help them out of the alkali.<sup>15</sup>

The milling and lumber industry in Pine Valley hustled to fill not only the need of St. George's citizens, but the general area as well in 1862 and 1863 as the population grew in Dixie as well as in Pine Valley. More mills came to the valley and added jobs. The county court at Washington that summer appointed Jacob Hamblin, Robert Gardner, and Robert L. Lloyd to apportion the timber rights to three lumber businesses running in Pine Valley: Snow, Whipple & Gardner; Burgess's Mill; and Thomas Forsyth Mill. The county court's decision made it difficult for lumber workers like the Hawley brothers and Lorenzo Brown to prosper in their professions.<sup>16</sup>

Brigham Young visited the Southern Mission at least annually and more in some years during the decade. President Young spoke at Pine Valley in the summer of 1863. He gave "a rattling sermon about stealing and he told us to not be troubled about the loss of property. For said he, there is a day of reckoning coming in which fourfold with interest will be required." The sermon pricked the conscience of Henry W. Miller. After the Croft Company had left Indian Territory for Utah in 1856, conveyance of \$30 to Hawley arrived, and Miller who had Hawley's authority to draw the money did so. But he did not forward it to Hawley. John wrote that Miller "never intended to say anything about it. But after this sermon of Brigham's, he came to me and confessed to me and after a month or so he paid me the cash, thirty dollars." John referred to it "as a lucky scare for me."<sup>17</sup>

Sickness and accidents plagued Pine Valley that second half of the year. In July, Lorenzo Brown witnessed what he thought was the "hardest rain I ever saw," raising the creek that ran his mill over nine feet. Eight miles downstream, the raging stream "destroyed everything and drowned 4 children." The beaver colonies on the creek were driven before the flood, injuring "many of them & destroying their dam and houses." The homeless, including Benjamin Gray and families, and that of Jesse Craigham, came to Pine Valley for succor and employment.<sup>18</sup>

Heartbreak struck twice in September within six days. John and Sylvia's toddler, Sylvia Amelia, drowned on the 21st. John wrote of the

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15. Hawley, "Autobiography," 19.

16. James Godson Bleak, *The Annals of the Southern Mission: A Record of the History of the Settlement of Southern Utah*, 81; *Pioneer Pathways*, 351.

17. Hawley, "Autobiography," 20.

18. Brown, *Journal*, 148–49.

“sorrow and mourning . . . to loose [*sic*] our children by accident. Here we planted one more which we are satisfied was for a glorious resurrection of the just.”<sup>19</sup> Sarah Hadfield, six days earlier, formerly wife of Orange Wight and George Hawley, buried a baby girl she bore on July 25, 1863. The female infant was named Sarah Elizabeth Hadfield, having been given as a surname her mother's family name. Based on an index for the Old Pine Valley Cemetery, Sarah Hadfield (George's plural wife until at least 1860) had moved into the Earl household as a plural wife to Sylvester H. Earl sometime before her oldest daughter's marriage to her husband's son, Wilbur Earl. A year later Sarah joined her daughter, on March 15, 1864, in the Old Pine Valley Cemetery.<sup>20</sup>

Poor housing in mountain winter conditions adversely affected pioneer health, and good housing almost immediately improved it. An example is that of the Brown family. In December 1863, while living “in our open cold shanty,” the family of Lorenzo Brown suffered injury and illness. Lorenzo fell and severely injured his hip and had to use a “powerful liniment” to be able to get around. Two of his children, Edward and Benjamin, were stricken with “influenza & canker.” Benjamin had “several ague shakes.” Daughter Sarah suffered slightly from the ague. Then “John had a severe cold & for 10 or 12 days could not speak loud but kept running about all the time & all this in our open shanty.” Once the family had moved into a well-built “warm house where we could nurse & doctor them,” the family began to mend. Brown constructed the house with three-inch plank and divided it in the middle with a shingle roof with a matched shingle floor below, and an open space above a good fireplace. A stove stood in another corner.<sup>21</sup>

The Brown, Hawley, Pratt, and Snow families, among others, witnessed a mixture of events affecting the Southern Mission in 1864, including trouble with outsiders, heresy and excommunication, quarrels about water and timber rights, and the expansion to the northwest of new Mormon communities. Joy came to John and Sylvia as another son, William Nephi, was born on January 7th.<sup>22</sup>

On May 5, 1864, Erastus Snow grew concerned about the little Mormon farming and livestock hamlet of Meadow Valley, north and west forty miles from St. George. In May, the apostle had visited the families

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19. Hawley, “Autobiography,” 20.

