

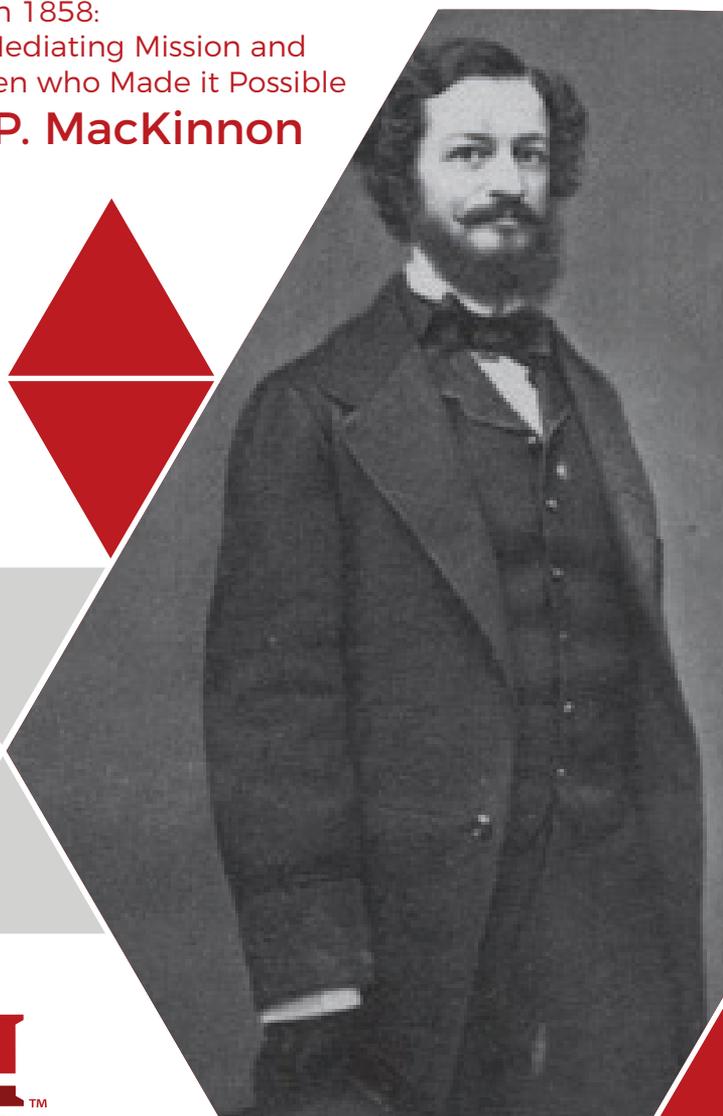
JUANITA BROOKS LECTURE SERIES

— THE 35TH ANNUAL LECTURE —

— APRIL 17, 2018 —

Across the Desert in 1858:
Thomas L. Kane's Mediating Mission and
the Mormon Women who Made it Possible

By: William P. MacKinnon



DSU
DIXIE STATE UNIVERSITY

THE JUANITA BROOKS LECTURE SERIES

PRESENTS

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THOMAS L. KANE OF PHILADELPHIA (1822-1883), LONGTIME FRIEND OF THE MORMONS AND SELF-APPOINTED UTAH WAR MEDIATOR. Ailing and beleaguered, Kane ("Dr. Osborne") might not have reached Brigham Young without crucial help from supportive Latter-day Saint women in San Bernardino and along the Old Spanish Trail. Photograph from 1859, courtesy of Ronn Palm, Museum of Civil War Images, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania



Juanita Brooks was a professor at [then] Dixie College for many years and became a well-known author. She is recognized, by scholarly consensus, to be one of Utah's and Mormondom's most eminent historians. Her total honesty, unwavering courage, and perceptive interpretation of fact set more stringent standards of scholarship for her fellow historians to emulate. Dr. Obert C. and Grace Tanner had been lifelong friends of Mrs. Brooks and it was their wish to perpetuate her work through this lecture series. Dixie State University and the Brooks family express their thanks to the Tanner family.



William P. MacKinnon is a historian, management consultant, and community volunteer residing in Montecito, CA. He grew up in Schenectady, NY and Fort Wayne, IN.

MacKinnon is an alumnus of the Mount Hermon (MA) School, and in 1960 earned a B.A. degree magna cum laude from Yale, where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He is a past Board Chairman of the Yale Library Associates and is an Associate Fellow of Yale's Davenport College. In 1962 MacKinnon received an M.B.A. degree from the Harvard Business School.

As an independent historian MacKinnon has published on the American West in more than thirty journals and monographs since 1963. The award-winning two volumes of his study of the Utah War of 1857-1858 (At Sword's Point) were published in 2008 and 2016 by The Arthur H. Clark Company, an imprint of the University of Oklahoma Press. MacKinnon is a Fellow and an Honorary Life Member of the Utah State Historical Society as well as the recipient of its Dale L. Morgan and LeRoy S. Axland awards. He is also a member of the Crossroads (Utah) Chapter of the Oregon-California Trails Association. During 2010-11 MacKinnon was President of the Mormon History Association,

which has also honored him with multiple awards including its Thomas L Kane Award. He is past Sheriff (presiding officer) of the Santa Barbara Corral of Westerners International.

Since 1988 MacKinnon has been President and Founder of MacKinnon Associates, a strategy consulting firm providing counsel on organizational and management issues to Boards, CEOs, and other senior officers. Prior to that he was a financial and human resources executive with General Motors Corporation in New York and Detroit for twenty-five years. During 1982-87 he was Vice President in charge of GM's corporate Personnel Administration and Development Staff. As a management consultant, MacKinnon has served more than seventy public and privately-held client companies in a wide range of industries while serving on the Board of several such organizations.

As a community volunteer he is a Director of the Montecito Retirement Association and a former Director of Montecito's Birnam Wood Golf Club. He has been Board Chairman of Children's Hospital of Michigan and a Trustee of the Detroit Medical Center as well as of such educational institutions as the Birmingham, Michigan School Board, Kettering University, the University of Virginia's Darden School, and the U.S. State Department's Overseas Schools Advisory Council. With the Boy Scouts of America, he is an Eagle Scout and a member of the Order of the Arrow.

MacKinnon served during 1962-68 in squadrons of the New York Air National Guard following active duty with the U.S. Air Force.

Across the Desert in 1858: Thomas L. Kane's Mediating Mission and the Mormon Women who Made it Possible

By: William P. MacKinnon

“Col. Kane . . . thinks he can do much to accomplish an amicable peace between them and the United States. He is willing to make an expedition to Salt Lake this winter, even at his own expense . . . He is full of courage, and if his judgment is correct, he may be able to avert a war of extermination against a poor deluded race.”

- James C. Van Dyke to President Buchanan,
December 9, 1857

“So he went forth into the desert. May the God whom he served and who blessed his work with success, call him indeed one of the “Children of God.”

