ORSON HYDE AND THE FRONTIER GUARDIAN Myrtle Stevens Hyde

In 1847, and again in 1848, when President Brigham Young and all possible others departed westward, Apostle Orson Hyde received the responsibility to oversee the Latter-day Saints in the Missouri River camps. In 1848, in addition to his duties of filling daily needs and emphasizing westward relocating, Orson was assigned to publish a newspaper.

After many delays, the first issue of the newspaper, *The Frontier Guardian*, came off the press 7 February 1849 in Kanesville (later Council Bluffs), on the Iowa side of the Missouri River (Pottawattamie County). For the next three years, in his role as guardian of the frontier, Editor Hyde yielded far-reaching influence. In the variety of his writings, he chronicled details of his time. Also, his personality is revealed—his love of the gospel, his desire that people live righteously, and his sense of humor.

In his first editorial, Orson expressed his thoughts about newspapers: "The press is a powerful engine, for good or for evil." Using the traditional "we" pronouns, Orson stated that in deciding the "matter that flows from our pen" his "most ardent wish, and sincere prayer [is] that the words we employ, and thoughts we record may be the dictation of that Spirit that is destined to bless the world.... Should we fail to realize this, in consequence of any momentary excitement or vexation, we hope to find forgiveness with both God and man." He planned that the "principles of our religion will always have a conspicuous place in our columns," and he would "spare no pains or labor to keep up a healthy moral atmosphere." He hoped, as well, that anything published "for improvement in science and learning" would be helpful to the "education of our youth." Regarding "political questions," he announced that "it is not our present design to interfere to any great extent."

He also recommended. the because "season of emigration will soon open, and outfitting for the mountains and 'gold regions' will soon commence," that businessmen advertise their commodities and services "to induce new comers to postpone their purchases till they arrive the at Bluffs." By following this recommendation.



Orson Hyde about the time he was editing the paper in Kanesville

businessmen brought money to Kanesville and and thus assisted the Saints in obtaining outfits to emigrate to the Salt Lake Valley.¹

The four pages of the first issue of the Guardian size $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 23 inches, one sheet of paper folded in half—indeed contained variety.² It included edification from both a doctrinal article by Orson Pratt and an epistle from Brigham Young, laughter in witty stories splashed with romance and plays on words, pathos in poetry, and amusement in a stranger's description of Kanesville. In a more somber vein, Orson sounded the warning voice from diverse directions. He reprinted a story of a crime and the intrigue of the results. He

MYRTLE STEVENS HYDE, a fellow of The American Society of Genealogists and a contributing editor of *The American Genealogist*, has published several books and numerous articles. This article is adapted from parts of her forthcoming biography of Orson Hyde.

explained why certain Church members had been excommunicated. Because of the heavy winter snows, he advised inhabitants living on the river lowlands and along streams to expect spring flooding and a need to move to higher ground. In another article, he admonished Church members to seek more spiritually valuable things than gold.

The second issue of the every-other-week *Guardian*, 21 February, again contained items for both the local populace and for far-away readers planning a journey to the gold fields. Farmers were asked to plant wheat, oats, flax, barley, and corn. Gold diggers were assured "that every article needed in the Gold Mines, from a crow-bar to a sieve, from a barrel or sack of flour to the broad-side of a baconed porker, can all be had here at equally as low rates as can be purchased on the Mississippi."

As the weather had continued severe, Orson reminded the Saints that their tithing of food and clothing would help the less fortunate. Further, he pointed out that in helping others, they should tithe their time as well as their goods.

Orson had needs, too; and he wrote about himself as "a Preacher in this town on whom many of the citizens of this county and of other parts frequently call for advice, counsel, and instruction upon various questions." Orson added that the "Preacher is not a rich man, and his house is so thronged with comers and goers, that it seriously interrupts the arrangements of his domestic or family affairs; and, moreover, the business of some is of such a nature that they require to see him alone by himself. In this case, he is obliged to go out of doors, or send his family out, which is very uncomfortable at almost any time; but more particularly so in this extreme cold weather." To build an office, "that he may have a place to give counsel in," and that would "cost about one hundred dollars," Orson urged contributions of "labor, lumber, nails, glass, sash, 18 inch shingles, corn, flour, pork, and even money."