20. Wesley W. Craig, Old Pine Valley Cemetery.

21. Brown, *Journal*, 152.

22. Hawley, “Autobiography,” 21.

and advised them (1) to stay away from the new mines, especially at nearby Pioche and Panaca, the silver of which had been discovered by William Hamblin with Paiute help, and (2) to allow Samuel Lee, as presiding elder, to select for each family their “inheritances” before property deeds were filed and recorded.<sup>23</sup> Lorenzo Brown noted on June 19th from Pine Valley that “most of the men” were exploring the area “near meadow valley.” He added that several Pine Valley families, including “Br Slade & William his son,” were hauling to the west, which required Brown to use his own team to bring logs to the mill.<sup>24</sup>

Latter-day Saint worries continued about an alleged Gentile plot led by General Conner in Salt Lake City and fellow government officials to take Meadow and Clover valleys from the Saints and their farming and mineral wealth for themselves and their allies. On June 11th and 12th, Elder John Nebeker took more Latter-day Saint families to reinforce their presence as rumors swirled that new numbers of “apostates and gentiles” were intending to deprive the Saints of their land.<sup>25</sup> By August, the troubles had died down. Lorenzo Brown’s journal for August and September that year shows the only interaction between Pine Valley with Meadow Valley and Clover Valley just to its north was that of social interaction. By 1870 and 1871, the new territorial boundaries moved Meadow and Clover valleys and St. Thomas to Nevada. Many of the Saints in those areas began to join with their co-religionists to the east in Utah Territory.<sup>26</sup>

The Saints never wholly abandoned the Upper Muddy and “western valleys.” Gentile miners and their operations dominated Pioche; however, Meadow Valley and Panaca would always have a strong Latter-day Saint

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23. Bleak, *Annals*, 96–97.

24. Brown, *Journal*, 154.

25. Bleak, *Annals*, 97.

26. Brown, *Journal*, 154. Brown’s late entries witness the breaking up of the Mormon village. On June 5, 1870, he writes, “Several names were called to go & strengthen the western settlements and endeavor to prevent the aggressions of outsiders & apostate influence and secure this land and farming interests as they are endeavoring to jump our claims and ride the saints or drive them from their homes,” 195. In March 1871, Brown reports: “Went to Meadow Valley for Benjamin The settlement is being broken up It has fallen in Nevada State & they claim heavy taxes for 3 or 4 years at which our people demur having them in Utah Benjamin leaves his house & lot that cost him over \$1500.00,” 197. McArthur, *St. Thomas: A History Uncovered*, 51–59, records in detail the Latter-day Saint town’s break-up in the months ending 1870 and beginning 1871 on the south on the Muddy River.

presence. In 1871, President Erastus Snow and the Southern Mission Stake Presidency and merchants from St. George, Santa Clara, and Washington were meeting in order “to regulate the trade of vegetables, fruit and grain to Pioche and the Western Valleys.” They estimated that the market could require up to three tons of vegetables plus the excess of the seasonal fruit harvested in the local orchards. Luke Syphus was sustained as the president of the elders’ quorum for the Western Valleys to regulate the market so that the highest prices could be obtained.<sup>27</sup>

Once the problems with the western villages waned, the all-too-common incidents of illness and death struck the settlers again. On Founders Day, July 24th, the Brown family was “making grave clothes” for a child of Robert Gardner. The mourners held services at noon and the burial at dark. Brown somberly noted, “This is the third child Bro. Gardner has buried since coming to St George.”<sup>28</sup> In August, many people were ill in Pine Valley. The most dangerous of the diseases would be diphtheria or a sore throat if untreated. White pustules would ulcerate the throat, causing the patient to strangle and die within four to six days. The treatment used in Pine Valley for the “strangles” was a mixture of “alum & salt dissolved in vinegar & gurgled in the throat once in 10 or 15 minutes.” Plasters with mixed salt and egg yolk would be used on “the neck & throat and renewed occasionally.” Brown said the remedies were effective if used in a timely manner and helpful for all the patients.<sup>29</sup>