- Elizabeth W. Kane Journal, June 28, 1858

PREAMBLE

This is my second visit to St. George; both have been very special occasions for me. The first time was on May 29, 2011, when I spoke in the tabernacle as president of the Mormon History Association, one of the remarkable experiences of my life. Tonight is also special, but for a quite different reason. I stand before you happy to have a home intact in Montecito, California and the wherewithal to deliver the thirty-fifth annual lecture honoring Juanita Brooks. Last December 10, my seventy-ninth birthday, both circumstances were in doubt as my wife Pat and I fled the worst wildfire in California history. After an absence of twelve days, we returned home, but on January 8th, we again became refugees because of the subsequent rain and debris slides – this time for more than three weeks, with twenty-three of our neighbors dead. Among the few possessions we took with us during both evacuations and the three more that follows, were my research files and notes for what became this talk. After a total of five weeks as a vagabond, I now know a bit of what the 1858 Mormon Move South was like, or what my mother experienced as a vast urban fire forced her family to take refuge homeless in a Boston cemetery during 1908. Perhaps such upheaval was what Thomas L. Kane had in mind when he marked the Bible he took to Utah at a passage from Matthew reading, “But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another.”¹

INTRODUCTION

A half-century ago, one of the lions of Yale University's history faculty, David M. Potter, visited Florida's Stetson University to give a lecture titled "American Women and the American Character." Professor Potter opened his remarks by saying, "There is an old riddle which children used to ask one another concerning two Indians. One was a big Indian, the other was a little Indian, and they were sitting on a fence. The little Indian, the riddle tells us, was the big Indian's son, but the big Indian was not the little Indian's father. How, asks the riddle, can this be?" After noting that this riddle has perplexed people over the generations, Potter revealed that the adult on the fence was the child's mother. He concluded that "the riddle owes its baffling effect to the fact that our social generalizations [including those of historians] is mostly in masculine terms."²

Tonight I want to use the nub of what Professor Potter said at Stetson in 1959 to highlight a little-known story of the Utah War of 1857-1858 that unfolded in this region. In so doing, I also want to make a point about Potter's sister-historian and contemporary, Juanita Brooks.

In its enormity, the Utah War encompassed backgrounds, personalities, and behaviors so eclectic the conflict has held my attention for sixty years. On the federal side alone, the U.S. Army's Utah Expedition attracted a mixture of American Indians, Hispanos, blacks (free and enslaved), German noblemen, mountaineers, explorers, newspaper reporters, dandies, illiterates, Ph.D.s, rogues, heroes, former President Fillmore's nephew, Robert E. Lee's son, Jim Bridger, Kit Carson, an obscure army private claiming descent from

a Polish king, the Anglo discoverer of the Colorado River's Grand Canyon, the founders of the Pony Express with several of their riders, the owner of Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, a dragoon private who inspired Jack London's first novel, and a teamster destined to be the most notorious guerrilla of the American Civil War.

The Latter-day Saint side of this conflict included a similar range of backgrounds and stories, including those of U.S. Senator Sam Houston, the ancestors of three Mormon candidates for the U.S. presidency (think the Romney and Huntsman families), the second through sixth presidents of the LDS Church, a brace of former Texas Rangers, and a wild assortment of ecclesiastical assassins.³

Consistent with David Potter's point about the two fence-sitters, I believe that among the most overlooked of these colorful Utah War participants are its historically invisible women. They deserve better. The Utah War was not an all-male adventure. Women on both sides served not only as traditional keepers of the troops' home fires, but also as army laundresses, the poet laureate of a beleaguered Mormonism, the confidential secretary of Utah's new governor, a veteran of the most arduous winter march in American military history, and heroines of the Mormon Move South, which was the then greatest mass migration of refugees in North America since the American Revolution. Girls and women were also among those massacred at Mountain Meadows, probably the majority of the emigrants killed.

Tonight's lecture aims to redress a bit of this neglect in a limited way by focusing on four Mormon women who in February 1858 aided a deathly ill, beleaguered Thomas L.

Kane of Philadelphia. Their service came during Kane's epic winter dash across the desert from southern California to mediate the Utah War in Salt Lake City and Fort Bridger. It was assistance without which Kane might never have made it through this southern region, or, at least, not in the way that he did. And so my comments tonight are a focused glimpse of what these women did at a critical time for an important person. They are not intended to be an exploration of such far broader topics as a sketch of Kane's life or even a complete account of what he accomplished once he reached Brigham Young. For these more complex

subjects I refer you to Matthew J.

Grow's biography on Kane, *"Liberty to the Downtrodden"* and my two-volume study of the Utah War, *At Sword's Point*.

With that explanation and a tip of the hat to the title of novelist Tobias Wolff's wonderful anthology, our story begins.⁴

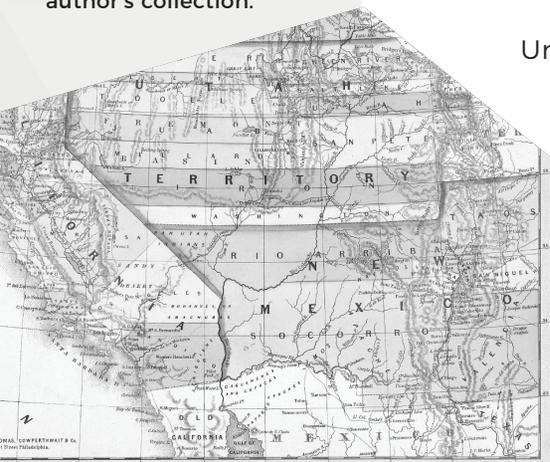
THE UTAH WAR AND THOMAS L. KANE: THE "WHAT" AND "WHO" QUESTIONS

Unsure what your understanding is about the Utah War and Thomas L. Kane's role in it, I start with an overview of both before turning to the part that women played in all

this. In my view, the Utah War was the armed confrontation over power and authority between the civil-religious hierarchy of Utah Territory led by Governor Brigham Young, president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and President Buchanan's administration. In the spring of 1857, newly-inaugurated President James Buchanan set out to restore federal authority in Utah by replacing Young as governor and installing a successor to be escorted west by a large army expeditionary force. It was a change that Young and his territorial militia (Nauvoo Legion) rejected, contesting it with hit-and-run military tactics that morphed into a bloody guerrilla conflict. What followed brought not only casualties and atrocities like the 120-victim Mountain Meadows Massacre, but federal treason indictments for Young and hundreds of other Mormons. As the campaign stalemated and the army went into winter quarters at Fort Bridger, Utah, in the fall of 1857, it became the nation's most extensive and expensive military undertaking during the period between the Mexican-American and Civil wars, pitting Young's large territorial militia against almost one-third of the U. S. Army. In the process, the daunting cost of this armed confrontation drained the U. S. Treasury during the worst economic recession in twenty years.

The confrontation went on until a controversial settlement was imposed in June 1858 by two civilian peace commissioners dispatched by Buchanan from Washington independent of Kane's self-initiated mediation mission to Utah. Under this arrangement Brigham Young accepted his removal, the army's Utah Expedition marched unopposed into the Salt Lake Valley to garrison the territory, and the

SCOPE AND SWEEP: THE UTAH WAR'S SPRAWLING GEOGRAPHY. In 1858, Utah Territory was 700 miles wide, with the war effecting virtually the entire trans-Mississippi West. Internationally, Mormon and federal plans impacted the Pacific Coast possessions of Russia and Great Britain as well as northern Mexico, Cuba, coastal Central America, the Kingdom of Hawaii, and the Dutch East Indies. Map (1853) by Thomas Cowperthwait & Co. of Philadelphia, from author's collection.



president extended a blanket pardon for Utah's entire population.⁵

As commander in chief, President Buchanan's role in this military campaign is obvious. That of Thomas L. Kane has been more difficult for historians to assess, enveloped as it was by his penchant for secrecy and anonymity as well as 160 years of Mormon folklore.