For payment of subscriptions to his newspaper, Orson announced that he would take commodities: "Flour nicely put up in sacks of from 50 to 100 pounds each . . . at the rate of \$2 per hundred pounds—if good. Good corn . . . at 20 cents per bushel. 5000 good sized, hard wood rails, ten feet long . . . at \$1 per hundred. Three dollars a thousand . . . for good eighteen inch shingles. Two dollars a hundred for good lumber, hard wood, inch thick."³ He resold resell the produce to emigrants, used the rails for fencing, and utilized the lumber for his office.

For the *Guardian* of 7 March, in addition to reprints of doctrinal articles to uplift, Orson chose items for publication that informed, entertained, and instructed. One item designed to "inform" was a history of the Presbyterian mission farm and school located across the river and a few miles south of Kanesville. "Conducted as, we believe, it is," Orson wrote, "by men of principle and ability, it cannot fail to be successful."

Orson's editorial comments about the lack of mail for two weeks, and thus lack of news, both "informed" and "entertained." "The regular mail, or rather, irregular mail," he wrote, "could not be depended upon [in the winter] in consequence of the deep snow; and for some reason, unaccountable to us, the mail is very irregular, even when the roads are good. . . . We don't know but that we may be so 'hard up,' that we shall be obliged to fill up [the newspaper] with 'Jew David's, Hebrew Plaster,' or some other medicine that possesses virtue enough to make a young man out of an old one, and have enough left to make a little dog."⁴

Orson gave "instruction" in an article he titled "Did You Curse the Whisky Seller?":

From a certain speech that we delivered the other day ..., some have drawn the inference that we cursed the whisky seller, ... we now reduce to writing what we did say....

Some tell us that they have no means of going to the Valley only as they sell whisky to get the means to go. Such are in a fair way to get to the Valley, but not to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake; . . . they are in the broad road that leads to the valley and shadow of death.

Others justify themselves by saying: "If we do not sell it, somebody else will, and we might as well have the profit of it as others."... If others will bathe their hands in human blood for silver or gold, it is no reason why you should..

Some will say that there is but little liquor sold in this country, in comparison to what there is in many other places. . . . Vice of any kind does not sink to its lowest depths at the first plunge. There must be a beginning to effect anything, good or bad....

We did say that the gain of whisky sold here in opposition to the feelings and wishes of the great majority of the community, should be cursed. We did not say that the person should be cursed who sold the liquor, but we said his gain should be cursed. . . . We said further, that there were those who sold whisky, and Mormons too (but not Saints), that would turn a deaf ear to the cry of the widow and orphan. . . . A pint of whisky, we said, would probably constitute the extent, the grandeur and the glory of the kingdom over which such would reign in the eternal world, with a little pile of fire and brimstone under their throne.⁵

Orson received information that between 600 and 1,000 wagons were on their way overland toward Kanesville, headed westward. To sell to them, Orson placed a notice in his 18 April newspaper that in exchange for the *Guardian* he would accept "[c]orn, potatoes, corn-meal, flour, beans, beef, pork or bacon, butter, eggs, chickens, pigs, mutton, lumber, oak or walnut wood, gold and silver coin or dust . . . *if brought soon*."⁶

Much rain—and resulting soggy, muddy ground, with worries about crops not maturing—plagued the Saints in late June and early July; but neither the weather, nor anxiety about the families still preparing to leave, prevented the traditional Fourth of July celebration. In the 27 June *Guardian*, Orson announced a dinner to be served "in or near the Tabernacle," tickets "50 cents each." Also "speechification may be expected." Orson asked brethren "to turn out with axes—teams—wagons &c., on Saturday to prepare an arbor"

"In this extremely hot weather, hurried season of the year—in cholera times," he added, "one day only can be devoted to pleasure and recreation . . . Let it be your prayer that the day may bring a blessing to you and to the nation whose birth we celebrate. We hope the ice will not be forgotten."

Fine weather graced the Fourth of July. As Kanesville had no cannon, gunpowder set off on "[f]riend Carter's large anvil saluted the earliest dawn, and continued in rapid succession to break the silence with its hearty roar." In the Tabernacle, later, Orson laughed his sides sore "at the wit, humor, good sense and oratory displayed." Music also enlivened the merrymaking. The ample dinner, "served up in good style, under a beautiful bowery," tasted delicious.

After dinner, citizens delivered "many patriotic and appropriate toasts, seconded by the loud response of the anvil." One toast particularly delighted: "*Sham-pagne* to our friends, but real *pain* to our foes." A toast to Orson's newspaper pleased him: "*The Frontier Guardian*.—May it ever live to *guard* and defend American principles and American freedom—stand by the Union and the principles that our fathers fought and bled to establish."⁷

Regarding local concerns, 8 August 1849, Orson counseled bishops, who received the tithing and from it administered to the wants of the poor. "[though] desirable that the honest and virtuous poor should receive succor from the Church," some people "have no claim on the tithing for support." These "[are] persons [who] waste their time in bed in the morning, when they should be up and at work if they are healthy; . . . famil[ies] who are guilty of profanity or suffer the same in their house[s]; . . . [and] [p]arents who have boys and girls large enough to earn a living, but instead of working, idle away their time. . . . The more indulgence such persons have, the greater will be their numbers."⁸

Another 8 August item stated that "citizens and friends" intend to "get up a good Choir of vocalists to be accompanied with instruments of various kinds." Orson encouraged this, that the community would have "sweet strains, [to] cheer one another, and make joyful the house of the Lord, and edify the congregation of the Saints." He added that he had "sent for all the necessary music, and . .. expect it here soon."9

Two items that Orson tried to keep lighthearted, while giving instructions, related to the irksome problem of too many dogs in Kanesville and the continuing vexation of bogus money makers:

DOG KILLERS—ATTEND! By the law of the State, any person has the right to kill a dog that is found worrying a domestic animal in the streets. If about forty 'leven of the canine race were killed off in our little town, we should hear less squalling among the swinish free commoners of the street. The quiet peaceable cow, returning from the prairie at evening ready to impart a flowing pail of milk to her mistress, can hardly pass along the street without being tormented by every cur and whiffet that can yelp. Dog killers, be at your posts; and if dogs cannot be kept under reasonable restraint, let them atone for their cruelty by the half score.

A STEW. The counterfeiters in Pottawatamie are stewing over a hot fire, it would seem from the fact that some of them are charging us with being accessory to the running away of a negro slave to the Salt Lake....

Would you not look well to attempt to get that "*villainous Hyde*" arrested on a charge of this kind in order to punish him for breaking into your money making arrangements? . . . [S]ome of your fraternity went to Springfield and swore against us to get us punished for the crime of saying that any man that would make bogus money ought to be compelled to drink it melted. . . .

Well gentlemen, cook up the stew to suit your own appetites. But remember, if you boil the devil you must drink his broth.¹⁰

A big school celebration in early September, near the Tabernacle, not in it, Orson called "one of the happiest" days in his life. He watched, enthralled, as around two hundred students from three schools (two in Kanesville and one in Council Point) formed "ranks about a quarter of a mile distant," then marched to the Tabernacle, led by a band playing "splendid" music. Students carried "beautiful banners" displaying various inscriptions, "gratifying beyond description" to Orson. At tables in front of the Tabernacle, scholars and spectators then enjoyed a fine dinner.

"Several short, but most happy orations" totally charmed Orson, especially hearing "little misses but just out of their mothers' laps, walk into the dissection and analasys [*sic*] of the compound personal and relative pronouns without confusion or embarrassment." Then, impressed in the extreme, he listened to "a whole school sing off the names, boundaries and capitols of every country on the globe in regular time. . . . We sometimes laughed for joy and sometimes wept for joy during the exercises and performances of the day. . . . [W]e are satisfied that . . . money can never be more profitably spent than when paid to good teachers for the education of the youth."¹¹

Orson's closing *Guardian* editorial for the year 1849 reflected his thoughts. He reminded himself and his readers that

we as a community, have great reason to rejoice, and be thankful to HIM whose Providential care has been over us by day and by night....

As disciples and followers of the HIGH AND HOLY ONE, let each examine faithfully and carefully his or her conduct for the last year. Say to yourselves: Have I done to my neighbor as I would like my neighbor to do unto me? ... Have I cherished the spirit of the gospel which is, "good will to man?" Have I written in sand the injuries and wrongs that I may have suffered from others, so that a few drops of repenting tears may obliterate them? Have I written on plates of steel the acts of kindness and generosity shown to me, and are they so deeply engraved that no storm of adversity can obscure their lines?¹²

Orson's writings reflected that in his leadership role the spirit of prophecy had become as natural a part of his life as breathing. He shared enlightenment from the Spirit in such diverse subjects as chickens, the resurrection, and prices of goods:

January 9: If those boys, who are planning to steal chickens for their party, will come to us for chickens, we will buy all they want, and make them a present of them. Don't steal them, for if you do, you will have to eat gizzard and contents too, which will be bitter in your mouth and in your belly.

February 20: RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD. How is this all important work to be effected, is a question that is very often asked among the Saints.... Let the Saints [live righteously], ... and they will be sure and certain to obtain a part in the first resurrection, and any views they may now have of it, whether those views are correct or not, can have no bearing to prevent them from enjoying the glory of that sublime and interesting scene. It is, therefore, not so necessary to strive to excel in present knowledge on this subject, as it is to excel in just, merciful, and virtuous actions.

March 20: KANESVILLE MARKET. In our last we quoted corn at 35 to 40 cents per bushel, but our corn buyers complain, and feel that injustice is done to them as they were selling corn at that time for 25 cents per bushel and sacks returned. It is more than likely that we were mistaken: yet the spirit of prophecy was upon us, and we wrote according to its dictates; but the error lay in our not searching what manner of time the spirit of prophecy in us did signify when it testified beforehand that corn would be worth 35 to 40 cents per bushel. We thought it meant the time then present; but upon strict enquiry and examination we have become satisfied that the true time referred to will be about the 10th of April next. [By April 3 it cost fifty cents per bushel and by mid April one dollar, already scarce.]¹³

As weeks passed, Orson continued prophesying. "A valuable set of harness for two horses, (brass mounted,) was stolen..., belonging to Col. Lockwood Smith," he announced in the 3 April *Guardian*. "He [Smith] is satisfied that no resident of this county took it, but believes it to have been taken by an emigrant whose displeasure he had particularly incurred. We would be most horribly mortified if any citizen of this county should be guilty of any such meanness and crime."

"If the said harness is safely returned to its owner forth-with," Orson continued, "or placed where he will find it, either by day or by night, well and good; but if not, let him who stole it . . . prove the strength of a Mormon prophecy: 'he shall become blind, and a child shall lead him.'... We say to the thief, return the harness to its owner! We are not trifling with you!" The harness was returned within two weeks.¹⁴

For months, in speeches and articles, Orson urged local residents to plow and plant, that crops could be raised to sustain the poor the next winter and that farms would be attractive to newcomers who might wish to purchase. "Do you want to sell your farm?" he asked in the 6 March *Guardian*. "Put it in good order then.... The jolly lads may sing their song at the plow handles, and the merry maids may begin to make their butter and cheese—plant their flower gardens—perform the general duties of the domestic circle; and may take daily lessons on the old fashioned piano, too much despised in these genteel and fashionable times: We mean the spinning wheel."¹⁵

In the 26 June Guardian, Orson announced his plan to travel to Great Salt Lake City and back, reminding his readers that they had other leaders: "We hope to be off for the Valley before another issue. ... We hope to return by the 1st of October." "The High Council will direct the affairs of the Church in our absence. . . . B[rother]s Mackintosh and Gooch will conduct the Guardian." Orson's apprehensions, however, about leaving his stewardship of directing the Saints almost overcame him. During his absence, how would the faithful manage and how would the rebellious behave? "When Moses went up upon the mountain to counsel with his Father and his God, Israel made a calf," Orson reminded the Saints. "Who, in Pottawatamie County, will make a calf while your brother and humble servant is gone to the mountains to sit in counsel with his superiors? We shall see!" "It is expected," Orson stated in another article, that the Saints should "go diligently to work and mind their own business,---get the general tenor of advice from the High Council, and fill up the little vacancies by their own good judgement, and spend their time more in prayer and in thanksgiving and watchfulness, than in seeking counsel of the President-which, when they get, they too often violate."

In the same issue, Orson published many more instructions, almost to the point of being finicky. He asked for new subscribers to the *Guardian*, for overdue payments, and for advance payments. He encouraged "vigorous efforts... to establish schools in every neighborhood." He reminded voters, in a long article about politics, to cast their votes on election day in August. He recommended that owners be sought for stray animals and denounced the practice of hiding animals and then asking a reward for their recovery. He promoted Sabbath attendance at the "house of worship."