The members of Pine Valley turned their attention to President Brigham Young, Apostle Erastus Snow, and Orson Pratt Jr. in September 1864. The high council in St. George had earlier been the scene of religious difficulties that involved Orson Pratt Jr. Son of the apostle he was named for, Orson Jr. had moved to Dixie in 1862 as part of the extended family and settled within a few months at St. George. The family lived in a tent for some time. Orson Pratt Jr. lived the privileged life with his father and Erastus Snow, his uncle by marriage, the leading personalities of the Southern Mission. Orson Jr., twenty-seven in 1862, served as the city postmaster, alderman, and a member of the stake high council. John Hawley wrote the younger Pratt had “become dissatisfied with some doctrine taught by the leading men of the church and stepped down and

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27. Bleak, *Annals*, 238, 248.

28. Brown, *Journal*, 156.

29. Brown, 157.



out of the council and moved back to Salt Lake Valley.”<sup>30</sup> There was much more to the story than this simple narrative.

For Pine Valley, it began as Brown excitedly wrote in his journal on September 11th the news announcing the arrival of President Brigham Young the following day. He would preach later in the day. The next day the traveling party arrived from Pinto. The twenty-one wagons carried more than one hundred passengers along with the Nephi Brass band and a quadrille group from Salt Lake City. Nine families in the valley divided and took in the visitors. Thomas Jenkins, Seymour Young, George D. Watt, Philip Margette, and some others suppered with the Lorenzo Browns.

According to Brown, Brigham Young felt “first rate and is full of blessings.” The company held a meeting at five that afternoon, and the George Hawleys hosted a dance in the evening for neighbors and visitors. Brown believed that “the President and Twelve enjoyed themselves highly.” At 9 p.m., President Young stated it “twas time to dismiss kneeled down & offered prayer in which he asked God to bless this settlement and all pertaining to it in the most fervant manner.”<sup>31</sup> Then the President began asking questions privately of at least Hawley and Brown.

President Young inquired of John Hawley how the brothers-in-law and apostles Orson Pratt Sr. and Erastus Snow were faring with each other. John said the two apostles “was at peace at present. They was divided at one time in their judgment.” Not surprisingly, the matter was over timber and milling. John, as presiding elder, had allowed Robert Forsyth to cut timber in a canyon. John’s action ended up in a church trial because Eli Whipple and Erastus Snow, competitors of Forsyth, became wroth. John stood on his priesthood authority and the principle that “a presiding officer had this jurisdiction of managing the country and its surroundings.” Orson Pratt Sr., the senior apostle in Dixie, presided in a church court and awarded the decision to Hawley on that principle. The decision caused bad blood between Pratt and Snow. John believed that Whipple and Snow had intended to create a logging and milling monopoly in Pine Valley by removing competition.<sup>32</sup>

John Hawley’s interactions with others, whether the president, an apostle, a fellow priesthood holder, or his own brother, seemed to follow an iron rod. His character appeared to be inflexible once he perceived what he thought his action should be. He married his brother’s third wife

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30. Hawley, “Autobiography,” 20.

31. Brown, *Journal*, 157.

32. Hawley, “Autobiography,” 20–21.



to another man. He ruled against his friend and religious superior Erastus Snow in the matter of timber interests and sought the appellate approval of Orson Pratt Sr. He counseled Lorenzo Brown and others from the pulpit for what he believed was inappropriate behavior. He counseled with President Young on matters involving the Pratt family.