Prior to the spring of 1857, Kane was not a Buchanan intimate, but the two men became involved with one another because of the Utah War. Kane was then thirty-five years old and scion of a prominent, well-to-do Philadelphia family with which Buchanan was friendly. Kane supported multiple humanitarian causes, including the anti-slavery and prison reform movements. In the mid-1840s, attracted by the Mormons' status as a persecuted minority, he became their most prominent advocate and defender, although he was not a Latter-day Saint and rejected many of their religious tenets such as polygamy. In 1846, Kane traveled to LDS refugee camps in Iowa to assist their planned trek to the Salt Lake Valley and to facilitate recruitment of the Mormon Battalion for U. S. Army service during the Mexican-American War. In 1850, he advised President Fillmore on federal appointees for the newly-established Utah Territory (including Brigham Young's selection as governor) and delivered a major address sympathetic to Mormonism before the elite Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia. During 1852 he helped mute eastern newspaper criticism of Brigham Young when the federal appointees assigned to the territory fled Utah en masse and the church admitted to the practice of plural marriage after decades of public

denial. In 1856, Kane strategized with Young about how best to seek statehood for the territory. When James Buchanan took office on March 4, 1857, Kane was a lawyer and clerk to the U. S. District Court in Philadelphia over which his father, Judge John K. Kane, had long presided.⁶

In January 1857, apprehensive that Buchanan would not reappoint him as governor once inaugurated, Brigham Young reached out to Kane again in hopes that he might influence the president-elect. Kane received Young's plea in March in the midst of the uproar in the new administration over the latest accusations about inappropriate governance in Utah. He immediately swung into action on the Mormons' behalf. On March 21st, Kane wrote Buchanan to advocate retention of Young as governor and sought to press the case directly with the president. Later he also wrote Attorney General Black and other influential people.

Buchanan never responded. Interpreting this silence as a humiliating rebuff and beset by personal problems, Kane notified Brigham Young of his failure and withdrew from Mormon affairs, warning Young that "Mr. Buchanan is a timorous man . . . we can place no reliance upon the President: he succumbs in more respects than one to outside pressure. You can see from the [news]papers how clamorous it is for interference with Utah affairs. Now Mr. Buchanan has not heart enough to save his friends from being thrown over to stop the mouths of a pack of Yankee editors."⁷

On November 9th, alarmed by a combination of urgent messages from Brigham Young, rumors of bloodshed in Utah, and army reports of Mormon determination to resist its Utah Expedition, Kane traveled to Washington to meet

with President Buchanan four weeks before Congress was scheduled to reconvene. It was an occasion on which Buchanan would need to speak publicly for the first time about Utah affairs.

Kane later described this November visit to the White House as ineffective, with Buchanan “reluctant to admit that he had committed any error.”⁸ Three days after Kane’s return to Philadelphia on November 10th, first news reached the Atlantic Coast of Brigham Young’s illegal proclamation of martial law, the Mormon Nauvoo Legion’s destruction of more than a million dollars’ worth of army materiel, and the calamitous loss of civilian lives in the massacre at Mountain Meadows. Unknown at that time was the fact that in the fall of 1857 Brigham Young had authorized the Nauvoo Legion to use lethal force – killing the army’s officers first – if the Utah Expedition moved west of Fort Bridger toward the Salt Lake Valley. The fat was in the fire; Brigham Young had crossed a Rubicon of sorts that transformed a territorial-federal confrontation into an armed rebellion. On December 8th, Buchanan sent his first annual message to Congress declaring Utah to be in rebellion and requesting authorization to expand the army by four regiments to prosecute the campaign. He discussed no strategy for ending the war other than the continued application of overwhelming military force.⁹

These developments led both Kane and Buchanan to consider new approaches. As Kane later put it, “my thoughts turning after this upon Utah matters and examining fully into the subject the conviction gained upon me that I was perhaps leaving undone that which I ought to have done.

Inquiring about among Mormons and others, I learned more than I had known of the different [travel] approaches to the [Great] Basin and learned that whatever might be the case with regard to myself, other men were able at that very date to penetrate to Salt Lake City.”¹⁰

The day after President Buchanan sent his message to Congress, one of his main political advisors in Philadelphia, James C. Van Dyke, moved to refocus the president on the possibility of resolving the Mormon problem peacefully through Thomas L. Kane. Van Dyke may have been motivated by his awareness that Kane’s relationship with the Mormons was unique as well as a realization that a restless Congress was beginning to shift aggressively into an investigatory, partisan posture vis a vis the administration’s Utah policy. Against this background he wrote to Buchanan on December 9 to describe Kane as “full of courage, and if his judgment is correct, he may be able to avert a war of extermination against a poor deluded race.”¹¹

Van Dyke’s intervention produced results. On the night of December 25th he and Kane traveled to Washington from Philadelphia, and the next day they met with Buchanan alone at the Executive Mansion. In brief, Kane spent much of this interview trying to convince the president that he intended to go to Utah and in deflecting his arguments that the trip was too dangerous in terms of hazards from weather, Indians, and suspicious Mormons only a few months after the latter’s murky role in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. By Kane’s account he refused Buchanan’s repeated offer to commission him as some sort of official emissary and to pay his travel expenses, emphasizing that his safety, credibility,

and effectiveness among the Mormons hinged on preserving his status as a free agent and private citizen. Apparently the president committed to providing Kane with some sort of letters of introduction that would facilitate his trip, but nothing more.

Van Dyke later told Kane, “the President asked me if you were still determined upon going; and said he considered the undertaking a very hazardous one, fraught with dangers and difficulties on all sides; that he did not believe it was possible for you to reach Salt Lake at that season of the year; and that even if you should he could not help doubting whether any good would result from your visit. I told him that your mind was fully made up, that you intended to go with the sanction and approbation of the Administration if they saw fit so far to aid you; but if such prestige and aid was withheld, you would go without it; that go you would.”¹²

Kane’s family was very much opposed to his going to Utah. Judge Kane thought that his son’s mission would be a failure, and he worried about losing him after his son, Elisha’s death earlier in the year. Tom’s wife, Elizabeth, eventually agreed to support his decision, recognizing that her husband viewed such a mission as a calling and hoping that performing it would bolster his recent acceptance of Christianity at her urging after a life of agnosticism. And so at year-end 1857, Kane resigned his clerkship in his father’s court – his sole source of income – and, after making scant financial provision for his wife and two young children, set out for Utah on a mission of unknown duration with uncertain outcome on behalf of a reviled people whose religion he did not accept.

At the very last moment before leaving Philadelphia for New York, several disappointing letters arrived from President Buchanan. Given the criticism of his Utah policy then developing in Congress, what Buchanan wrote for Kane in his cautious, lawyerly fashion was a model of what in today’s presidential politics and intelligence work would be called “plausible deniability.” The letters were a means of distancing Buchanan from Kane if his secret mission should become known, controversial, or a failure while providing signs that on a personal basis he wished Kane well. Buchanan essentially described Kane as a private, free-lancing do-gooder without governmental status or backing. The letters were thin gruel and cold comfort. Years later, after the Civil War, Elizabeth looked back on these events with a harsh judgment invoking the behavior of Pontius Pilate with Christ: “so Buchanan washed his hands of the blood that Kane might lose.”¹³

Thus indifferently supported, Thomas L. Kane bounded up the gangway of *S. S. Moses Taylor* in New York Harbor and sailed for Utah via Panama and California on January 5, 1858. He did so using the alias “Dr. A. Osborne,” supposedly a scientist intent on collecting botanical specimens for a Philadelphia museum. Ironically, one of Kane’s fellow-passengers was William Tecumseh Sherman, an unemployed former army captain bound for California in hopes of recouping his fortunes by appointment as colonel of one of the volunteer regiments then being recruited on the Pacific Coast to reinforce the Utah Expedition.¹⁴



RANCHO SAN BERNARDINO, CALIFORNIA, A COLLAPSING MORMON COLONY. This scene, with the Mormon-built fort in the background, depicts the rancho in 1852 shortly after its purchase by Apostles Charles C. Rich and Amasa M. Lyman from a Mexican land grant family. In the fall of 1857, as a defensive war measure, Brigham ordered the Mormon withdrawal to Utah from San Bernardino and other outlying LDS communities in San Francisco, Carson Valley, Las Vegas, and Oregon Territory. Drawing from Ingersoll's *Century Annals of San Bernardino County* (Los Angeles: L. A. Ingersoll, 1904).