To farmers, he gave explicit instructions, among them: "[S]ow all the wheat [you] can from the 15th of August to the 15th of September.... Break up the prairie in June and July—set the drags in operation in the fore part of August and break down the rough and uneven places.... Cut and put up all the hay you can, from the 4th day of July to the 15th day of September. The prairies abound with it; and do not forget that it was worth twenty dollars per ton last year."

To everyone, for their well-being, Orson offered affectionate advice: "Be constant in prayer. . . . Refrain from vice, and intemperance. Profane not the holy name by which we are called: do good unto one another: Be kind, forgiving, and generous. As far as is in your power, owe no man any thing but love and good-will."¹⁶

After his trip to the Great Salt Lake Valley, Orson resumed editorial labors. He wanted everyone to be happy. To help bring this about by keeping peace in the community, he continued using priesthood authority to deal with undesirable activities. To people such as "a man killing an ox on Sunday and hurrying a sale of the beef on Monday [because it was stolen]," and "a lady that is guilty of shop-lifting," Orson published: "We will not trifle with men or women in these matters. . . . If they will not [change their ways] . . . , let them be troubled by fiends of darkness by night, and by the destroyer by day, until they are wasted, and their names vanish and disappear like smoke, and all Israel say, 'Amen!"¹⁷

The upcoming term of the "Kanesville Academy" also interested Orson. In mid December, he urged parents to enroll their children and to pay the teacher, that expenses of "tuition, fuel, house rent, and making fires" would be met.¹⁸

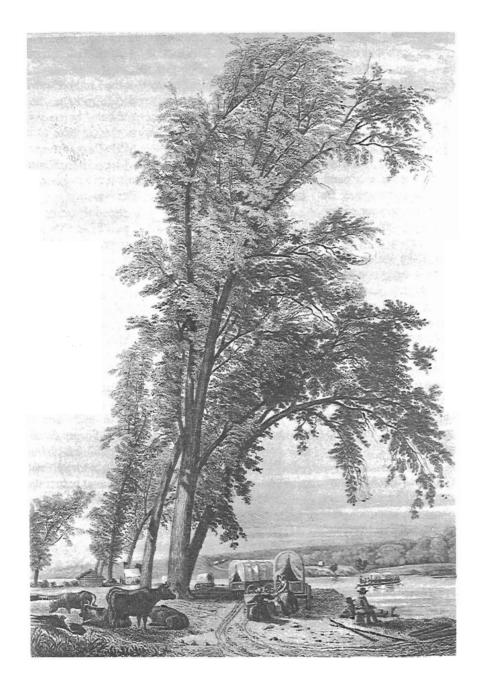
Early in 1851, Orson did all in his power to entice "gold country" emigrants to buy their outfits in Kanesville. "There are 13 large and well supplied stores, and two extensive Commission warehouses in this town alone," Orson extolled in the 7 February *Guardian*, "besides a considerable number throughout the county, and a host of mechanics... that know well how to execute out of the original material, anything and everything ... in a workmanlike manner. There are eight or nine grist mills in the county, under the supervision of skillful and accommodating millers, that will grind wheat or corn at a moment's warning. We have also, two large hotels in town, to accommodate, and refresh the wayworn traveller, or emigrant, on his way to the land of Gold or elsewhere."¹⁹ April Conference convened in the Grove on days two weeks apart. The first day, 6 April, Orson reminded the large congregation that they had lived generally in peace. He felt inspired to say that the Lord had rewarded their kindness to one another and fairness to the non-Latter-day Saint people among them. "Some say," he continued, "that I am as kind to the Gentiles as to the Jews or those in the Church. . . . [S]o long as a man conducts himself aright, whither [*sic*] he is in the Church, or out of the Church, he will be protected in his rights as long as I am your presiding officer."²⁰

Orson made a trip to Great Salt Lake City again in the summer of 1851. While Orson was absent, his acting editor reprinted a jovial article about him published 21 June by the editor of the *Saint Louis Daily Unior*.

We admire the theological tactics of Elder Orson Hyde. He is evidently a skilful [sic] athlete and has studied in the most approved schools of the day. He would have the saints judge for themselves in all conflicting and rival claims to their confidence, . . . but woe to them if they form any other judgment than one favorable to him. He is a sensible man, and is undoubtedly the true prophet. . . . We are decidedly in favor of the apostolicity and mission of Brother Hyde. Hath he not seen a vision, and besides is he not an editor? ... Never before the light of the nineteenth century dawned upon the world, had an editor a place among the prophets. We are anxious for the apotheosis of at least one of our fraternity, for we are aware that the great majority of us stand but a very poor chance. We therefore declare decidedly and emphatically for Brother Hyde; and are ready to maintain his cause with all the logic and eloquence at our command.²¹

Orson arrived home in early November. "Here we are at the table as usual, driving ahead the quill," he summarized in the *Guardian*. "The Indians have relieved us of more than five hundred dollars on our trip, [but] we had a very good journey home. Came to the Missouri River in thirty-nine and a half days from the Valley."²²

He also wrote commentary about the plains; and, because of his observations, he reflected upon conclusions he had reached regarding human nature, the killing



Council Bluffs Ferry from "Route from Liverpool" by Frederick Piercy

of animals, and dealings with Indians:

A trip across the plains is calculated to try any and every person to the very core. The good and bad qualities of the heart are most clearly and conspicuously developed. Having crossed the plains four times within the last eighteen months, with men of different temperaments, and dispositions, we have had a very good chance to become acquainted with human nature in all its varied windings in journeying over these dreary and desolate regions....

Some men, anxious to immortalize their name, will shoot down the Buffalo for the mere sport of the operation, when they already have more meat than they can use. The Almighty has not created valuable animals . . . to be made the sport of folly and the cruel waste of thoughtless and unprincipled man. . . . He who kills when he needs not. may not be able to kill when he does need!23

[W]e... say to all emigrants and travelers across the Plains—put no confidence in the fidelity of the Indians, notwithstanding existing treaties; but keep loaded rifles between your property and them, and then your animals may be secure, and yourselves not left on the Plains with wagon and baggage and not an animal to place before it as

we were after our four mules were stolen. Through the kindness of a friend more fortunate than we, we obtained the use of animals to haul us home.²⁴

Orson prepared the last 1851 Guardian issue reflec-

tively. He expected to be its editor for only a few issues more. Brigham Young had asked him to move to the Great Salt Lake Valley in 1852, and Jacob Dawson, of Fremont County, Iowa, had approached him about purchasing his newspaper. Editorially, Orson commented only quietly that the *Guardian* would soon change hands. He realized that he would miss controlling a public press with its power to make easy announcements and its broad scope in trying to guide people's actions aright. He thanked his patrons for their support.

"We have, of late," Orson wrote in another 26 December editorial, "received many letters from distinguished gentlemen, expressing much regret at our contemplated removal from our present location, to the Vallies of the Western Mountains. That our labors have met the approval of many high-minded and honorable gentlemen, is gratifying to us to learn; and while the applause of virtuous and good men is very desirable and satisfactory; the approval of High Heaven is more to be sought and desired than that of all men on earth." Orson assured his readers of his loyalty to God and thus to God's prophet. He also said that his greatest aspiration was to be a "Peace Maker." He yearned to see "Peace on earth and good-will to man" among all people.²⁵

Orson's writings for the next few issues of the Guardian continued with a pensive undertone, interlaced with prophetic utterances. More evident now perhaps than at any other time in his editorial career, his words rang with prophetic authority, an element that his assistants lacked when they editorialized in his absence. In one article with prophetic undertones, he stated a basic purpose of his authoring: "It has been our object since we have been on the Frontier, to procure for the world, an additional testimony of the truth of Mormonism." The most pronounced prophecy in the article was: "Let every Latter-day Saint, and every real friend they have; be cautious and not provoke any schism or broil; but treat all people according to the law of kindness and good-will . . .; and if you will listen to our counsel in this respect, and commit no overt act,-and our enemies succeed in raising an excitement against us by which sacrifice and trouble are brought upon us; settle the matter in your hearts that all is right; and we will prophecy to you, not politically, but spiritually, that Mormonism will flourish in a ten-fold ratio more than it ever has before."26

Despite many serious thoughts and actions, Orson

penned lighthearted and entertaining words. "On Sunday and Monday mornings last," he stated on 23 January, "the Thermometer stood at eighteen degrees below Zero. It is well, perhaps, that the instruments are made no longer, if they were, there is no telling how cold it might become. A very little snow."²⁷

Orson sold his newspaper for \$2,000 to Jacob Dawson. Writing about the sale, Orson thought Mr. Dawson had received a good bargain. "My press, type and furniture cost me upwards of \$1000," Orson told, and the "greater part of the type [is] nearly new. The buildings cost me \$1000 more." Also, he had "between thirteen and fourteen hundred subscribers," and his "advertising and job work" were "thrown in as the good will of the concern."²⁸

Orson's last issue as editor came off the press 20 February 1852 (Volume 4, Number 2). In his "Valedictory," he said, "[F]riend Dawson [is] fully installed in office, seated upon the tripod, and wielding the goose-quill Scepter . . . [in] the Sanctum." Orson bequeathed upon the new editor "our mantle and best wishes." Continuing, Orson prophesied: "We claim no particular merit as an Editor, yet humble as our exertions have been, we have recorded some sayings and chronicled some events that will be more fully appreciated at a future day."²⁹

NOTES

1. "To Our Readers," *Frontier Guardian*, 7 February 1849.

2. Frontier Guardian, original at Utah State Historical Society.

3. "To Our Farmers," "Outfitting for the Valley and Gold Region," "To the Saints in Iowa," "There is a Preacher . . .," "Subscribe for the Guardian," *Frontier Guardian*, 21 February 1849.

4. "Missionary Station," "No Mail Here . . .," Frontier Guardian, 7 March 1849.

5. Frontier Guardian, 7 March 1849.

6. "We Learn That Between 600 . . .," "Wanted at This Office," *Frontier Guardian*, 18 April 1849.

7. "4th of July," Frontier Guardian, 27 June 1849; "4th of July," Frontier Guardian, 11 July 1849.

8. "Counsel to the Bishop," Frontier Guardian, 8 August 1849.

9. "Music," Frontier Guardian, 8 August 1849.

10. "Dog Killers—Attend!" Frontier Guardian, 8 August 1849; "A Stew," Frontier Guardian, 5 September 1849.

11. "Saturday Last," Frontier Guardian, 5 September 1849.

12. "The Closing Year," Frontier Guardian, 26 December 1849.

13. "Kanesville Market," Frontier Guardian, 3, 17 April 1850.

14. "Stolen," Frontier Guardian, 3 April 1850; "The Stolen Harness Returned," Frontier Guardian, 17 April 1850.

15. "Do You want to Sell Your Farm?" Frontier Guardian, 6 March 1850.

16. "August Election," "Counsel," "Think of These Things!" "Remember the Printer," "Emigration," "Schools," "Estray Animals," "Any Person That . . .," *Frontier Guardian*, 26 June 1850.

17. "Infallible Signs," Frontier Guardian, 11 December 1850.

18. "Kanesville Academy," Frontier Guardian, 25 December 1850.

19. "Emigration," Frontier Guardian, 7 February 1851.

20. "Conference Report," Frontier Guardian, 2 May 1851.

21. "Something New, Editors turned Prophets," Frontier Guardian, 25 July 1851.

22. Composite of "Home Again" and "Pay the Printer," *Frontier Guardian*, 14 November 1851.

23. "Things to be Remembered in Crossing the Plains," *Frontier Guardian*, 14 November 1851.

24. "Indian Treaty," Frontier Guardian, 14 November 1851.

25. "To our Subscribers, Patrons, and Friends," "Gratifying," *Frontier Guardian*, 26 December 1851.

26. "It Must Needs be that Offences Come," Frontier Guardian, 9 January 1852. See also Frontier Guardian, "Pay the Printer," "Great Salt Lake City . . .," 14 November 1851; "Have You Forgotten?" 9 January 1852; "The Jonesville Telegraph . . .," 23 January 1852.

27. "Cold Weather," Frontier Guardian, 23 January 1852.

28. Mortgage, Pottawattamie County Deeds A:70-71 (printed in State Historical Company, *History of Fremont County, Iowa*, pp. 405-406, and in State Historical Company, *History of Mills County, Iowa*, pp. 387-388); "Mr. Editor," *Frontier Guardian and Iowa Sentinel*, 8 April 1852.

29. "Valedictory," Frontier Guardian, 20 February 1852.