The conversation moved to the namesake of Orson Pratt Sr., who had been having problems with the council and Snow earlier in the year. President Young believed the younger Pratt came by his need for empirical data naturally. Brown wrote that President Young had said that Orson Pratt Sr. “was at heart an infidel.” According to Hawley, Young stated Orson Jr.’s “father is sceptical also.” Young alleged that the older Pratt “never offers a prayer to God” and that Pratt “was doubtful whether a being of thiskind existed or not.” John continued, “I thought this strange but he further said the church has had more trouble with this man than any other in the church. For said he, we had to call him home from England at one time for teaching and writing that God had attained to perfection and could not progress further.” John was flattered President Young would share private matters with him, writing, “I thought it quite good to thus be honored with a pleasant talk with the Prophet of our Kingdom.”<sup>33</sup>

On the 14th, members of the Twelve did most of the preaching. Brown noticed that the president did “not speak a great deal,” that he made an exception concerning those who were called to St. George and failed. He believed those who had failed would have action taken against them at the October conference in Salt Lake City. Young then diverted from his topic of apostasy and spoke of a subject near and dear to his heart: cotton.<sup>34</sup> He talked about growing cotton, stating “that his cotton spinner was in successful operation make all sises of yarn from No 8 to No 40,” and that “he would exchange” the settler’s “raw cotton delivered at the machine at the rate of 5 lbs yarn for [blank] lbs of cotton.” Brown continued, writing Young “blessed the people of the mission with future promises wanted them to settle all the nooks and corners up and down the virgin and bye and bye would go beyond the Colorado stopped.”<sup>35</sup>

During the next week, matters deteriorated between Erastus Snow and Orson Pratt Jr. Lydia Pratt, Orson Sr.’s first wife and mother of Orson

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33. Brown, *Journal*, 157; Hawley, “Autobiography,” 21.

34. Charles Lowell Walker noted in July 1866 that he was working on the roof of a grist mill for Erastus Snow, on the Virgin River just down the bank from Brigham Young’s Cotton Factory. Walker, *Diary*, 265n7.

35. Brown, *Journal*, 157.

Jr., had received permission from Brigham Young for the family to return to Salt Lake City. However, in a sacrament meeting on September 18, Orson Jr. attacked the character of Erastus Snow. He pointed at Snow, calling him “a snake in the grass” who made life so miserable for Orson Sr. that he accepted earlier that year a mission call out of the country. Orson Jr. pointed his finger at Snow for endeavoring unsuccessfully to persuade the younger Pratt’s wife “to turn against her husband.” He also testified that he did not believe that Joseph Smith came to earth to fulfill the work of the Restoration. Church authorities publicly excommunicated the younger Pratt that evening. The family moved shortly after that to Salt Lake City.<sup>36</sup> In light of Young’s conversations in Pine Valley with Brown and Hawley six days earlier, the events of the 18th ending with Orson Jr.’s being struck off from the Church causes one to think the excommunication met the President’s approval. Perhaps Snow had been the mover with Young’s consent and had also made an attempt to privately turn Orson Jr.’s wife against him.

The Dixie region, as well as Pine Valley, began to develop. In the summer of 1864, “a townsite has been surveyed in Pine Valley, and following the extension of water privilege given by St. George City Council a number of the citizens of St. George have moved part of their families there.” John Menzies Macfarlane, a musician and surveyor, laid out the new townsite in Pine Valley at “Lower Town” following the pattern of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. Macfarlane organized the city “on a grid design with square blocks and straight streets,” but not on a straight north and south angle. The new cemetery rested “on an angle when compared to the town.”<sup>37</sup> In 1865, Pine Valley’s population grew larger. St. George’s City Council approval of the limited use of the Santa Clara River to start irrigation farming of thirteen acres began a small diversification of the village economy. Other families took the opportunity to move to the valley. By that summer, the canals stretched about a mile in length with an average four feet wide and about one-and-a-half feet in depth for a cost of \$281. In 1868, the community of Pine Valley had spent \$1,125 on the updating and maintenance of the canals. By the following summer of 1869, the seven canals stretched some thirteen miles in length at an aver-

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36. Bleak, *Annals*, 101–3; Richard S. Van Wagoner and Mary C. Van Wagoner, “Orson Pratt Jr.: Gifted Son of an Apostle and an Apostate,” 84, 88–90; Hawley, “Autobiography,” 20.