MORMON WOMEN ENCOUNTERED IN THE DESERT

Descriptions of Kane's month-long odyssey from New York to coastal California are available elsewhere, so I will not rehash them today.¹⁵ Suffice it to say that by

February 4th, Kane had landed at San Pedro, traveled to nearby Los Angeles, and then moved on to the former Mormon colony of San Bernardino. There he withdrew to a hotel and took up residence as the reclusive Dr. Osborne while attempting to find a reliable Mormon means of traveling to Salt Lake City. He did so in the midst of a San Bernardino that was both collapsing and agitated because of Brigham Young's order that the Mormon community was to evacuate to Utah. Beset by fatigue and a combination of unspecified

ailments, Kane wrote his father, "I cannot honorably reveal even to you, my father, the [army's] peril. Had you known all you would not have opposed my coming here."¹⁶ The day

may be, and probably is past to make peace, but not to save our poor [army] fellows. Have no fear for my life, the cloud and pillar will be my escort. I swear I will arrive [in Utah] in time."¹⁷ Kane's letter reflected his greatest concern - the need to reach and influence Brigham Young before the Nauvoo Legion struck hard at what Kane mistakenly believed to be a vulnerable, over-matched Utah Expedition. As Elizabeth Kane later put it, "He knew that if the Mormons overwhelmed the little U.S. Army encamped there, they in turn would inevitably be overwhelmed, crushed out of existence by a nation bent on vengeance."¹⁸

Kane's reclusiveness in San Bernardino had the unintended consequence of generating intense curiosity, speculation, and non-Mormon indignation about who he was and why he was intent upon crossing the desert to Utah in the dead of winter. As the Latter-day Saints withdrew and headed for Utah, the vacuum created in San Bernardino was filled by anti-Mormon vigilantes.

Among the courageous Latter-day Saints in San Bernardino who came to the aid of Thomas L. Kane at his greatest peril were Colonel Alden A. M. Jackson and his wife Caroline Augusta Perkins

CAROLINE AUGUSTA PERKINS JOYCE JACKSON (1825-1876), A KANE BENEFACTRESS IN SAN BERNARDINO. A native of New Hampshire, she and her first husband sailed around Cape Horn to San Francisco in 1846 with Mormon colonists aboard the Brooklyn. By the Utah War she had divorced, married Col. Alden A. M. Jackson, and helped to establish a way station in San Bernardino for returning missionaries. Although Kane appreciated Caroline's help in 1858, his wife Elizabeth was put off by her New England mannerisms when they met in St. George during 1873. Image courtesy of Caroline Jackson family.



Joyce Jackson, as well as Frances Jessie Swan Kimball Clark. All generated documents conveying a sense of the danger for Kane and them in San Bernardino during the first week of February 1858.

The Jacksons had a distinguished history of providing refuge and hospitality at their hacienda for Mormon missionaries returning to Utah from the Pacific islands or elsewhere via coastal California. Alden, an attorney, was a man of action who had commanded volunteer troops during the Mexican-American War. His wife Caroline, age 32, had arrived in California in 1846 aboard the Mormon emigrant ship *Brooklyn*, and by 1858, with her New England manners and bearing and keen interest in horticulture, was perhaps the most prominent woman in San Bernardino. The exciting role played by the Jacksons and their thirteen-year-old daughter, Augusta Joyce, is described in a charming, evocative essay that Augusta later wrote for a prominent Mormon magazine soon after Kane's death in 1883:¹⁹

Father came home one night and told our mother he had met a gentleman in town whom he must again visit after supper, and perhaps not return until late, we were surprised, but betrayed no anxiety then, or on the morrow. The next evening father absented himself again after supper, which was contrary to his usual custom. . . . The third evening, my mother accompanied him, and for a day or two after was very busy cooking, but not for us. Knowing that we could be trusted she told us that a stranger, a Dr. Osborne, an invalid, had arrived at the principal hotel and desiring the strictest privacy requested his meals to be brought to his room. . . . By a ruse, the attention of the [threatening] Missouriians was drawn to the back of the building, and father taking him in his arms, conveyed him out by a side door to the house of a friend. I remember my mother hastily made a very large and handsome thick comforter, covered a pillow

to match it, roasted and ground coffee, made cake and boiled milk and sugar down to a gallon of cream, for use in in traveling. In the evening she accompanied father . . . who carried the things in their arms, a mile away, and the night was as dark as need be. It was after midnight when they returned, and I waking, wondered to see my mother sitting by her own bright hearth, her face buried in her handkerchief, my father and brother almost as deeply affected. Said my father: "Listen my child, I will tell you what I wish you to always remember, but not speak of now. The things we took down tonight were for a friend, an angel in disguise."

The couple to whose home the Jacksons spirited Kane were George Sakerman Clark and Frances Jessie Swan Kimball Clark. Mrs. Clark, age 35, was a Scottish convert who had emigrated to Nauvoo, married Heber C. Kimball in 1844, and migrated with him to Utah in 1848. Frances left Kimball, then Brigham Young's first counselor, in 1852 or 1853 for the Mormon settlement at San Bernardino, where she married George Clark.²⁰

Mrs. Clark had several reasons for helping Kane. One of them, as Kane later told his wife, was to try to repair her damaged relationship with the LDS Church: "She was one of Kimball's many wives, but had run away with George Clark. But they were unhappy the curse was on them; their little one died, she knew that for their sin George and she could have no children. But she said 'If by saving you, I could do a service to God's Church on earth, I would feel that I did not need a drop of water to cool my tongue when I shall lift up my eyes being in torments.'"²¹

Nearly three months after Kane abruptly left her San Bernardino home for Utah under the protection of George Clark and two other Mormons, Frances Clark mustered the

inner resources to do what she had been intending to do all spring – write to Elizabeth Kane in Philadelphia, a total stranger, to describe her husband’s brief sojourn with the Clark family.

FRANCES CLARK TO ELIZABETH KANE,
ELIZABETH W. KANE JOURNAL, MAY 2, 1858,
KANE FAMILY PAPERS, BYU.

My dear Friend – I have seated myself to attempt to write to you to fulfill my promise to your noble husband, Col. Kane, & I only wish I was more capable of performing the task of writing a Letter to one that is a stranger to me, although I have never beheld your face, yet in imagination I have often held intercourse with you. I should have been very glad to have written to you before, but my weak nature is such that if any care, or especially anxiety is in my mind, I cannot direct my mind in such a channel as I desire, and although I am aware how great your anxiety must be for you have parted with your husband, the Father of your two beautiful children to undertake an arduous and tedious Journey to endeavor if possible to make peace with a people and their government so much like the self sacrificing race of the Kanes willing always to undertake any hardship for the good of their fellowman.

When the Dr arrived at San Bernardino his health was very poor I endeavored to render him all the assistance I could. Although he was travelling incog[nito], I recognized in Dr Osburne, Col. Kane whom I had seen 12 years ago [in Iowa]. When I found out who was going to accompany him to Utah I knew they were not suitable men to take care of a sick person. I perposed to the Dr to let my husband go along with him, as I thought him more suitable as he had had a great deal of sickness in his own Family. Your husband refused to take him away from me, knowing my lonely situation, I insisted on it, telling him that it was no worse for me than yours. They started on the sixth of Feby. (and I was also somewhat afriad [sic] of the Dr being overtaken) many a prayer I endeavored to offer up for their safety & success.²²

My husband accompanied him to Little Salt Lake and returned by the Dr’s request to San Barnardino on business.

When he left him he had improved very much in health and I earnestly hope by this time that he is enjoying the society of his family, and helping to comfort his bereaved Mother, for I saw by the papers the death [on February 21, 1858] of the Hon. Judge Kane. I know how to sympathise with you in your deep affliction, for I have been sorry afflicted.

None but a mother can fully realise my only precious child has been taken from me . . . our children, we do not expect them to die, they are ful[il] of promise & hope and it hardly seems right that they should be taken from us, although we know our little cherub child has passed deaths gloomy portal . . . but I must draw to a close on this subject, for I am afraid I have wearied you now.

I am very anxious to hear what success the Dr had at Utah & how he is. I see by the papers that he had left Utah will you be kind enough to answer this letter and give me some information. Excuse this hasty Epistle and now may the very God of peace & consolation rest & and abide with you all is the prayer of your affectionate Friend.

Elizabeth Kane received this letter on May 31st, about three weeks before her husband returned home, and noted in her journal, “A very fatiguing day. I had a long letter²³ from a Mrs. Clarke [sic] of S. Bernardino telling me about Tom’s being there, and her husband’s accompanying him to Salt Lake, about her baby’s death etc.²⁴ I am asked to write her news of him. God grant I may have good news to give!” Elizabeth responded promptly and copied part of her letter into her journal (“that Tom may see if I have committed a terrible gaucheries in my answer”) while pasting alongside this material Mrs. Clark’s earlier note.



OVER THE RIM AND INTO THE DESERT: THE DAUNTING TERRAIN KANE FACED ON FLEEING SAN BERNARDINO FOR CAJON PASS AND THE OLD SPANISH TRAIL TO UTAH. View (2016) from "The Rim of the World," California Rte. 18 east of San Bernardino and Lake Arrowhead, courtesy of photographer Roger P. Craton.

In her response, Elizabeth told Frances Clark,

I received your very kind letter with great pleasure, and hasten to reply to it by first opportunity, though perhaps it would be better to wait till I have news of your friend, my husband, to send you. Our last letters were dated March 24th, and I suppose you already know much more about him and the result of his labors at Salt Lake than I do. He speaks most highly of those who escorted him to Salt Lake, of whom your good husband was one; and both his mother and I are grateful [sic] for the devotion shown him by them, and by his old friends in Deseret. I shall be sure to tell Mr. Kane, if he is spared to return,

among the first things, how pleasant an acquaintance I have formed in S. Bernardino. And then he will tell me more of you than your letter does.²⁵

When Elizabeth Kane later learned more from her husband about the extent of Mrs. Clark's help, she commented, "I am glad I wrote to her so warmly."²⁶

Despite his ordeal in San Bernardino, Kane left town on February 6th with an appreciation of the area's beauty as well as the kindness of the Jackson and Clark families that he recorded in his diary. When Elizabeth Kane later read

this entry, she noted, "So he went forth into the desert. May the God whom he served and who blessed his work with success, call him indeed one of the 'Children of God.'"²⁷

Kane's leave-taking from his benefactors at the Clark home was emotional for all involved. When the Jacksons returned to their own home, the colonel described the scene to his step-daughter, Augusta, who recorded it in the mid-1880s: "When the large quilt was unfolded [Colonel Kane] laughed and said: 'this will answer for bed and bedding.' He was delighted with your mother's prepared food for him. Knowing that he must soon enter the carriage for his journey, we turned to bid him farewell, when he said to us, 'Colonel and Mrs. Jackson, Mr. and Mrs. Clark, for your confidence and kindness, I wish to reveal to you who I am. . .

. I am Colonel Kane, bearing important papers from our government to your people.' My child, I was overwhelmed . . . we all wept, and this is why your mother is weeping now. He is safely on his way. God bless him."²⁸

Thus clothed and provisioned by the Jacksons and Clarks, and hidden against discovery beneath their blankets, quilts, and rugs, Thomas L. Kane exited Rancho San Bernardino in the bed of a light wagon driven and guarded by three



RHODA ANN TAYLOR LYMAN (1840-1917). Born in the British colony of New South Wales, she was part of the substantial emigration of Australian converts to San Bernardino in the mid-1850s. In November 1857 at age 17, just as Brigham Young ordered the Mormon withdrawal, she married Francis Marion Lyman, son of Apostle Amasa Mason Lyman, and soon headed for Utah. Photo taken in middle age.



CAROLINE BARNES CROSBY (1807-1884). Raised in Canada, she married Jonathan Crosby of Massachusetts and embarked on an extraordinary series of church-related relocations across the U. S. to French Polynesia that then back to California. When she encountered Kane at Las Vegas, Caroline was age 51 and again in-transit to Beaver, Utah, her final home. Daguerreotype of Caroline and family in San Francisco (1855), courtesy of Special Collections, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University, Logan.

Mormon men. A week later on February 12th his party encountered the family of Apostle Amasa M. Lyman also en route for Utah, camped near Cottonwood Springs just west of Las Vegas. There Kane's party partook of most welcome trailside cooking while Lyman's new daughter-in-law, Rhoda Ann Taylor Lyman, fashioned leggings and mufflers for his hands and arms from a buffalo robe. Rhoda, a native of Australia's New South Wales and only seventeen years old, was then three months pregnant with the first of what would become her nine children.²⁹ The furs she provided helped save Kane's life a month later during his travels to and around Fort Bridger in sub-zero weather. Kane took great pride in what Rhoda Lyman had made for him at Cottonwood

Springs, later writing to his brother Pat that on March 12th he arrived at Fort Bridger wearing "the best furs," much to the envy of the Utah Expedition's threadbare troops. So striking was Kane's appearance that a newspaper reporter wrote, "his attire indicated that he was by no means an ordinary expressman, as he was well and warmly clad in

furs. The most intense curiosity was thus created throughout the whole command in regard to the possible object of his mission."³⁰

A day later, at the Mormon Las Vegas mission in northwest New Mexico Territory, the first settlement after leaving San Bernardino, Kane met Caroline Barnes Crosby, also a refugee from San Bernardino bound for Utah.³¹ In a diary one historian described as "one of the best by any woman ever to travel over this southern route . . . one of the most instructive sources available for Mormon and community social history in California and, later, southern Utah," Crosby described Kane's party, now accompanied by Apostle Lyman. For Thomas L. Kane it was an unexpectedly domestic scene in the desert that reminded him of his own family while prompting one of his rare displays of humor³²:

JOURNAL OF CAROLINE BARNES CROSBY,
FEBRUARY 13-14, 1858, LDS ARCHIVES.

Sat 13th Quite an excitement among the brethren and indians. Two horses taken [by Indians] last night. Ellen [Pratt] and I washed [clothes]. PM came Joseph Tanner. Said bro Lyman would be in in a couple of hours. I ironed. Just at dusk came bro Lyman. E[llen] was ironing. I was sitting by the stove holding the babe. . . . A Dr Osborn was in company with him, also George Clark and John Mayfield. We had no introduction to him, but he commented (that is the Dr) and observed that it was quite a contrast between travelling as he had done with men, and sleeping out doors, and then coming into the fort and seeing us women, sitting by the stove, ironing clean white clothes. Said he should about as soon have expected to see his mother behind a bar in San Bernardino. We had little chance to converse with him, as the brethren soon gathered around the large fire, and Ellen and myself repaired to our wagons, to read letters from Sister Pratt, her mother. Bro Lyman invited us to sing. We sang, Come,



KANE'S ROUTE FROM SAN PEDRO TO SALT LAKE CITY. During February 6-25, 1858, Kane and relays of Mormon protectors drove east and north across the desert from San Bernardino via the Old Spanish Trail to the Wasatch Front through winter weather, Indian threats, and southern Utah towns edgy in the uncertain wake of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Map from E. Leo Lyman's *San Bernardino: The Rise and Fall of a California Community*, courtesy of Signature Books (Salt Lake City, 1996).