37. Bleak, *Annals*, 116; Snow, *William Snow*, 124.

age width of three feet.<sup>38</sup> The Hawley houses were moved west to Block 12D and Block 13A on the new townsite. George's house still stands more than 150 years later.<sup>39</sup>

John finished his entry for 1865 with "all things went off pleasantly this with the exception of the loss of my son," William Nephi, born in January 1864. Sometime in early November, the boy was scalded badly. By February 18, 1865, the wounds had become sorely infected. On the 24th, Brown records that John Hawley took his boy to the doctor at St. George. The snow was so deep that "all hands went two miles with him to help through drifts." The youngster began to improve, but only for a short time.<sup>40</sup> The following summer, John recalled that the pioneer holiday of July 24th "brought great suffering as well." The infant survived the scalding only to be carried off by scarlet fever. His family buried him as "another son for a glorious resurrection."<sup>41</sup>

The 24th of July festival in 1865 was held at the unofficial campground called the "Pinery," a grove of trees three miles up the river. The St. George stake president gave the devotional address at the meeting and then singing followed. "The crowd danced until 5PM" on "a floor made of pieces of newly-sawed timber laid on the ground," which was followed by "speeches, recitations, poems and musical numbers. The evening finished with more dancing." The following day Apostles Amasa M. Lyman, Erastus Snow, and George A. Smith addressed the crowd, followed by "lunch, dancing, supper and more dancing."<sup>42</sup> Charles Lowell Walker agreed with Hawley that, high "among the towering pines and majestic Mountains, in company with E Snow, G A Smith, A Lyman and large number of Brethren and Sisters," the Saints had a wonderful time. "We enjoyed ourselves the best kind, in having 3 of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles preach to us besides singing, dancing, jumping, romping, &c &c. The scenery where we were is truly sublime, and imposing." Walker made it home to St. George on the 27th, "pretty well tired out jolting over the rough and rocky roads."<sup>43</sup>

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38. Bleak, *Annals*, 99, 113, 116–18, 171, 199–200; Hawley, "Autobiography," 20.

39. Bradshaw, *Under Dixie Sun*, 183; Beckstrom and Beckstrom, *O'Ye Mountains High*, 28, 30.

40. John Hawley, "Experiences of John Hawley," 223; Brown, *Journal*, 159.

41. Hawley, "Autobiography," 21.

42. Snow, *William Snow*, 125–26.

43. Walker, *Diary*, 248.

The death of John and Sylvia's son prevented them from participating in the festivities that day. John knew and liked "Amercy" Lyman and went to listen to his discourse the next day. He thought much of the sermon was "old fashion Mormonism" and "gave us some good instructions." However, as he had for some years, Apostle Lyman continued to teach that the blood of Jesus even as Savior was not necessary for the atonement of any man's sins. According to Hawley, Amasa Lyman argued that "the principle and doctrine of Christ would of [have] saved all mankind should they observed its precept and doctrine whether Christ's blood was shed or not." Church authorities had sternly reproved the errant apostle, but Lyman would not heed counsel and continued his aberrant preaching. John believed that the apostle should have been excommunicated but had not "because of the good he had done."<sup>44</sup> Several days later, on the 28th, Walker went up in the summer heat to the Bowery to hear "Smith, Amasa Lyman and others [give] us some very good teachings and doctrine pertaining to self government, domestic happiness, self preservation &c &c." The speakers "exhorted us to prepare for War. Keep our powder dry, and rifles in shooting order, and be ready at a moments warning. overall we had quite an interesting time of it and felt sorry when they went away."<sup>45</sup> Amasa Lyman, in fact, would be excommunicated a few years later, for such heretical views on the Atonement.<sup>46</sup>

A month later Lorenzo Brown recorded his recollections of the holiday, which was "a big celebration of rather a grand picnic on the 24th of July." The first arrivals came on Saturday the 22nd, with large turnouts from "St. George Santa Clara Washington Pinto & Cedar" and Beaver and Parowan. A large encampment was organized in a "kanyon" a couple of miles "above," possibly Grass Valley. The shade of tall pines covered the "large dancing floor" that "had been constructed." One participant from St. George described the celebration: "We enjoyed ourselves the best kind in having 3 of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles preach to us besides singing, dancing, jumping, [and] romping."<sup>47</sup> The Sunday morning services including singing and preaching.<sup>48</sup>

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44. Hawley, "Autobiography," 22.

45. Walker, *Diary*, 248.

46. See Edward Leo Lyman, *Amasa Mason Lyman, Mormon Apostle and Apostate: A Study in Dedication*, about this intriguing character in early Mormon history.