Come ye saints, and he then prayed.³³ We all felt edified, and comforted with his remarks. 10 oclock retired to bed.

Sun 14th After breakfast I got out of my wagon, found Dr. O. and bro Lyman standing by our fire. Bro Lyman introduced him to me. He spoke very politely, and enquired how I slept the last night. I told him well, and that I slept as well in my wagon, as I had done at home. At ten oclock, they left. After they were gone, I understood that the aforesaid Dr Osborn was no less than Col Kane, who has formerly proved himself a friend and wellwisher to our people. He came and shook hands with us on leaving, expressed some regret at not having an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with us, and hoped we might meet again. After he left, I understand he was a sketcher, making delineations for a paper.³⁴

At age 51, Caroline Crosby was far older than the teenaged Rhoda Lyman and had seen even more of the world, largely because of LDS Church gatherings and callings. A native of Massachusetts and Canada, Crosby and her husband

Jonathan led a nomadic life that took them to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Utah, the Society of Islands of French Polynesia, the San Francisco Bay Area, and San Bernardino. In early 1858 they were heeding Brigham Young's latest call by uprooting themselves again and heading for the hamlet of Beaver, Utah, where Caroline lived the rest of her life until her death at age 77 in 1884.

From Las Vegas, a seriously ill Kane and his little party pressed on into Utah's southern settlements, where they rested occasionally and changed animals and drivers. On February 23rd, probably in Nephi, Juab County, farmer Homer Brown recorded the arrival of Kane and his small escort: "Ammasy Lyman arrived last night about mid night with a gentleman from the City of Washington who has come from there in a little over forty days. He calls himself Dr Osborne. He travels night and day nearly and is in a great hurry to get to Brigham but tells his business to no one. He is a very small man and seems rather delicate for he had to ride on horseback from the house to the carriage; distance being about two or three rods, but he did not step on the ground as it was quite wet, he wears a Scotch cap, and a mustachio."³⁵

Months later, on April 4th at Fort Bridger, Kane described the San Bernardino to Salt Lake leg of his travels to his younger brother Pat: "I hope you understood from my cipher letter to Father the manner in which the malice of my enemies at Saint Bernardino helped me so gloriously to run the gauntlet through the Mormon-Indian country of the Desert. I assure you that this was but one of half a hundred providences which seem to have on occasion

specially interposed in my behalf. I seem to myself to have had a charmed life. And the strongest argument on which I base my more than hope that I shall yet win a peace is: what other less important purpose has such a stock of miracles been spent for? The Lord continue the mercy.”³⁶ Thomas later amended the April 4th memo that he wrote to Pat Kane to give his brother a far more alarming description of his health during the last leg of his trek to Salt Lake City:

Fatigue, what is termed sleeping with one eye open pretty well used me up as you may imagine, by the time I got to Salt Lake. This is an old story for myself, still it is the real drop curtain, but I hope that the good Mormons who turned in to give me a lift from the lower [southern] settlement[s] to Salt Lake city, will live to tell you how little chance they thought there was of my getting through. There was some shocking thing in the way of a [eye] hemorrhage that particularly distressed me.³⁷

Upon arrival in Salt Lake City on February 25th, an exhausted Tom Kane hurried to his first momentous meeting with Brigham Young. He was unaware that in Philadelphia Judge Kane had died four days earlier. Elizabeth Kane had already closed her journal entry for the day, writing: “Oh my dear Tom, to think that yesterday, dear friend, our [Kane] father’s body was laid in Laurel Hill [Cemetery]. Yesterday was horrible. None of the holy quiet of the farewell to his soul. All that makes death dreadful we had.”³⁸ On the same day, almost 400 miles north of Salt Lake City, the traumatized leaders of Fort Limhi, the Mormon mission and Nauvoo Legion outpost on Oregon’s Salmon River, paused to count their dead and wounded, casualties of that morning’s surprise assault on them by Bannock and Northern Shoshone

warriors. Hours earlier, Sam Houston of Texas rose in the U. S. Senate in defense of the Mormon cause and to excoriate Col. Albert Sidney Johnston’s prosecution of the Utah War. It was a momentous day – the end of the beginning of Thomas L. Kane’s remarkable and successful contribution to preventing further bloodshed in a Utah War already turned sanguine.

It is interesting to me that while with Brigham Young in 1858, Kane pursued the matter of the “curse” which one of his San Bernardino benefactresses felt the church had placed on her. Elizabeth Kane later recorded, “He told me that he tried in vain to have the curse erased from Frances Clark when he went to Salt Lake. Only when he was coming away [in May] Br. Young told him a piece of news that there was a special revelation that Heaven was disposed to look leniently on Frances on account of her eminent services to the Church.”³⁹

Pursuing prophetic relief for the Clark family was, of course, not the only or even main priority for Kane in Utah during the winter and spring of 1858. In summary he spent about two weeks in Salt Lake in a series of private and group meetings with Brigham Young and various apostles during which he tried unsuccessfully to convince them of the futility of further armed conflict and the good intentions of President Buchanan. In a gambit that today’s commentators would call “shuttle diplomacy,” he then travelled northeast 113 miles through daunting snow drifts to Fort Bridger/Camp Scott, where his arrival on March 12th was a total surprise to Alfred Cumming, Brigham Young’s gubernatorial successor, and Col. Albert Sidney Johnston, the Utah Expedition’s commander. After several more weeks



AUGUSTA JOYCE CROCHERON (1844-1915). She provided virtually the only first-hand account of Kane's passage through San Bernardino other than the material generated by Frances Clark and Elizabeth Kane, who recorded what her husband told her upon his return to Philadelphia. After moving to St. George with her Jackson parents in 1867, she became the plural wife of George W. Crocheron, the mother of five children, and a talented, highly-regarded author of poetry, short stories, and biographical sketches for Mormon literary publications. Photo ca. 1870, courtesy of family of Augusta Joyce Crocheron.

of meetings with these two officers as well as proxies for Brigham Young, who hovered in the mountains beyond the army's lines, Kane succeeded in thoroughly alienating Johnston and his troops.

More importantly, Kane also managed to persuade Cumming to accompany him to Salt Lake City from Fort Bridger without a military escort to claim Utah's governorship from Young while introducing himself to the territory's highly skeptical, if not hostile, population. All of this was accomplished during the period March-May 1858, following which Kane returned east across the Rockies and plains.

Stage-managing Alfred Cumming's travel to Salt Lake City and grudging acceptance by Utah's Mormons was Thomas L. Kane's signature contribution to the war's resolution without further bloodshed. It was an accomplishment that did not of

itself end the war, but it was a crucial arrangement that lay the groundwork for the real end of the conflict's military

phase. This came in June 1858 when two civilian peace commissioners sent by Buchanan arrived and obtained Brigham Young's acceptance of federal authority in exchange for a blanket presidential pardon for the territory's entire population. With that accomplished, Johnston's expedition marched peacefully into the Salt Lake Valley to begin a garrisoning of Utah that lasted until the onset of the Civil War.

Fifteen years after the Utah War, with the completion of the transcontinental railroad, Thomas and Elizabeth Kane and their two boys traveled west and visited St. George with Brigham Young. For Kane the trip was an opportunity to improve his precarious health and for him and Young to discuss the merits of a Mormon exodus to Mexico in the face of continuing controversy over the polygamy issue and responsibility for Mountain Meadows. For Elizabeth, who had sacrificed so much during Tom's absence in 1858, this was a chance to see first-hand a people and their leader about whom she had harbored deep Protestant skepticism for years.⁴⁰ Although St. George had not yet been settled in 1858, the visit of the 1870s was also an opportunity for Elizabeth to experience the desert region through which her husband had earlier traveled in agony. Among the people on whom the Kanes called in St. George was Augusta Joyce Crocheron, who with her mother and step-father, Caroline and Alden Jackson, had provided aid and comfort to Thomas in the face of a San Bernardino lynch mob. By this time Augusta was a grown woman, an accomplished writer, and the plural wife of George W. Crocheron, a highly respected Latter-day Saint. Consider the drama with which Mrs.

Crocheron described Tom Kane's leave-taking at the end of his brief visit in 1873:

My parents had removed to Utah and were also living in St. George and great was the surprise and happiness on both sides, when they met him from whom they had parted at midnight, eighteen sic years before. General Kane and his excellent wife called several times at the house, my parents forming an especial regard for the lady. The time arrived when they were to conclude their visit and return to Salt Lake City. Early in the afternoon of the day preceding their departure, General Kane called to pay his parting respects. My mother was absent at the house of Brother Asa Calkins who had just died. He called again at four o'clock but she had not returned. After dark he came once more and she was at home. When the visit had terminated and they accompanied by my father and sister, went out the door, it had grown very dark, and it was raining. My mother was distressed, knowing the General's health was not good, and as he would not allow her to send for his overcoat, she proffered him the loan of her large winter shawl, which he accepted. Looking from the doorway on the light within and the stormy night without, he said: "This looks like our political horizon. Stay you in camp, eat roast beef and rest, I will go out in the storm and stand on picket guard for you." He extended his hand, repeated thrice, "goodnight," and was gone."⁴¹

In 1858 Kane accepted the help of Latter-day Saint women at a time when he badly needed it to avoid mob violence, cope with illness, and survive the punishing winter trek to Salt Lake City to begin his mediating efforts. Over the decades historians have come to view Thomas L. Kane as something of a cosmopolitan because of his studies in France as a young man. Yet his benefactresses in the Great American Desert were far more traveled internationally than he was. Caroline Jackson had sailed around Cape Horn to Mexican Alta California, Frances Clark had left Scotland and

reached California across the Great Plains, Rhoda Lyman had emigrated to San Bernardino across the Pacific from a former British penal colony in Australia, and Caroline Crosby had lived for extended periods in such wide-ranging places as Canada and Polynesia. Even Elizabeth Kane was English-born. Some of these ladies were from quite humble, even impoverished, backgrounds compared to Tom Kane's; none of them were provincial, and half of them had been or would be married to Mormon apostles.

The wartime contributions of Mses. Jackson, Clark, Lyman, and Crosby may not have been as dramatic as Eliza Roxcy Snow's composition of poems to bolster the Nauvoo Legion's morale or as physically daunting as Jenny Goodale's 1,600-mile winter march from Fort Bridger to Taos, New Mexico and back with Captain Marcy's detachment. Nonetheless, theirs were important – even risky – roles. As such, these four women should be recognized and remembered as part of the totality of the Utah War's fabric alongside their LDS and non-Mormon sisters and the men involved on both sides of this conflict. Even a sometimes self-centered Thomas L. Kane recognized this in 1873 as he bade the Jackson family farewell in St. George and there (here) marshaled the strength to continue over the last ten years of his life as the protector one historian would later dub Sentinel in the East.

CONCLUSIONS

In closing, I return to David M. Potter's Stetson University lecture "American Women and the American Character." At Stetson, Potter ended with the thought "what we say about

the character of the American people should be said not in terms of half of the American population – even if it is the male half – but in terms of the character of the totality of the people. . . . [A]ttention to the historic character of American women is important not only as a specialty . . . but as a coordinate major part of the overall, comprehensive study of

the American character as a whole. For the character of any nation is the composite of the character of its men and of its women and though these may be deeply similar in many ways, they are almost never entirely the same.”⁴²

Potter’s view was, I believe, consistent with the way Juanita Brooks approached history and life. Despite the differences in their genders, religions, and careers, I see commonalities between these two historians, one of whom taught me in 1959, while at the same time the other was preparing to publish

a study that changed her life, mine, and perhaps yours.⁴³ Both historians wrote beautifully and with great insight, but managed to do so only after agonizingly long periods of hard work, reflection, and adversity. Each soldiered on to produce their best work after the devastating loss of a spouse. Professors Brooks and Potter were both children of regions that in the mid-nineteenth century experienced what Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman (Thomas L. Kane’s shipmate) called “the hard hand of war” and the long, tumultuous period of federal occupation that followed – she in Utah and he in Georgia. In their work and by their example, both historians have provided food for thought as we pursue our own shared interest in the history of Utah, the Latter-day Saints, and our country.

ELIZABETH DENNISTOUN WOOD KANE (1836-1909). In 1858, Elizabeth was the young mother of two toddlers and living with her absent husband’s parents without an income, a level of sacrifice as important to Thomas’s success as the help he was to receive in the Mormon West. During his mission, Elizabeth helped to decrypt the encoded status reports Kane sent east for Judge Kane and President Buchanan. Photo taken May 12, 1858, her twenty-second birthday, a month before Tom’s return home. Image from Kane Family Papers, courtesy of L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, BYU, Provo.