47. Walker, *Diary*, 239, 248.

48. Brown, *Journal*, 162.

The following morning on the 24th, apostles George A. Smith and Amasa Lyman and others arrived about 10 a.m. Brown claimed that the members heard “a good preach.” Silas Smith spent the evening with the Browns, and George A. Smith came “after breakfast & dictated a letter for Silas to write.” The apostles and their party were able to relax. Silas Smith rode a “skiff on the mill race.” The next day Smith came again with Amasa Lyman, William Dame, and others, to the Browns. All attended a moonlight dance at Benjamin Brown’s house. George Smith and “sister Lyman led the first set He said twas the first dance for him for four years & enjoyed himself very much.” The Browns hosted thirty, including late-comers, for breakfast “till past noon when all had left.” Lorenzo’s wife collapsed from overworking.<sup>49</sup>

Lorenzo Brown evaluated the prosperity of Pine Valley that fall. The settlers “fenced a large field and raised 2000 bush[els] of small grain besides potatoes & turnips and have built a house for Br [William] Snow and stocked and run three mills beside.” Comparing the productivity of Pine Valley with the Pinto settlers, he wrote that the Pinto “raised 700 bush[els] grain & some home[s] had more help than we had their field fenced before which has drove them nearly to death with work we have done more than three times the work that they have and with less hands we have been greatly blessed.”<sup>50</sup> The community of Pine Valley under Presiding Elder Hawley’s supervision had done well in 1865.

Material and educational improvements continued the next year in Pine Valley. On January 18, 1866, the county appropriated twelve hundred dollars to repair the road from Cedar City through Pine Valley to St. George by the legislature. Erastus Snow would ask at General Conference that year for the Pine Valley road to be improved, and the valley residents subscribed a total of \$324.50 for improvement the following year.<sup>51</sup> The burden was considered onerous by many. Charles Lowell Walker, tasked with getting donations from fellow members, griped in his diary:

I did not feel well in performing the duty, as I had to specify why each one would not pay. It seems to me rather too personal, and a goodly number of the Bretheren [*sic*] did not feel able to pay anything towards it. Some seemed to say the taxes and calls were rather too heavy, viz the Territorial tax, county tax, city tax, Poll tax, internal revenue tax, school tax, St George Hall tax,

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49. Brown, 162.

50. Brown, 164.

51. Bleak, *Annals*, 126–27, 146–47, 153.

besides calls to work on the streets, roads, ditches, dams, Public works, &c, &c, &c.<sup>52</sup>

Lorenzo Brown noted during January 1866 that “our school is decidedly a success The scholars all seem to be improving Lehi Dykes teacher at \$3.50 per scholar we are now almost completely shut in to the valley by deep snow much deeper than last winter.” On the 17th of February, Brown wrote again: “In the shop P.M. At school This is the last day. The different Classes have made considerable progress.” The old log school house was auctioned for \$72 along with \$30 more for a new school building. Bleak wrote that “the settlers built a new school house” in Pine Valley, with “Sunday School Superintendent, John Hawley” supervising “both regular and ecclesiastical schools” in the new building.<sup>53</sup>

By 1866, Pine Valley was regularly celebrating the great patriotic and pioneer celebrations. The authorities continued to not neglect their responsibility for “directing and controlling the people. . . . Pine Valley was also visited and instructed in duty.”<sup>54</sup> John did not mention the celebrations that year but noted the birth of Isaac Zimri, yet another son, on the eighth of January. Of Church matters, John remembered that “the church had despaired of Joseph [Smith III], son of the Seer ever doing anything for God or the church,” because the young Joseph had become a prophet and revelator to the RLDS defectors of the upper Midwest.<sup>55</sup>

The Hawleys had no idea that future years would bring events that included John Hawley being called on a mission to his RLDS family and friends in Iowa, and that his evaluation of the supposed apostasy of the son of Joseph Smith Jr. would lead to his flirtation with and then conversion to the RLDS Church.

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52. Walker, *Diary*, 267.

53. Brown, *Journal*, 166–167, 171, 362, 391.

54. Bleak, *Annals*, 129.

55. Hawley, “Experiences,” 223.