NOTES

1. Matthew 10:23.
2. Don E. Fehrenbacher, ed., *History and American Society: Essays of David M. Potter* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 278-79.
3. For a review of some of the more colorful participants on both sides of the Utah War and how the conflict influenced their lives after 1858, see MacKinnon, "Epilogue to the Utah War: Impact and Legacy," *Journal of Mormon History* 29 (Fall 2003): 186-248.
4. Tobias Wolff, *Our Story Begins: New and Selected Stories* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008).
5. For the most recent scholarship on the war, from which this summary is derived, see MacKinnon, ed., *At Sword's Point: A Documentary History of the Utah War* (Norman, OK: Arthur H. Clark), Part 1, to 1858 (2008) and Part 2, 1858-1859 (2016); David L. Bigler and Will Bagley, *The Mormon Rebellion: America's First Civil War, 1857-1858* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011); Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859* (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1960).
6. Matthew J. Grow, *"Liberty to the Downtrodden": Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer* (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 2009); Albert L. Zobell, Jr., *Sentinel in the East: A Biography of Thomas L. Kane* (Salt Lake City: Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr. Publisher, 1965).
7. MacKinnon, ed., *At Sword's Point, Part 1*, 73-77, 111-20, 135; Grow, *"Liberty to the Downtrodden,"* 154-161. Kane used the military title "colonel" after his appointment during the Mexican-American War by the governor of Pennsylvania to the honorific militia rank of lieutenant colonel on his staff. Kane saw no active service until his appointment in the Union Army as a lieutenant colonel of volunteer troops in 1861. He resigned in 1863 as a brevet major general of U. S. Volunteers.
8. MacKinnon, ed., *At Sword's Point, Part 1*, 405-11; Kane, Memorandum, July 1858, Thomas L. Kane Collection, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
9. Buchanan, "First Annual Message to Congress," December 8, 1857, Moore, ed., *The Works of James Buchanan*, 10: 129-63; Floyd, "Report of the Secretary of War (1857)," *Message of the President of the United States*, Senate Ex. Doc. 11, Serial 920, 35th Cong., 1st sess., 6-9.
10. See note 8.
11. Van Dyke to Buchanan, December 9, 1857, James Buchanan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
12. The most complete record of what transpired in the White House immediately after Christmas 1857 between Messrs. Buchanan, Kane, and Van Dyke, may be found in MacKinnon, ed., *At Sword's Point, Part 1*, 485-87, 494-99, 501-03.
13. *Ibid.*, 500-12; Van Dyke to Buchanan, December 29, 1857, James Buchanan Papers, HSP; Elizabeth W. Kane Journal, April 16, 1858, Thomas L. and Elizabeth W. Kane Papers, BYU; Elizabeth W. Kane, "The Story of the Mother of the Regiment," 2: chapter 3, BYU.
14. For Sherman's attempts during 1857-1858 to reenter the army for the Utah campaign, see MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 2*, 261-62.
15. *Ibid.*, 187-243, 275-308, 347-81, 419-66, and 505-54; Oscar Osburn Winther, ed., *A Friend of the Mormons: The Private Papers and Diary of Thomas Leiper Kane* (San Francisco: Gelber-Lilienthal, 1937), 65-79.
16. A reference to Judge Kane's January 4, 1858 letter hidden by Elizabeth in Tom's trunk as he left home.
17. Kane to Judge Kane, ca. February 5, 1858, Kane Collection, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
18. Elizabeth D. W. Kane, "History of Kane [Pennsylvania]," I. chapter 3, 77, Kane Family Papers, BYU.
19. Augusta Joyce (later Crocheron) was Col. Jackson's stepdaughter. An autobiographical sketch of her life appears in Crocheron, *Representative Women of Deseret*, 97-108; much of her narrative appears in "Reminiscences of General Kane," *The Contributor* 6 (1884-85): 475-77. They may also be found in Zobell, *Sentinel in the East*, 111-13.
20. For the most comprehensive account of Frances Swan Clark's life and communications with Elizabeth Kane, see Ardis E. Parshall, "Frances Swan Clark: A Kindness Remembered," *Keepapitchinin.org* internet blog, essay posted May 18, 2008, <http://keepapitchinin.org/2008/05/18/frances-swanklark-a-kindness-remembered-redux>. Thanks to Ms. Parshall for surfacing this story and providing the unusual letters exchanged by these women.
21. Elizabeth W. Kane Journal, June 28, 1858, Kane Family Papers, BYU.
22. Kane's companions on the dash out of San Bernardino were George S. Clark, Joseph Smith Tanner, and John Mayfield. Brigham H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930) 4:343; Zobell, *Sentinel in the East*, 115.
23. Years later, Elizabeth referred to Mrs. Clark's letter less sympathetically, describing it as "strange" and "disconnected." Elizabeth D.W. Kane, "History of Kane [Pennsylvania]," I, chapter 3, 85.
24. Mrs. Kane may have misunderstood Frances Clark's ambiguous reference to her loss. Mrs. Clark's daughter died in August 1846 when only a few months old, rather than in close proximity to her writing.
25. Elizabeth Kane to Clark, Elizabeth W. Kane Journal, June 2, 1858, Kane Family Papers, BYU.

26. *Ibid*, June 28, 1858.
27. *Ibid*.
28. Crocheron, "Reminiscences of General Kane," 475-77.
29. Journal of Elder Francis M. Lyman, February 12, 1858, LDS Archives, cited in Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church* 4:343-44.
30. Kane to Pat Kane, April 4, 1858, Kane Family Papers, BYU; David A. Burr, "Highly Important from Utah. Arrival of Col. Kane at Fort Bridger," Dispatch, March 24, 1858, *New-York Daily Tribune*, May 24, 1858, 5/6 and 6/1.
31. For her life and travels before fleeing San Bernardino in January 1858, see Caroline Barnes Crosby and eds. Edward Leo Lyman, Susan Ward, and S. George Ellsworth, *No Place to Call Home: The 1807-1857 Life Writings of Caroline Barnes Crosby, Chronicler of Outlying Mormon Communities* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005).
32. *Ibid*, 8. Transcription courtesy of E. Leo Lyman of Leeds, Utah.
33. *Come, Come, Ye Saints* is a Mormon hymn composed during the 1846 exodus from Nauvoo. During the Utah War (and continually thereafter) it was sung as a source of comfort and inspiration at LDS gatherings.
34. When Kane visited the Mormon Battalion's Iowa camp in 1846 he sketched its location but no record has survived of any drawings that he made in Las Vegas in February 1858.
35. Homer Brown Journal, February 23, 1858, LDS Archives.
36. Kane to Pat Kane, April 4, 1858, Kane Family Papers, BYU.
37. Kane to Pat Kane, ca. summer 1858, "In Re Mormons" File, Thomas Leiper Kane Papers, American Philosophical Society.
38. Elizabeth W. Kane Journal, February 25, 1858, Kane Family Papers, BYU.
39. *Ibid*, June 28, 1858. Notwithstanding this positive development, the Clarks remained estranged from the LDS Church and by the summer of 1858 had migrated from San Bernardino to San Joaquin County, California, from where Frances continued to send occasional letters to Elizabeth Kane. Frances died in San Francisco during 1894 at age 71. See Frances Clark to Elizabeth Kane, July 12, 1858, *ibid*.
40. The contribution of Elizabeth Kane to the success of her husband's 1858 mission to Utah is underappreciated. In 1859 Apostle Wilford Woodruff wrote to Thomas, "The goodness of heart and kindness of Mrs. Kane and the sacrifice she made, in encouraging and assisting her companion to undertake a long and perilous journey to aid in delivering a calumniated [sic] people from the horror of war, have often been a topic of conversation in the social circles of the ladies of Deseret." Woodruff to Kane, March 8, 1859, Frank Evans Collection, MS 1251, LDS Archives. For more insight into Elizabeth's complex view of Mormons, see Darcee Barnes, "Elizabeth Kane's 'Mormon Problem': Another Perspective of Thomas L. Kane's Work for the Mormons," *Journal of Mormon History*, 43 (July 2017). 68-95.
41. Crocheron, "Reminiscences of General Kane," *The Contributor* 6 (1884-85): 475-77. Ironically, while the Kanes visited St. George, Elizabeth took a dislike to Augusta's mother, Caroline Jackson, based on what she perceived as Mrs. Jackson's patrician Atlantic Coast mannerisms, the product of her New Hampshire birth and Boston upbringing. Whether Elizabeth fully realized the extent to which Caroline Jackson had earlier helped her husband to survive in San Bernardino during February 1858 is an intriguing imponderable. See Amy Tanner Thiriot, "Elizabeth Kane Meets Madonna Dolorosa," *Keepapitchinin* internet blog, July 21, 2014, accessed November 20, 2017, <http://www.keepapitchinin.org/2014/07/21/elizabeth-kane-madonna-dolorosa/>, and Elizabeth Kane, *A Gentile Account of Life in Utah's Dixie: Elizabeth Kane's St. George Journal*, eds., Norman R. Bowen and Mary Karen Bowen Solomon (Salt Lake City: Tanner Fund, University of Utah Library, 1995).
42. Fehrenbacher, ed., *History and American Society*, 303.
43. In 1959 I was a Yale undergraduate in Potter's seminar on the history of the American South as Juanita Brooks worked with the Stanford University Press to publish *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* the following year.

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"MADONNA OF THE PRAIRE" (1921). Painting, oil on canvas, by W. H. D. Koerner (1878-1938), image courtesy of Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyo.