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HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

MORMON PIONEER NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

Stanley B. Kimball, Ph.D.

May 1991

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PREFACE

This historic resource study was prepared to identify and evaluate the historic events and resources related to the Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail. The study will be distributed by the National Park Service to federal, state, local, and private entities along the trail to enable them to better interpret a common body of history to interested parties.

The study focuses on the history of the trail from its official beginning in Nauvoo, Illinois, to its terminus in Salt Lake City, Utah, during the period 1846-1869. During that time, thousands of Mormon emigrants used many trails and trail variants to reach Utah. This study emphasizes the "Pioneer Route" or "Brigham Young Route" of 1846-1847.

The document is divided into four parts. The first includes a discussion of Mormon history and beliefs, reasons for going west, a background of the whole emigration, and the story of the trek across Iowa in 1846. The second provides a detailed account of the crossing of the plains during the years 1847 through 1868 by wagon emigrants, handcarters, church team emigrants, and "rail to trail" emigrants. The third part identifies and evaluates historic resources along the trail. And the fourth part consists of four appendices, keyed to the text, containing documents about the trail and the Mormons.

Several of my ancestors "crossed the plains," and I have personally traveled every trail mentioned in this study many times since 1963, and have annotated more than 900 contemporary Mormon Trail accounts.

I would like to acknowledge the help, advice, and support I have received in this work. Michael Snyder and Michael Duwe of the Rocky Mountain Regional Office of the National Park Service have been supportive from the inception of this project. I wish also to thank two outside readers, Charles S. Peterson and Thomas G. Alexander, who read the entire manuscript and offered many helpful suggestions. Especially I must thank Jere Krakow of the National Park Service's Denver Service Center, for critiquing and improving every draft of this work, and for guiding me in its preparation.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

THE MORMON TRAIL IN HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE

To place the Mormons and the Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail in historical perspective is difficult, for they were both unique as well as uniquely American. Most Mormons tend to emphasize that which is unique in their history. This is an outgrowth of their theology, which teaches that they *are* a unique people, a Chosen People, a "peculiar people." They call themselves *Latter-day Saints* to both distinguish themselves from and identify themselves with the "Former-day Saints" of the New Testament, and to stress their difference from all other Christians of today. (See "Mormon Beliefs," page 7.)

In no way do Mormons stress their uniqueness more than in reference to their exodus, their move west between 1846 and 1869, from Illinois to what is now called Utah. Mormon scholars have discovered at least ten "Uncommon Aspects of the Mormon Migration."¹ These unique aspects are: A religiously motivated migration; the economic status of the participants; Mormons did not employ professional guides; non-frontiersmen were quickly transformed into pioneers; the migration of families; the Mormon Trail was a two-way road; the magnanimous aspect of the Mormon migration; the organization of Mormon wagon trains; respect for life and death; and the Mormon migration was a movement of a community. In this study, the author often refers to these uncommon aspects. Other authors like Wallace Stegner and Bernard De Voto also stress these unique aspects.²

While there is nothing wrong with stressing the uncommon aspects of the Mormon westward movement, they are only part of the story. A truer account would present the Mormon migration within its proper historic context, as a part of the great westering movement of the mid-nineteenth century; as part of a national experience.

In many ways the Mormons were very much like their contemporary Oregonians and Californians. West of the Missouri River they shared trails, campgrounds, ferries, triumphs, tragedies, and common trail experiences of the day, with thousands of other westering Americans. Their daily routine, their food, wagons, animals, sicknesses, dangers, difficulties,

¹ T. Edgar Lyon, "Some Uncommon Aspects of the Mormon Migration," *Improvement Era*, (September 1969): 33-40.

² Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1971), and Bernard Devoto, *The Year of Decision: 1846* (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1943).

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domestic affairs, trail constitutions, discipline, the blurring of sexual distinctions relative to work, and so forth, were typical.³

The Mormons of the 1840s through the 1860s were very much a part of the great westward surge that began in the 1820s when fur trappers started exploring the west, searching out mountain passes for vital water sources and continued through the westering activities of traders, missionaries, and land-hungry settlers, to the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. The Mormons were part of the idea and the realization of the doctrine of Manifest Destiny, the great reconnaissance of the west, and they contributed to the growth of white supremacy in the west. For the most part, the Mormons used the trails already blazed by earlier westering Americans. Many Americans had preceded the Mormons on trips west of the Missouri River. Travel on the Santa Fe Trail commenced as early as 1821, with the trader William Becknell from Missouri, and the numbers of travelers increased until the Santa Fe Railway passed Santa Fe in 1880. This trail, however, was largely a commercial and military road, used by few emigrants. (In 1853, some Texas converts did use the trail to pick up the Mormon Trail in Wyoming.)

The first significant emigrant movement to Oregon began in 1841, when sixty-nine men, women, and children, comprising the Bidwell-Bartleson party, left from Independence, Missouri. Thereafter, increasingly large emigrant parties used the Missouri River as a "jumping off" point (staging site) for Oregon. That same year, the Bidwell-Bartleson party also initiated the first significant emigrant movement into California. When the Bidwell-Bartleson party reached Fort Hall in what is now called Idaho, it split. About half continued on to Oregon, while the remainder blazed a dangerous route across desert and mountains into the lower San Joaquin Valley of what is now California. Thereafter, as on the Oregon Trail, increasingly larger parties immigrated to California. Eventually more than 300,000 (no one knows how many) emigrants went to Oregon and California. The some 70,000 Mormons who immigrated to their new Zion were very much a part of this national westward movement.

Furthermore, during the trans-Missouri Mormon emigrant period (and generally along the route of the Mormon Trail) the Pony Express rose and fell, and the transcontinental telegraph line and the Union Pacific Railroad were completed. Stage freight and mail service to Salt Lake were inaugurated and federal wagon roads were surveyed and constructed. The Mormons were, in one way or another, involved with all these ventures. They, for example, helped supply and build the telegraph line and the railroad, helped construct federal roads, proposed some freighting and mail services, and during the Civil War, provided guard service for ninety days, protecting the overland mail and telegraph in southern Wyoming. To see the relationship of the Mormon Trail to the Oregon, California, and the later Pony Express Trail, refer to Appendix A, Map 15.

³ See for example the chapter "The Overlanders in Historical Perspective," John D. Unruh, Jr., *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970).

SKETCH OF MORMON HISTORY: 1830-1846

Mormon history officially began April 6, 1830, when Joseph Smith (1805-1844) organized the Mormon Church (officially known today as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) in Fayette, Seneca County, New York, in accordance with the laws of that state.⁴

Although the new church grew well and the western New York and northern Pennsylvania area proved to be a fertile ground for missionary activities, Smith believed God had revealed to him in January 1831 that the church should move to the area of Kirtland, Ohio, and by that spring, the church was headquartered there.⁵ The author has called this migration "The New York Saints Trail: The First Mormon Trail West." It started in Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, and proceeded through Ithaca, New York, Lake Cayuga, the Erie Canal, Rochester, and Buffalo New York. (See Appendix A, Map 1.)

Shortly after the move to Ohio, for reasons that are not entirely clear, but which surely included the concept of "the gathering" and a desire to convert Indians, Smith established a second headquarters in Jackson County, Missouri, and for the years 1831 to 1837, there were two centers of the church.⁶

New England Mormons were very unpopular in rather wild western Missouri for several reasons. In addition to having a strange faith that labeled all other churches wrong, that professed Smith talked with God, and that claimed western Missouri was to become their "inheritance," the Mormons were clannish, economically better off, and were against slavery. Trouble with rough frontier Missourians was not long in coming, and by November 1833, most Mormons were driven from Jackson County into adjacent Clay County.⁷

⁴ For the best single-volume history of the Mormons, see James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976). That book's bibliography is the most useful in print to its date of publication. The book may well serve as the standard reference on Mormon history and beliefs to all users of this *Historic Resource Study*.

⁵ For a survey of Mormon history in Ohio, see Milton V. Backman, Jr., "The Quest for a Restoration: The Birth of Mormonism in Ohio," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 12, (Summer 1972), 346-64.

⁶ Warren A. Jennings, "The Expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County, Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 64, (October 1969), 41-63.

⁷ The best recent study of this is Stephen C. LeSuer, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987).

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It was in 1834 that Smith formed and led a paramilitary unit known as Zion's Camp on a 900-mile march from church headquarters in Ohio to western Missouri, in an attempt to restore the Missouri Mormons to the lands from which they had been driven.⁸ This trail started in Kirtland, Ohio, and proceeded via Akron, Mansfield, and Dayton, Ohio; Richmond, Indianapolis, and Clinton, Indiana; Paris, Decatur, Springfield and Pittsfield, Illinois; Louisiana, Moberly, and Richmond, to near Liberty, Missouri. (See Appendix A, Map 2.) This journey was plagued by cholera and redressed no wrongs, but it gave the Mormons some basic training in moving large numbers of people, and it helped prepare them for the exodus west in 1846-1847.

The Mormons stayed in Clay County until the summer of 1836, when they were pressured to move northeast into the almost uninhabited upper part of Ray County. They centered in a settlement named Far West, in what became Caldwell County.

The new church continued to grow well in Ohio and Missouri, but early in 1838, misunderstandings and apostasy forced Smith to move himself and as many of his followers as he could, from Ohio to Far West.

The troubles that broke out in Missouri during August 1838 were the beginning of the end for the Mormons in Missouri. By November of that year the general expulsion from Missouri was well under way, and by spring 1839, nearly all the Mormons in Missouri had fled to Iowa and to Illinois.

In the spring of 1839, Smith again set up church headquarters at a new settlement in Illinois named Nauvoo--derived from a Hebrew root meaning a beautiful place or the "green pastures" of the 23rd Psalm. The sparsely settled, twenty-one-year-old state of Illinois welcomed these new taxpayers and Nauvoo quickly became one of the largest cities in Illinois.⁹ It was the Mormon headquarters for seven years, during which time the church flourished and even sent missionaries to Europe. The Mormons did not long enjoy the fruits of their industry and dedication. Hostility, suspicions, and trouble increased in direct proportion to their growth and success. The political, economic, social, and religious problems (including from 1841, the new teaching and practice of polygamy, and unusual and secret temple ordinances) that had previously caused trouble in Ohio and Missouri, led to their expulsion from Illinois early in 1846.

⁸ The best study of Zion's Camp is Roger D. Launius, *Zion's Camp* (Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1984.) See also Milton V. Backman's *The Heavens Resound* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1983).

⁹ An excellent study of the Nauvoo period in Mormon history is Robert B. Flanders' *Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965). See also David Miller and Della Miller, *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1974).

This time, however, the Mormons would not move from one state to another. Instead they decided to leave the United States and settle in the Far West, in what was then Mexico, in a new Zion somewhere in the Rocky Mountain area.

MORMON BELIEFS

The best and easiest way to understand Mormonism and Mormons; to comprehend why they were persecuted in Jacksonian America from their beginnings through most of the 19th century; to grasp why they not only endured persecution, but even flourished because of and in spite of it; to understand why they were driven from New York to Ohio, to Missouri, to Illinois, and finally, out of the United States; and to understand why they were so successful in "westering," pioneering, and in colonizing the Far West, is to first, think of Christian churches in three categories: Catholic, Protestant, and Restored.

Mormons do not consider themselves Protestant, or Catholic. They are not a breakaway from any other church, and they are not a reformed group. They believe they are the "only true church," the true church of Jesus Christ "restored" in these latter days; they believe they are modern Children of Israel led by prophets, Joseph Smith being the first. Today Mormons believe their prophets, from Smith to Ezra Taft Benson, speak for God, as did the prophets of the Old Testament.¹⁰

This belief in modern-day prophets explains why Mormons were (and are) so disciplined, why they could accomplish what they did on the frontier, on their immigrating trails, and in the valley of the Great Salt Lake. Since their prophets speak for God, Mormons believe that what they are told to do is God's will and little else matters. Certainly persecution could not be allowed to deter them in their duty. Orthodox Mormons are first Mormons and all else second. They believe it is their imperative, their main purpose in life, to proclaim the restoration of the gospel to the world, no matter what the cost. They take persecution to be a sure sign that they are right. It is Satan attempting to thwart their work.¹¹

Another important point in understanding Mormons and their discipline and concept of authority is the fact that all worthy Mormon males from the age of twelve "hold the priesthood." They are ordained to certain graded priestly offices, and they share, in varying degrees, the administration of the church. They are expected to honor this blessing or opportunity. They are granted authority by one holding a higher priesthood, and those over whom they preside are expected to be obedient. There is no paid clergy; the Mormon

¹⁰ A good study of Mormon theology is Bruce McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1958).

¹¹ *Ibid.*

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Church is strictly a lay organization. In trail days, as in the present, when the priesthood speaks, Mormons are expected to act accordingly.¹²

It seems clear that Joseph Smith was affected by the religious fervor of the Second Great Awakening, which began in New England in the 1790s and spread rapidly. Western New York of Smith's time was so affected with spiritual awakenings and revivals that it is often called the burned-over district. Many books and articles have been written attempting to show that Smith; the Book of Mormon, a "new testament for Christ," a New World bible translated by Smith from golden plates in 1830; and other distinctive teachings and beliefs of the Mormon Church derive from the mid-19th century phase of the Second Great Awakening.¹³ Whether one accepts Mormon beliefs or not, does not change the fact that early Mormons thought they were modern Children of Israel and that is the key to understanding what motivated them.

GROWING INTEREST IN THE MORMON PIONEER NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

We are in the midst of a great American western trails renaissance. Our historic trails are now becoming better known, more fully appreciated, more carefully preserved, and more clearly marked. In 1968, Congress enacted the National Trails System Act (Public Law 90-543) and in 1978, added National Historic Trail designations. Also several publishers are devoted almost exclusively to trail publications. Additionally there has been a yearly increase in county, state, and federal road signs pointing out historic sites and markers connected with trail history. As further evidence of the renewal of interest in western trails, there has been an annual increase in the number of markers, parks, schools, businesses, museums, exhibits, events, and tourist attractions developed that pertain to and celebrate the Mormon Trail.

All this fascination with the Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail (hereafter MPNHT) is well deserved. Interest has never been greater than it is today. There seems to be a direct relationship between the speed with which we destroy our national heritage and our desire to write and read about it, and to go in search of it, to experience the power of place and the spirit of locale. Nowhere is this more true than with our great western trails. For more than twenty years, concern for the trails has been growing. Excellent books have been published, preservation and historical societies have been organized, and there is no

¹² For a full discussion of the Mormon priesthood, see McConkie.

¹³ Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York: 1800-1850* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1950).

evidence that this special and general interest is waning. The belief, however, that the MPNHT was a Mormon creation or discovery is a mistaken one.¹⁴

It may be that of the thousands of miles of trails and roads the Mormons used during their migrations from New York to Utah, between 1831 and 1868, they actually blazed less than 1 mile. This one bit of authenticated trail-blazing lies between Donner Hill and the mouth of Emigration Canyon, just east of Salt Lake City. The Mormons were not looking for a place in history books. They had a job to do and they did it as easily and as expeditiously as possible, always using the best roads available.

NAME OF THE TRAIL

Although the MPNHT was not blazed by the Mormons and has at various times been known as the Council Bluffs Road, the Omaha Road, the Great Platte River Road, the Omaha-Fort Kearny Military Road, and the North Branch of the Oregon Trail, it is best and almost universally known today as "the Mormon Trail."¹⁵

MORMON MOTIVATION

It is a curious fact that the Mormons, who did not want to go west in the first place, were among the most successful in doing so. Mormons, in as much as they did not go west for a new identity, missionary work, adventure, furs, land, health, or gold, but were driven beyond the frontier for their religious beliefs, were not typical westering Americans. While their trail experience was similar to other westering Americans, their motivation was different. It hardly seems necessary to document such a well known fact, but it will be helpful, in this respect, to refer to the city of Nauvoo, Illinois, itself. It was not a typical frontier community, nor did it resemble other frontier communities peopled by those pushing west. Nauvoo, rather, resembled an established New England city. It contained the many brick and substantial frame homes of people intending to remain, not the temporary log cabins of people on the move.

The pioneer group was not concerned with just getting themselves safely settled, but with making the road easier for others of their faith to follow. Furthermore, the Mormons moved as villages on wheels, transplanting an entire people, rather than isolated, unrelated groups as was the case with the Oregon and California migrations.

¹⁴ The belief is based on the fact that so many Mormons used the trail for such a long time. The fact they used trails already in existence was somehow forgotten.

¹⁵ For a thorough discussion of the name problem, see Merrill J. Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road* (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1969).

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As previously noted, Mormons differed from most westering Americans in several important ways. Not only did the Mormons not want to go west, but they were generally much poorer than the average California or Oregon migrants. Mormons used no professional guides, but they did consult many contemporary guidebooks, reports, and maps. Furthermore, many Saints were not rugged frontier types who had come from pioneering stock. Most, especially the European urban converts, had little experience with rural life at all; they traveled generally as families, not as individuals; the Mormon Trail was a two-way road, hundreds--missionaries, "go backs," or disenchanting Mormons, and church wagon trains hauling emigrants from the Missouri River--traveled *eastward* on the trail. Mormons were conditioned by religious convictions; they followed a chain of command, maintained organized groups and trail discipline. Consequently, the Mormons are generally considered to have been some of the most systematic, organized, and disciplined pioneers and colonizers in United States' history.¹⁶

THE PERPETUAL EMIGRATION FUND

Another unusual aspect of the Mormon emigration, was the Perpetual Emigration Fund, one of the biggest single enterprises undertaken by the Mormons in the nineteenth century.¹⁷ Begun in 1850, the idea was that the church would create a revolving (or perpetual) fund to aid the poor, especially the poor European emigrants. Those helped by the fund were expected to reimburse it after settling in the American West.

Perpetual Emigration Fund (PEF) agents in Europe chartered ships, or special sections of ships, at reduced fares, and other PEF agents in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and St. Louis helped make travel arrangements, at reduced costs, for the overland journey to Utah.

Initially the fund accomplished its main purpose well. Between 1850 and 1859 the fund brought 4,769 emigrants to Zion at a cost of \$300,000. By the time of its demise in 1887, the fund had helped to emigrate more than 100,000 people, at a total cost of about \$12,500,000. The Saints were slow, however, in paying back their advances. By 1877, \$1,000,000 was owed to the fund. Ten years later the PEF was dissolved.

¹⁶ Lyon, "Some Uncommon Aspects of the Mormon Migration."

¹⁷ Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 381-382; Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 191; and Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 281-287.

THE TRAIL EXPERIENCE IN MORMON HISTORY

The experience of the trail, the crossing of the plains, turned into a great event not only in the lives of the pioneers, but in the minds of their descendants. It became a rite of passage, the final test of faith.¹⁸ The contemporary Mormon is prouder of nothing in their heritage than of their ancestors who "crossed the plains" for the sake of religious freedom. Even modern Mormons who have no pioneer ancestors vicariously share this heritage.

Today a special mythology and clouds of glory surround the Mormon Pioneers. The most important honor societies in Mormondom pertain to these pioneers. Many Mormons belong to the Sons of Utah Pioneers or the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, whereas no similar societies exist for the founders, the original apostles, or the members of Zion's Camp. Throughout the world Mormons regularly celebrate July 24th as Pioneer Day. It was on this date in 1847, that the pioneers entered the valley.

READING, INTERPRETING AND PROTECTING TRAIL RUTS

In trail days, "reading trail" or "reading [Indian] sign" was vital to the welfare of emigrants. This science made use of any evidence that something or someone had been over the ground. An experienced scout could tell from a broken blade of grass, disturbed soil, tracks, a bead, a feather, or dung, such things as what game was near; how many Indians of what tribe had proceeded, when and in what direction; the number of horses, how fast they had been moving, and whether they had been mounted or stolen; whether it had been a hunting party or a whole camp moving; whether an individual had been walking, running, or attempting to leave a false trail.

Today reading trail can be a rewarding pastime as well as essential for serious trail students. And, since authentic trail ruts are the most valuable and interesting resources connected with historic trails, something should be said here about reading and interpreting them.

Because so many current ranch and energy trails and roads look more like the old trails than the old trails do, it is not always easy to identify authentic trail ruts. There are, however, some guidelines. The romantic notion that trail ruts are always two lines stretching into the sunset is just that, romantic. Where possible, westering Americans usually traveled several abreast to avoid breathing dust. All kinds of parallel trail ruts also developed because of water, land features, or browse. Swales (saucer-shaped depressions) in the landscape 50 to 100 feet wide, developed where wagons traveled abreast and close to each other. At other times, what would properly be called "trail corridors" (up to 1 mile wide) developed.

¹⁸ Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, 1.

INTRODUCTION

Trail followers should do their homework and have good maps so that they know in advance approximately where trail ruts should be. Most modern trails, or disturbed land (a buried pipeline for instance) run straighter than the old trails. That modern tire tracks can be seen only means someone recently drove down the old trail.

One should study the overall terrain well, especially the vegetation. Sometimes the vegetation is fuller in old ruts, sometimes it is sparse. In some areas where the hard topsoil was broken up (and continually fertilized by the draft animals) rain water penetrated deeper and, as a result, the growth is more lush, even today. It is also true that ruts tend to collect water, which aids growth. In some instances, however, the broken topsoil was simply blown away, leaving a poorer subsoil which, even today, supports only sparse growth. The best way to learn to read trail is by experience.

In the matter of protecting trail ruts, someone once said in reference to following the old trails, "Take nothing but photographs; leave nothing but footprints." Good advice. Ruts are not as fragile as many think. They were created, after all, by plodding animals pulling wagons weighing tons and rolling on iron tires! They can be damaged, however, by careless use of motorcycles and ORVs, and totally destroyed by road crews, agriculture, urban sprawl, utility corridors, pipelines, mining and other extractive industries, and a host of other modern activities. Walking in ruts seldom causes damage to them, it may even help preserve them. Even careful driving in ruts might do no harm. Proper management, legislation, and parameters for use should be sought.

Chapter 2

THE TRAIL EXPERIENCE

THE GREAT TREK: GENERAL COMMENTS

We can now turn to a discussion of the Mormon move to the Far West, the story of the Mormon Trail. From its beginning in 1846, to the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, the Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail, stretching from Nauvoo, Illinois, to what is now Salt Lake City, Utah, has captivated the fancy of both Mormons and non-Mormons, and is one of the most written-about trails in all history. Hundreds of journals were kept during the twenty-two years the Mormons used the trail. Many books and articles and hundreds of stories have been written about it, as well. (For further reading see the bibliography at the end of this study.)

As noted in the introduction, westering Mormons were very much a part of a general move to the west that happened in the 19th century. In spite of all the unique aspects of their move to the west, as detailed in this study, the Mormons were still much like the Oregonians and Californians.

The great trek, although the most important segment, was only part of the story of the Mormon westward movement. During the thirty-seven years (1831-1868) of Mormon immigration to various church headquarters in Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and Utah, from their removal from New York to Ohio in 1831, through the arrival of the first European converts in New York City in 1840, to the "wedding of the rails" in 1869, Mormons developed or used at least twenty-two points of departure, or staging grounds and many other trails.

Several other trails directly related to the MPNHT will be mentioned briefly in this study--The New York Saints Trail, The Zion's Camp Trail, The Nebraska City Cutoff Trail, and the Overland-Bridger Pass Trail. Other trails used by immigrating Mormons, such as the Mississippi Saints Trail, the Santa Fe Trail, the Mormon Grove Trail, the Dagoon Trail, The Golden Road, and The Ox-Bow will not be treated in this study. In one way or another, however, all westering Mormons eventually intersected the famous MPNHT of 1846-1847 and followed it to their Zion. (However, this historic resource study is restricted largely to the Nauvoo to Salt Lake City route during the years 1846-1868.)¹

¹ Readers are referred to Stanley B. Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers Along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988) for a discussion of these trails. This book may well be used as a basic reference work for all trail matters and trail markers referred to in this *Historic Resource Study*.

THE TRAIL EXPERIENCE

POINTS OF DEPARTURE AND TIME PERIODS

The Mormons used many points of departure during their emigration period. Only the first two groups of European emigrants in 1840 sailed to New York City; thereafter for fifteen years, all emigrants sailed to New Orleans and then traveled up the Mississippi River to various other points of departure. Until 1845 they went straight to Nauvoo, Illinois, where The Exodus of 1846 commenced. Afterwards many other jumping-off places to the Far West were developed:

Winter Quarters (Florence, now North Omaha), Nebraska, 1847-1848

Council Bluffs, Iowa, 1847-1852

St. Louis, Missouri, 1852

Keokuk, Iowa, 1853

Westport, Missouri, 1854

Mormon Grove, Kansas, 1855-1856

Iowa City, Iowa, 1856-1857

Florence, Nebraska, 1856-1863

St. Joseph, Missouri, 1859

Genoa, Nebraska, 1859

Wyoming, Nebraska, 1864-1866

The Union Pacific Railroad began moving west from Omaha on July 10, 1865. Thereafter, Mormons took trains from Omaha to three different railheads.

North Platte, Nebraska, 1867

Laramie City, Wyoming, 1868

Benton, Wyoming, 1868

While the trans-Missouri section of the MPNHT was used extensively by the Mormons between 1847 through 1868, the Iowa segment of the trail was used much less. The Iowa portion was used by the pioneers in 1846, by a few companies from Keokuk in 1853, and by seven handcart companies in 1855-1857. Furthermore, the segment of the original pioneer trail of 1846 between Drakesville, Davis County, and Garden Grove, Decatur

County, may have been used but once or twice, because it was too far south and too close to Missouri, where the Mormons had been persecuted in the 1830s. At Drakesville, shorter variants more to the north originated. The handcarters followed the 1846 trail in Iowa only from what is now Lewis, in Cass County.

Four time periods will be treated in this study:

- Between 1846-1860, the Mormons generally went west in wagon trains organized at different points of departure.
- Between 1855-1860, they experimented with handcarts.
- Thereafter, during the years 1861-1866, the Mormons switched to large ox-team church trains sent out from Salt Lake City to haul emigrants and freight west.
- And, finally, during 1867-1868, they came by "rail and trail."

After 1869, Mormons who came west by trail were dubbed "Pullman Pioneers."² Only those Mormons, for example, with ancestors who came to Utah before 1869 can become members of the Sons of Utah Pioneers or the Daughters of Utah Pioneers.

WAGONS, DRAFT ANIMALS, SPEED OF TRAVEL

The Saints used all kinds of wagons and carriages, but mostly they used ordinary reinforced farm wagons, which were about ten feet long, arched over by cloth or waterproof canvas that could be closed at each end--almost never the huge, lumbering Conestoga wagons beloved by Hollywood. Because the wagons had to cross rivers, the bottoms were usually caulked or covered with canvas so they would float. While the ubiquitous white tops, or covered wagons, of the era may not have been ideal for travel (they were uncomfortable to ride in, broke down, were slow and cumbersome), they were the most efficient means of hauling goods. Families en route could live in, on, alongside, and under these animal-drawn mobile homes, and at the end of the trail, they could become temporary homes until real houses could be erected.

The pioneers used a variety of draft animals, especially horses, mules, and oxen. They often preferred the latter when they were available, for oxen had great strength and patience and were easy to keep; they did not balk at mud or quicksand, they required no expensive and complicated harness, and Indians did not care to eat them, so seldom stole them. (They could, however, be eaten by the pioneers in an emergency.) The science of "oxteamology" consisted of little more than walking along the left side of the lead oxen with

² The author heard this expression as a child in Utah from his grandparents...a bit of oral tradition.

THE TRAIL EXPERIENCE

a whip, prod, or goad, urging them on and guiding them, and was considerably simpler than handling the reins of horses or mules. With gentle oxen, widows with children could and did (with a little help, especially during the morning yoking up) transport themselves and their possessions successfully all the way to the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

Along the trail, under normal conditions, the Mormons averaged 2 miles an hour, the usual speed of an ox pulling a heavy wagon all day long.³

COMMUNICATION

To keep the emigrant companies together, or at least to keep in touch with the various leaders, mounted couriers were appointed to ride back and forth, and bells, bugles and different colored signal flags were used to communicate messages and call meetings throughout the entire migration period. Beyond the Missouri River, the pioneers occasionally wrote messages on animal skulls and scapula. (See Appendix D, Illustration 1.) An example of this sort of "bone mail" read "Pioneers double teamed. 8 June 1847. Camp all well. Hail storm last night, fine morning. T[homas] Bullock, no accident." ⁴ Sometimes they wrote on rocks and boards, tied notes to trees, or left letters enclosed between two pieces of wood. A trail "post office" was sometimes made by setting up a pole by the side of the trail, drilling a hole in it for a letter then plugging the hole.⁵ After October 24, 1861, when the Overland Telegraph wires were joined in Salt Lake City, the Mormons also used the telegraph, especially with church headquarters in Salt Lake City.

Mormons also liked to leave their names behind, a common practice of emigrants in trail days, and many can be found along the trail today in such places as Avenue of Rocks, Independence Rock, Devil's Gate in Wyoming, and in Cache Cave in Utah.⁶

³ LeRoy Hafen, *Western America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), 350. For comparison, stagecoaches with frequent changes of horses averaged 16 miles an hour.

⁴ Thomas Bullock journal, June 8, 1847, archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, hereafter Mormon Church archives.

⁵ This information comes from the 1849 trail journal of David Moore and the 1856 trail journal of Langley A. Bailey, Mormon Church archives.

⁶ Based on the author's study of Mormon Trail journals and trail travel.

PROBLEMS OF ILLNESS, STRESS, PRIVACY, AND TRAVELING

Injury, sickness, and death were commonplace. Emigrants suffered cuts; broken bones; gun wounds; burns; scaldings; animal, insect, and snake bites; stampedes; overturned wagons; shifting freight; drownings; quicksand; black scurvy; black canker (probably diphtheria); cholera; typhoid fever; ague; quick consumption (tuberculosis); headaches; piles; mumps; asthma; inflammation of the bowels; scrofula; erysipelas; diarrhea; small pox; itch; and infections of all kinds, including puerperal fever, which can follow childbirth. In reference to the latter, the journals of some of the midwives make melancholy reading.⁷ Although oxen moved very slowly, there was no quick way of stopping them. Therefore, many women, because their long skirts got caught, were injured when dragged under animals or wagon wheels. Children often fell under the animals or wagons. Emigrants were also stepped on, gored, and kicked by animals.

Also, because emigrant trains moved so slowly, emigrants, especially children, occasionally got lost. This was the result of straggling, gathering flowers or berries, hunting, attempting short cuts, or trying to visit landmarks that were farther away than they appeared because of the clarity of the high plains' atmosphere. Most found their way back (some were helped by Indians), but some never were seen again in spite of searches, rifle shots, and signal fires.⁸

Some emigrants suffered from being physically or emotionally impaired. There were persons with various kinds of physical disabilities, like blindness, inability to speak, and absence of limbs. Emotional disturbances ranged from the mild to the bizarre. The number of physically and emotionally disabled Mormon emigrants who attempted to cross the plains or whose guardians attempted to take them to Zion is surprising. Mormon emigrant companies probably started out with a higher percentage of disabled people, because of their belief in the "power of the priesthood" and in miracle healing. It was common practice among Mormon emigrants to request church leaders to give blessings to the sick and the injured, and sometimes people were healed. Many were not.

Emigrants were also plagued by mosquitoes, chiggers, ticks, lice, gnats, bed bugs, fleas, flies, and other vermin. To these trials must be added the weaknesses of human beings under stress, which sometimes led to abusive language, fighting, quarreling, divorce, stealing, selfishness, sponging, excessive harshness, and alcohol abuse.⁹

⁷ See, for example, the diary of Patty Sessions, Mormon Church archives.

⁸ Gleaned from author's study of trail journals at Mormon Church archives.

⁹ Stanley B. Kimball, "The Unusual and the Outré on Mormon Trails," Paper presented at the Mormon History Conference, Utah State University, 1988.

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Weather was also an important cause of discomfort and death. Emigrants suffered from exposure to heat, mud, wind, rain, cold, snow, and blizzards. Some were hurt and even killed by lightning, and children were occasionally hurt by whirlwinds; one little boy was dropped in the Platte River by one.¹⁰

Funerals and burials were often hurried affairs, as little time could be spared while en route. Shallow graves were dug, unless the ground was frozen, in which case, no grave could be dug. (In cold but not yet freezing weather, the preferred place to dig a grave was the site of the previous night's campfire.) A few were buried in coffins, many others only in blankets, hollowed out logs, or between pieces of bark. Children were often buried in containers like bread boxes and tea canisters. Some graves were marked, but more often everything was done to obliterate all traces of the grave, to discourage wild animals (and sometimes Indians) from digging up the corpse.

The problem of privacy for the purposes of elimination was solved by following the common rule: men to one side, women to the other. If the women went in a group, several sisters standing with skirts spread wide could provide a privacy screen for each other. Most wagons also had chamber pots.

ROUTINE, RULES, DISCIPLINE, CONSTITUTIONS

The basic trail routine, more or less observed throughout the migrating period, might be summed up as follows: arising, praying, cooking, yoking up, pulling out, "nooning" (when people ate [usually cold] lunches and draft animals rested and grazed), pushing on, selecting camp, gathering fuel, cooking, washing up, mending, recreating and socializing, rounding up stray livestock, milking, grazing the animals, praying, retiring, and standing guard. To this routine should be added washing, repairing wagons and equipment, hunting, dealing with Indians, conducting or attending religious services, and occasional births, accidents, sickness, deaths, funerals, marriages, and quarrels.¹¹

Discipline was set and maintained by church leaders and, as previously noted, was based on the belief that Mormons were modern day saints, led by living prophets, carrying out God's will. Thus, discipline was generally preserved on the trail. Mormons, like most other westering Americans, usually had some basic trail rules and constitutions, but they were seldom elaborated or written down. Generally Mormon companies felt they were led by the Lord, or at least by His designates, and that they were to follow orders and rules without question. A member of the Mormon ruling priesthood was always in charge of the companies, usually assisted by one or two counselors. Mormons were supposed to be

¹⁰ John Q. Cannon, ed. *Autobiography of Christopher Layton*, (Salt Lake City, 1911), 3.

¹¹ This information was gleaned by the author from hundreds of trail journals.

Such rule by the priesthood usually sufficed. When serious troubles arose, company councils were called and a rough and ready trail-side justice was meted out. Those in the wrong were expected to apologize, make amends, and repent. Men were occasionally flogged. (For improper sex matters emasculation was hinted at, although there is no record it was ever carried out.) Men and women could also be expelled from the company--a serious punishment on, or beyond, the frontier.¹²

The more experience the Mormons gained in westering, the less important rigid rules and regulations became, but sometimes constitutions were written down. A typical one of the period was drafted by a company of English Saints at West Port, Missouri, in 1854. It reads:

Camp Ground, State of Missouri, 14 July 1854

At Council Meeting this evening Elder Empey presiding, it was resolved:

That Bro. Robert Campbell be president of this company.

That Bro. Richard Cook be his first counselor and Bro. Woodard be his second counselor.

That Bro. Brewerton be captain of the guard.

That Bro. Charles Brewerton be wagon master and Bro. Wm. Kendall to assist him.

That Bro. Richard be captain of the first ten.

That Bro. Fisher be captain of the second ten.

That Bro. Balliff be captain of the third ten.

That Bro. Thos. Sutherland be clerk and historian of this company.

That no gun shall be fired within 50 yards of the camp under a penalty of one nights guard.

¹² See Stanley B. Kimball, "The Dark Side of Heroism on Mormon Trails: A New Look at the Mythic Pioneers," paper presented before the Mormon History Association, Kansas City, Mo., May 1985.

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That the captain of each ten shall awaken the head of every family at 4 o'clock in the morning and be ready to roll out at seven, if circumstances will admit.

That all go to bed at 9 o'clock in the evening.

That every man from 16 to 60 years of age be eligible to stand guard.

The above resolutions have been afterwards laid before the whole company in camp and have received their unanimous sanction.

Robert Campbell, Pres.; Thomas Sutherland, Clerk.¹³

TRAIL LARDER

Trail larders were well supplied, consisting of staples like flour, bacon, sugar, tea, coffee, beans, dried fruits, canned goods, salt, dried meats, vinegar, cheese, pickles, oat meal, molasses, bran meal, eggs, butter, wine, whiskey, and other alcoholic beverages. In addition, Mormons sometimes had chickens, pigs, sheep, and milk cows. Such supplies were supplemented by whatever emigrants could gather or catch that swam, flew, ran, or crawled or grew. This included fish, turtles, clams, buffalo, antelope, beaver, prairie dogs, mountain sheep, squirrels, rabbits, snakes, bear, deer, elk, ducks, pheasants, quail, prairie hens, turkeys, geese, pelicans, strawberries, cherries, grapes, currants, gooseberries, serviceberries, mulberries, choke cherries, plums, blackberries, wild pears, honey, and volunteer corn.¹⁴

WOMEN EMIGRANTS

Most Mormon companies, with the exception of the pioneer company of 1847, had more women (and children) than most non-Mormon companies. This was because most Mormons did not go west for furs, gold, adventure, or a new identity, but seeking religious freedom; they usually traveled as families and often had single women converts along.¹⁵ And because many of these women, like Bathsheba Smith, Sarah Leavitt, Sarah Alexander, Caroline Crosby, Mary Field Garner, Eliza R. Snow (see Appendix D, Illustration 2 and Appendix C, Biographical Sketch 1), Patty Bartlett Sessions (see Appendix D, Illustration 3 and Appendix C, Biographical Sketch 2), Jane Rio Pearce, and Patience Archer wrote

¹³ "Journal History of the Church," 28 October 1854, 2, Mormon Church archives.

¹⁴ Gleaned from author's study of trail journals.

¹⁵ Lyon, "Some Uncommon Aspects of the Mormon Migration," 36.

trail accounts, we know much of their trail life.¹⁶ Typically, trail life was harder on them than on the men. The lack of privacy in bathing, elimination, and sleeping was especially difficult for Mormon women, as was their task of gathering bison dung, euphemistically termed *bois de vache*, meadow muffins, or chips for fuel. There were several trail songs about this work. The following is typical:

There's a pretty little girl in the outfit ahead
Whoa Haw Buck and Jerry Boy
I wish she were by my side instead
Whoa Haw Buck and Jerry Boy
Look at her now with a pout on her lips
As daintily with her fingertips
She picks for the fire some buffalo chips
Whoa Haw Buck and Jerry Boy.

Women also were responsible for most of the care of infants and children, as well as the fuel gathering, cooking, churning, sewing, laundering, and nursing. (Many women found it difficult at first to cook in the higher altitudes, where water boils at a lower temperature--sometimes beans and rice could cook for hours and never get soft.)

Many women were pregnant when they left for the west and others became pregnant en route. Both realities added to the difficulties of immigrating women. Probably a tenth of all Mormon emigrants died. The author's study of Mormon Trail accounts indicates that most were women and children.¹⁷

Women were also greatly hampered and disadvantaged by their clothing. Westering males dressed for the conditions: heavy boots, strong trousers, shirts, jackets, coats and broad-brimmed hats to protect the face and eyes. Tragically the same cannot be said for westering females. While modesty is almost universally considered a great virtue, it, like everything else except good will, can be overdone. The female attire of trail days, decreed by modesty and fashion, got filthy, soaked up water (even from dew), and often caused

¹⁶ This study of female Mormon Pioneers is based on these and scores of other female trail accounts in the Mormon Church archives, the Utah Historical Society, and Brigham Young University. See also Vicky Burgess-Olson, *Sister Saints* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978); Kenneth Godfrey, Audrey Godfrey, and Jill Derr, *Women's Voices...* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1982); and the old, but still useful, Edward W. Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (New York: Tullidge and Crandall, 1877, 1975 reprint).

¹⁷ Nobody knows how many died. This estimate is based on Andrew Jenson's "Emigration Crossing the Plains," see Appendix B, Document 5, and from this author's study of trail journals.

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accidents. Long skirts could get caught in many ways, drawing females under animals and moving wagons.

Even after the super modest and "trail safe" bloomers (of Amelia Bloomer) came into existence in 1852, few Mormon females cared or dared to wear them, for they were considered a costume espoused by feminists as a dress for liberated women and signaled radical sexual and political messages that were denounced at the time. Furthermore, the Bible (Deuteronomy 22:5) decreed, "The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man...all that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God." Women also kept their long skirts, petticoats, ribbons, bows, and white aprons to maintain their sexual distinction from men and their "superiority" over Indian women, and to preserve their femininity and domesticity.

Balancing out the grim realities of trail life are female trail accounts of the "romance," beauty of the landscape, the adventure of it all. Activities included dancing, singing, games, recitations, feasts, parties, socializing, tea parties, courting, and weddings. Westering women, including Mormons, enjoyed thinking up trail-related names for their infants born en route, such as Platte, Lucile Platte, Humboldt, Nevada, Laborious, Echo, Handcart, Blue River, La Bonte, and Liberty. Sometimes at night, camp women would place their scanty domestic belongings around their campfire to approximate their "parlors" back home. They also arranged the interiors of their covered wagons to be as homelike as possible. They hung mirrors, pictures, and lamps, spread carpets, and placed other belongings to this end. In fact pioneer women generally did everything they could to preserve their traditional role and image and the niceties of civilization, domesticity, and a semblance of home while westering.¹⁸

The realities of trail travel, however, greatly altered some aspects of family life. While the nineteenth century clearly distinguished between male and female roles, defining women as agents of civilization and keepers of morals, the differences between male and female work were blurred by the trail experience. Women were often called upon to take over *men's* duties and responsibilities. (Sometimes men even had to do *women's* work.) Throughout the Mormon migrations, every possible type of arrangement of family groups formed, including the unique Mormon contribution to the westward movement--polygamy. (See also below, page 44.)

Since polygamy had been practiced at Nauvoo, it existed on the trail. At the beginning of the exodus in 1846, some men took all their wives and children with them, some returned later for the balance of their families. Some women and their children joined their husbands later on the Missouri River, or in Utah. Some never did go west. Some men

¹⁸ Stanley B. Kimball, "Women, Children, and Family Life on Pioneer Trails," Paper presented before the National Convention of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City, Utah, October 1980.

married plural wives en route; some missionaries returned from Europe with additional wives.

There were also single Mormon emigrants, bachelors, maidens, widows, widowers, the divorced and the orphaned. The net of faith brought in all kinds. As far as possible singles were fitted into the emigrant companies and completely accepted. Often such single pioneers were hired hands taken along as teamsters, drivers, cattle tenders, and handymen. Single females were sometimes hired to assist with the children and to aid older family members.¹⁹ Despite the big differences between Mormon and non-Mormon trail emigrants, it appears that in general, the lives of Mormon female emigrants were much the same as those of most women on the Oregon and California trails.²⁰

LITTLE EMIGRANTS, CHILDREN

Most Mormon immigrating companies included children and infants, and child care was one of the greatest responsibilities and concerns, especially to the mothers.²¹ Proper child care was greatly complicated by the constant traveling.

Older children usually had assignments, such as watching the younger ones, driving, herding, gathering fuel, and helping their mothers. Little children, however, tended to wander off, get lost, play too close to the draft animals and wagons, or step on cacti. Little girls wore the same inappropriate clothing as their mothers did.

A favorite, and dangerous, pastime of young boys was hanging on tent poles or extra axles that were stored under the wagons. An even more dangerous pastime of boys was standing on the wagon tongue and balancing themselves by placing their hands on the backs of the oxen.

Children were attracted to fire and boiling water. They were also susceptible to many illnesses and often there was little suitable food for infants. Some mothers tried to keep their children by their sides, or safely in the wagons. Some companies attempted to protect their children by keeping them all together in one group, supervised by one or more adults. Every morning the group would be marched ahead of the main company, and herded like

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ See, for example, Lillian Schlissel, *Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey* (New York: Schocken Books, 1982); Sandra L. Myers, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982); and the multi-volume series *Covered Wagon Women*, being published by Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, California.

²¹ See Kimball, "Women, Children and Family Life on Pioneer Trails."

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sheep all day long. This was hard on the children and on their parents, but it did prevent many accidents.

Children made pets of cats, birds, prairie dogs, eagles, chickens, and lambs. Some even tried to tame buffalo calves. And all children, it seems, took a great liking to the family oxen, giving them pet names like Rouser, Brindle, Old Smut, Bill, Tom and Jerry, and Buck and Bright. There were few dogs on the trails. Cats were quiet and good mousers, but barking dogs could cause stampedes, attract Indians, or scare game.

Children played draughts or checkers, cards, hide-and-see, tag, and ball. Some had toys like iron lions or dolls. Boys had pocket knives. They played with crickets and eagerly looked for anthills, for sometimes they could find Indian beads there--the ants picked them up like small pebbles. Despite all the hardships, most children who made the journey revelled in it the rest of their lives.

INDIAN RELATIONS

Along the MPNHT and throughout their immigrating period, Mormons met with many different groups and tribes of Indians, such as the Potawatomi, Omaha, Oto, Pawnee, Sioux, Snake (or properly, Shoshoni), Ute, and Paiute, but seldom experienced difficulties. This was in part because of the Book of Mormon, which gave Mormons their unique and positive attitude towards Indians. In short, Mormons treated Indians better than other whites treated them. According to the Book of Mormon, many American Indians are descended from several groups of people in pre-Columbian America, who had somehow found their way from the Old World Holy Land to the New, and who had subsequently rejected God and fallen under a curse. This curse was to be removed eventually through the Indians' acceptance of true Christianity--Mormonism. Mormons felt it was their obligation to help the Indians, not only to "civilize" them, but also to convert them and to help them become a "fair and delightsome people."²² Indians tended to leave immigrating Mormons alone for other reasons as well: the size and preparedness of most Mormon companies, the fact that almost all Mormons merely passed through Indian lands and did not settle on them, were usually considerate in their consumption of game, grass, and wood, and gave Indians presents of salt, tobacco, and food.

Prior to their exodus west, the Mormons had had no sustained relations with Indians. (This was in part because between 1825 and 1846, the U.S. government practiced an Indian Removal program for the purpose of driving all eastern Indians west of the Mississippi.

²² For a summary study of Mormons and Indians, see Leonard Arrington, "The Mormons and the Indians, Review and Evaluation," *The Record*, (Friends of the Library, Washington State University, Pullman, (1970): 5-29. It is also true, contrary to what Hollywood would have us believe, that until the 1860s, Indians rarely attacked emigrant trains. See Unruh, *The Plains Across*.

The Sauk and Fox, for example, had been driven from Illinois by the cruel Black Hawk "War" of 1832.) There had been chance encounters here and there. In the early 1830s, Mormon missionaries had tried unsuccessfully to proselytize some Wyandot in Ohio and some Shawnee and Delaware, west of the Missouri River, near Independence, Missouri. In 1841, Chief Keokuk accompanied by Kiskukosh, Appenoose, and about 100 other chiefs and braves of the Sauk and Fox, crossed the Mississippi from Iowa (whence they had been driven in 1832) and visited Nauvoo.²³

During the Nauvoo period of Mormon history (1839-1846), several extremely important precedents were established regarding the relations between Mormons and Indians. Some Indians were given the Mormon priesthood, there was some intermarriage, and a few Indians had been permitted to go through the Nauvoo temple and take part in those sacred and secret ordinances. In no other way could the potential equality of red men with white men have been so conclusively demonstrated to Mormons and to their Indian friends.²⁴

Because of their unique view of Indians, Mormons generally treated them more fairly than other whites and throughout their migrating period, Mormons had little trouble with Indians. There are only several authenticated cases of kidnappings and killings.²⁵ (There were, however, a good many Indian attempts along the trail to buy or trade for Mormon wives. To the author's knowledge, no such arrangements were ever consummated, although up to twenty horses were sometimes offered, especially for redheads with ringlets!)²⁶ Indians did, however, steal Mormon livestock, especially horses, whenever possible.

Contemporary Mormon Trail accounts reveal none of the horror most white Americans held concerning the captivity of white women by red men. On the contrary, Mormon journals mention Indians as being stately, helpful, nice, clean, handsome, stylish, and living in primitive grandeur. Mormons recorded that Indians provided food, rides on horses, guide services, entertainment, such as horse races and bow and arrow demonstrations, and occasional succor to lost pioneers. Some handcarters recorded that mounted Indians sometimes threw a rope on a handcart and helped pull it through rough terrain.²⁷ When

²³ See Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 30, 105-106, and B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, vol. II, 1930), 88-89.

²⁴ See Stanley B. Kimball, "Red Men and White Women on Mormon Trails, 1847-1868: The Captivity Narrative in Mormondom," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Winter 1985), 81-88.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

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the Mormons settled in the Great Basin, however, and thereby pre-empted Indian lands, they experienced the same type of Indian troubles as non-Mormon settlers. There were intermittent conflicts for about twenty years--from some horse stealing in 1849 through the Black Hawk War of the 1860s.

BLACKS ON THE TRAIL

There were very few Blacks connected with the early Mormon Church and fewer still on the emigrant trails. There were, for example, only three Blacks in the pioneer company of 1847--Green Flake, Hark Lay, and Oscar Crosby. In the much bigger group of 1848, twenty-four more Blacks crossed the plains. Thereafter the records indicate a scattering of Black "servants" going west during the 1850s. Almost all of the servants mentioned in the sources were slaves of white southern converts, who saw no compelling reason for freeing their slaves just because they had become Mormons. Fortunately, most Blacks were later freed in Utah. On the trail, most of these slaves served as teamsters, herders, or cooks.²⁸

FOREIGN MORMON EMIGRANTS

Mormon missionaries first reached Europe in 1837, and from England, missionaries spread to the continent. There were, therefore, many Mormon emigrants from, not only England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, but also from Denmark, Norway, Iceland, France, Italy, and Germany. Many of these emigrants were at a disadvantage in not knowing English in addition to not being accustomed to life on and beyond the American frontier. Mormon emigration officials tried to reduce this disadvantage through the previously mentioned Perpetual Emigration Fund, by organizing the foreign emigrants in Europe so that they sailed and traveled together all the way to their new Zion, and by always putting leaders in charge who knew the requisite languages. The sources indicate the system worked well.²⁹

²⁸ Jack Beller, "Negro Slaves in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (1979): 122-26, and Ronald G. Coleman, "Blacks in Utah," in *The Peoples of Utah* 24, ed. Helen Z. Papanikolas (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), 115-140; the same author's "Blacks in Pioneer Utah, 1847-69," *UMOJA: A Scholarly Journal of Black Studies*, 2, (Summer 1978): 96-110; and this author's study of Mormon Trail accounts.

²⁹ See Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the High Seas, A Maritime History of Mormon Migrations: 1830-90*, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983) and the author's study of Mormon Trail journals.

NON-MORMONS ON THE TRAIL

The Mormons, of course, met many traders, freighters, trappers and mountain men at their various points of departure and along the Mormon Trail. Additionally they encountered other westering Americans, the military, including discharged soldiers and even deserters and draft-dodgers from both north and south (during the Civil War, sometimes Mormon trains were even stopped and searched for such men), mail carriers, 49ers, Overland Telegraph workers, government roads workers, and Union Pacific Railroad workers.

During the Civil War, some of the Mormon trains were stopped, usually near Fort Bridger, and all native born males eighteen years or older had to take an oath of allegiance to the United States, while all male aliens eighteen years or older had to swear to act in strict neutrality.³⁰

MORMON INTEREST IN THE FAR WEST TO 1846

We can now turn to a discussion of just when the Mormons decided to settle in the Rocky Mountain area. The usual place to start the story of the Mormons and the Far West is with a statement made August 6, 1842, allegedly by Joseph Smith, to the effect that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains. In July 1843, Smith sent Jonathan Durham to investigate a route across Iowa from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the Missouri River. By February 1844, Smith had also suggested an exploring party be sent to investigate locations for possible settlement in California or Oregon. In March 1844, he sent a petition to Congress requesting authorization to raise 100,000 armed volunteers to protect Mormons who might immigrate to Oregon.³¹ Nothing came of the projected exploring party or the petition. Among other things, Smith began campaigning for the presidency of the United States, Congress refused to receive the petition, and Smith was murdered the following June by an anti-Mormon mob in Carthage, Illinois.

One important event, however, did come from the abortive petition. Congressman Stephen A. Douglas from Illinois sent Smith a map of Oregon, a copy of John C. Fremont's 1843 map (see Appendix A, Map 3) and a report on the exploration of the country lying between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains.

The death of Smith ended further discussion of going west for the rest of that year and the church as a whole dedicated itself to effecting the plans of its martyred prophet--completing the temple, building a better Nauvoo, and expanding the proselytizing program.

³⁰ Gleaned from trail journals.

³¹ Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 184-185, and Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, vol. 2, 210-216.

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It appears that by January 1845, Brigham Young (see Appendix D, Illustration 4 and Appendix C Biographical Sketch 3), Joseph's *de facto*, if not *de jure*, successor and other Mormon leaders simultaneously carried on two mutually exclusive programs: (1) to build up Nauvoo, and (2) to prepare to leave.³² Until October 1845, however, the second program was not generally known. That Young indeed was preparing his followers for such a move is manifested by the fact that on October 30, 1844, the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, a Mormon newspaper, printed a selection from Washington Irving's *Astoria* entitled "The Climate of the Rocky Mountains," and that throughout 1845, the same paper published many other articles on Oregon, the Indians, and especially extracts from Fremont's *Reports* about the Oregon Trail, the Bear River area, and the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. Also published were portions of Lansford W. Hastings' *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California*, which had just appeared in 1845. Furthermore, in 1845, the *New York Messenger*, another Mormon publication, printed almost the entirety of Hastings' book.³³ Young even revived Smith's proposal about sending out a party to search for locations in the west, but nothing came of it.

How long Young intended to carry on both programs is not known, for his hand was forced that fall. In September of 1845, anti-Mormons, convinced that the Mormons were not going to leave Illinois, began a program of harassment. More than 200 Mormon homes and farm buildings located outside Nauvoo were burned that fall and the anti-Mormon convention headquartered in Carthage decreed that the Mormons must quit Illinois the following spring. Therefore a western exploring party was organized and the exodus was officially announced and scheduled for the spring of 1846.³⁴ Mormon historical records show that during December 1845 Mormon leaders studied the works of Fremont, Hastings, and other travelers of the Far West.³⁵ (See section entitled Western Travel Accounts Consulted by the Mormons, page 29.) Even after quitting Nauvoo during February 1846, the advance group of Mormons continued to gather information about the west. On January 6, 1847, for example, Young wrote to a church member in St. Louis: "I want you to bring me one half dozen of Mitchell's new map of Texas, Oregon & California and the

³² A good recent account of leaving Nauvoo is Richard Bennet, *Mormons at the Missouri, 1846-52*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987) 13-25.

³³ For a detailed account of these events, see Stanley B. Kimball, *William Clayton's The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide*, (Gerald, Mo.: The Patrice Press, 1983), 18-19. See also Lewis Clark Christian, "Mormon Foreknowledge of the West," *Brigham Young University Studies* 21, Fall 1981, 403-415, and his 1972 Brigham Young University Thesis.

³⁴ Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 210-215, and Flanders, *Kingdom on the Mississippi*.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

regions adjoining...for 1846.... If there is anything later or better than Mitchell's, I want the best." (See Appendix A, Map 4.)³⁶

WESTERN TRAVEL ACCOUNTS CONSULTED BY THE MORMONS

It will be useful at this point to discuss the accounts, maps, and frontiersmen the Mormons consulted before and during their great exodus to their New Zion. To do this let us examine the trans-Missouri travel/guide literature available to Mormon leaders generally through April 1847, when they left the Missouri River for the Far West. Probably the Mormons were not even aware of much of the literature, still less able to consult it, but it will be helpful, nonetheless, to survey the field.

Travel literature had long been in vogue in the young Republic. Dozens of guides appeared, beginning with a 1748 guide to Kentucky, throughout the nineteenth century, to a guide to the Klondike goldfields in 1897. Perhaps the earliest publication of specific value to the Mormons would have been Edwin James' 1823 *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains 1819-1820*, based on the notes of Major S.H. Long of the famous U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers. This work detailed Long's 1820 expedition from a point on the Missouri about 10 miles above what was to become the site of the Mormon Winter Quarters, westward along a line of march very similar to that of the Mormons in 1847. That is, along the north bank of the Platte, across the Elkhorn River and Shell Creek, past the Pawnee villages, the ford of the Loup River, and continuing west along the north bank of the Platte to the confluence of the North and South Platte branches. That is where Long turned southwest into what is now Colorado, and discovered the peak that bears his name. The forty-two-page account of this part of Long's expedition would surely have been one of the best works the Mormons could have consulted, for this was the best exploring account of the Great Plains before Fremont.

In 1837, the imagination of the nation was caught by Washington Irving's reworking of the 1833 journal of Captain Benjamin Louis Eulalie de Bonneville into *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West*. The account of the Oregon Trail between Fort Laramie and the Green River would have been of some value to the Mormons. Of special interest would have been the five-page description of the Great Salt Lake provided to Bonneville by one of his men, Joseph W.R. Walker. Bonneville was also the first to prove the feasibility of taking loaded wagons over the famed South Pass.

The following year a book appeared of which the Mormons might have known. This was the Rev. Samuel Parker's *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains* along the Oregon Trail from Fort Leavenworth to the Green River via Bellevue (in what is now

³⁶ Carl I. Wheat, *Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West*, vol. 3, (San Francisco: Institute of Historic Cartography, 1959), 31.

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Nebraska); that is, across the Papillion, Elkhorn, the Loup, and along the north side of the Platte to Fort Laramie--the same way the Mormons later went.

The publications of John K. Townsend, Maximilian, Prince of Wied, Father Pierre Jean De Smet, and Thomas J. Farnham in the 1830s and 1840s would have been of little value to the Mormons. Of far greater importance was Captain John C. Fremont's *A Report of the Exploring Expeditions to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842*. Published in 1843, this work was probably worth as much to the Mormons as everything else published to that date combined. This was the Fremont *Report* mentioned so often by the Mormons. A 10,000-copy edition was reprinted in 1845 as the first part of his *A Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and To Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-44*. The seventy-nine-page report of 1843 was the first scientific survey of the Oregon Trail and the first reasonably accurate guidebook to the Far West.

The 1843 *Report* was useful to the Mormons for its account of the Platte River Valley from what is now North Platte, Nebraska, to South Pass. Of most value to the Mormons in the subsequent 1845 *Report* was the three-page account of the exploration of the Great Salt Lake (which he reached via the Soda Springs), the Bear River area, and the valley of the Great Salt Lake. Of paramount interest to the Mormons were his comments on the fertility of the valleys west of the Rocky Mountains.

Next to Fremont the most often-mentioned source of information to the Mormons was Lansford W. Hastings' *The Emigrant's Guide to Oregon and California*, also published in 1845. For all of the fame or notoriety of this work, it is difficult to see wherein its value to the Mormons lay. Hastings' short account of his traveling from St. Louis to the Green River would have been of little help to the Mormons. He devoted exactly one sentence on pages 137-138 to what became the famous and infamous Hastings Cutoff, "The most direct route for the California Emigrants, would be to leave the Oregon route, about two hundred miles east from Fort Hall; then bearing west-south-west, to the Salt Lake; and thence continuing down to the bay of San Francisco, by the route just described."³⁷ This one sentence sent some to their deaths, while suggesting to the Mormons a shorter way to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, west from Fort Bridger, rather than via Fort Hall. The Mormons might also have found Hastings' excellent ten-page chapter on "The Equipment, Supplies, and the Method of Traveling" very valuable.³⁸

³⁷ Lansford W. Hastings, *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California*, (Cincinnati: George Conclin, 1845), 137-138.

³⁸ For further discussion of early travel literature, see S. Kimball, *William Clayton's The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide*.

WESTERN MAPS CONSULTED BY THE MORMONS

Of far more importance to the Mormons than the travel accounts were the maps available to them. There were many--a plethora in fact.³⁹ Since at least 1722, dozens of Spanish, French, and American maps had been published showing, in varying degrees of accuracy and fullness, the Platte River area. Over fifty maps of the trans-Mississippi west appeared during the first five years of the 1840s, and in the critical year of 1846 another twenty-eight were published.⁴⁰

From a practical standpoint, there is no use in this study to consider anything published prior to Major S.H. Long's map of 1823, which not only gave details along the north side of the Platte from the Missouri River to the forks of the Platte (see Appendix A, Map 5), but is also generally considered to have been the best map of the Platte area prior to those prepared by Fremont and his cartographer Charles Preuss. (See Appendix A, Map 3.)

It appears the Mormons also consulted the 1835 map of Bonneville. Unfortunately he was an untrained amateur and his map, not based on astronomical observations, was of poor technical quality. Still it was widely known and used in its day.

While there were many maps of the trans-Missouri west published in the 1840s, almost every one the Mormons might have been interested in were either those of Fremont-Preuss or based on Fremont-Preuss. The three Fremont-Preuss maps, which appeared in 1843, 1845, and 1846, were what we would call strip maps today, showing only the area actually explored with no attempt to present wide, general areas. They represent the best American cartography between Long's work and the Civil War.⁴¹

The first of the Fremont-Preuss series, showing the Oregon Trail in great detail, from the forks of the Platte to South Pass and the Wind River Mountains, was the basis for the two that followed. In large format, 14½" by 33¾", it was clearly the finest map of that area ever produced. Preuss prepared another map in 1845 to accompany Fremont's second *Report* of that year. As the 1845 publication included the 1843 material, the 1845 map embodied everything on the 1843 map. In huge format, 51" x 31½", it showed his route along the Oregon trail from Westport (now part of Kansas City), to South Pass, Fort Vancouver, and on to San Francisco Bay. This map also provided a good sketch of the Platte River west from Bellevue, showing the Elkhorn, Loup, and Wood rivers.

³⁹ See Wheat, *Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West*.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 101.

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In 1846, Preuss reworked his 1845 map. This map, from Westport to the Columbia River, was constructed on a grand scale of only 10 miles to the inch and was issued in seven sections, each 26" by 16."

Of those maps derived from Fremont-Preuss, which the Mormons may have also consulted, are products that appeared with the 1845 *Report* of Colonel S. Kearny's expedition from Fort Leavenworth to South Pass; the 1845 Charles Wilkes Map of Oregon Territory; Rufus B. Sage's 1846 Map of Oregon, California, New Mexico and Northwest Texas; and above all, one or more of the three maps published by S. Augustus Mitchell in 1846. It was one or more of these Mitchell maps that Young ordered from St. Louis during January 1846, as cited previously. The map in question was undoubtedly the previously mentioned, "A New Map of Texas, Oregon, and California," which was 20" by 22" and appeared in four colors. (See Appendix A, Map 4.) It would seem then that the maps that hung on the walls of the Nauvoo temple and that were subsequently taken west, besides Fremont's, were surely Mitchell's, Wilkes', Bonneville's, and most likely Long's. Unfortunately none of the copies used by the pioneers has survived.

WESTERN TRAVELERS CONSULTED BY THE MORMONS

It is also interesting to note the contacts the Mormons might have made while on the Missouri River, from June 1846 to April 1847, and subsequently along the trail. From the "Manuscript History of Brigham Young" and other sources, we know they consulted with frontiersmen, members of the famous Fontenelle family, Indian agents such as Robert B. Mitchell and Peter A. Sarpy, and Indian chiefs such as Big Elk and Le Clerk. We also know Young talked with the famous Jesuit missionary to the Indians, father Pierre Jean De Smet, while the latter was returning to St. Louis from Oregon. Justin Grosclaude, a fur trader of Swiss ancestry for the American Fur Company, also called on Young and sketched with pencil a map of the country west of the Missouri -- a map which, regrettably, has not survived.⁴² Not only did the Mormon leaders of the 1840s seek trail knowledge in the Council Bluffs area, but later on, rank and file Mormons in many other places along the Missouri River (such as Independence, Westport, Weston, and St. Joseph, Missouri, and Fort Leavenworth, Kansas Territory) acquired useful information to help later emigrants.

On the trail, the Mormons made the best use of every opportunity to learn from others including traders, guides, and mountain men such as Moses Harris, Jim Bridger, and Miles

⁴² See Elden J. Watson, Compiler, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young: 1846-47*, (Salt Lake City: Elden J. Watson, 1971).

Goodyear.⁴³ Whenever possible, the Mormons updated their information with the maps, printed accounts, and personal experiences of the people they met along the way.⁴⁴

MORMONS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

There is no evidence that the Mormons harmed the environment of the trail. As modern Saints, Mormons tried to be responsible travelers--considerate of the land and game. Killing for sport, for example, was prohibited and they were usually careful in their consumption of trees for fuel. Perhaps the main reason for the Mormon concern with the environment is that they knew thousands of their faith would be using the same trail. The Mormons were interested in the environment, in the flora and fauna of the increasingly strange world they encountered while westering. Their journals record their pleasure with the dramatic landscapes they traversed. Occasionally some pioneers found time to do some "botanizing" and what we might call "geologizing." In what is now Nebraska, in 1847, for example, they were fascinated by mammoth bones.⁴⁵

The author has found scores of Mormon Trail account references to land features, plants, and animals. They noted, for example, such plants as wild onions, buffalo grass, willows, roses, violets, gooseberries, strawberries, clover, bunch grass, vines, elderberries, thistles, cacti, garlic, currants, mint, sage, rushes, and cedar, ash, cherry, oak, maple, apple, alder, birch, poplar, cottonwood, and pine trees. They also noted squirrels, ducks, snapping turtles, various kinds of fish, goose, lizards, skunks (with which some foreign emigrants had unpleasant experiences), prairie dogs, rattlesnakes, antelope, hares, wolves, buffalo, badgers, deer, crickets, spiders, toads, ants, mosquitoes, mice, eagles, hawks, cranes, martins, pheasants, and magpies--to name a representative sampling.

At times they even ventured to try to describe some unusual living things. One described something, perhaps a horny toad, as being "four to five inches long, including a long tail, body short and chunky, light grey, two rows of dark spots (brown) on each side, head shaped like a snake, appears perfectly harmless." Another described a plant as "a thistle, stem four feet long, six inches wide, one quarter inch thick, ornamented by prickles top to bottom, top is kind of a crown formed by prickly leaves ten inches long and five inches broad."

⁴³ Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*.

⁴⁴ Two basic and recommended accounts of the 1847 trek are *William Clayton's Journal*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1921), and William Clayton, *The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide* (St. Louis: Missouri Steam Powered Press, 1848).

⁴⁵ Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*, 159-160.

Chapter 3

ACROSS IOWA IN 1846

LEAVING NAUVOO

The approximately 1,300-mile-long Great Trek must be divided into two parts: The nearly 265-mile-long section across Iowa in 1846 (see Appendix A, Map 6) and the 1,032 (as measured by Clayton in 1847)¹ -mile-long segment across the Great Plains of Nebraska and Wyoming into Utah in 1847 (see Appendix A, Maps 7-9). The Iowa portion of the trail was used relatively little, mainly by the Mormons fleeing Illinois in 1846, and by some other Mormons jumping off from Keokuk, Iowa, in 1853. It was also used in 1856-1857 by seven companies of Mormon Handcarters from Iowa City who intersected the 1846 Mormon Trail at what is now Lewis, Cass County. (See "The Handcart Emigrants" in Chapter 6.) Thousands of other Mormons also crossed Iowa up to as late as 1863 on variants of the 1846 trail and on completely different trails, but all these trails intersected the trail of 1846 somewhere in western Iowa.²

Across the monotonous, rolling Central Lowlands of Iowa, the trail of 1846 generally followed primitive territorial roads as far as Bloomfield, Davis County, then vague Potawatomi (the name exists in different spellings) Indian and trading trails along ridges from one water source to another and to an Indian agent's settlement on the Missouri River at what is now Council Bluffs. The trail always fell within 50 miles of the present Missouri state line. There is very little of the old trail left in Iowa. Time and the plow have erased almost all remains. What little can still be seen is described in Chapter 7, "Historic Sites along the Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail."

The Iowa portion of the trek was the worst. In spite of long preparations for quitting Nauvoo, the Mormons were not at all well prepared when they left during February and March of 1846. For one thing they left earlier than was necessary or had been planned. The year 1846 began badly. The charters of the Nauvoo Legion and of the City of Nauvoo were revoked in January, thus curtailing what legal and military protection the Mormons had. Rumors were spreading that the U.S. Government would prevent the Mormons from leaving because they were suspected of counterfeiting and that federal troops from St. Louis were planning to march on Nauvoo.³ Apparently these rumors led church leaders to decide to begin the evacuation of Nauvoo as soon as possible, rather than to await the

¹ See *William Clayton's Journal*, 376.

² See Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers*, and Stanley B. Kimball, "The Mormon Trail Network in Iowa, 1838-68," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 21 (Fall 1981), 417-430.

³ See Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 220.

agreed-upon spring departure time. (For an artist's version of this exodus from Nauvoo see Appendix D, Illustration 5.) In the beginning the weather was terrible, and the vanguard of Saints, a mixed group of men, women, and children, were inexperienced as well as unprepared. It took a month to cover the first 100 miles--an average of only 3 miles per day.

On February 4, 1846, the first wagons, belonging to a Charles Shumway, pulled out of Nauvoo, crossed the Mississippi River on ferries near the present Exodus to Greatness marker (NR, see Historic Site 1, Chapter 7)⁴ in Nauvoo. After crossing the Mississippi the pioneers traveled west some 7 miles to a staging ground at Sugar Creek, Lee County, Iowa (see Historic Site 3), to await the arrival of Brigham Young and other church leaders who joined them February 15th.

The initial crossing and camping were neither orderly nor disciplined, and few people had followed advice regarding adequate food supplies. (See Appendix B, Document 1, for "Bill of Particulars": items recommended for a Mormon family of five.) In addition to this suggested "outfit," which cost about \$250, the pioneers needed all the clothing, bedding, and other foodstuffs they could acquire. For example, although Heber C. Kimball, an apostle, reached Sugar Creek with a two-year supply of food, the mismanagement and unpreparedness of others caused his store to be consumed within two weeks. (See Appendix D, Illustration 6 and Appendix C, Biographical Sketch 4.)

In spite of this and other difficulties attending the evacuation, months of planning and preparation made the exodus, even though several months ahead of schedule, more orderly and successful than is generally believed, and far from the tragic route of folklore.

Because of the weather, general unpreparedness, and lack of experience in moving large groups of people (except for Zion's Camp of 1834), the crossing of Iowa in 1846 was much more difficult than the migration west of the Missouri in 1847.⁵ The skills they learned while crossing Iowa in 1846 made the much longer part of the trek from the Missouri River to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake in 1847 easier. Through this part of the journey, the pioneers also set the pattern for settling the Great Basin.

TREK COMMENCES/DIFFICULTIES/SKILLS LEARNED

By the beginning of March the first group of Mormons were ready to vacate their staging ground on Sugar Creek, where they had been gathering since February 4th. No accurate record was kept of how many wagons and people were at Sugar Creek that March 1st--estimates vary from four to five hundred wagons and from three to five thousand

⁴ NR indicates that the site is already on the National Register of Historic Places.

⁵ This judgement is based on the author's study of trail journals.

individuals. Five hundred wagons and three thousand people is probably close to the truth.⁶

What from the start was known as the "Camp of Israel" began to lumber out from Sugar Creek about noon to the "gee-haws" of teamsters and the yells of herdsmen and children. Thereafter, Old Testament parallels to a Zion, a Chosen People, an Exodus, a Mount Pisgah, a Jordan River, a Dead Sea, to being "in the tops of the mountains," and making the desert blossom like the rose, were noted, devised, cherished, and handed down. The Mormons resembled ancient Israel in other ways: they were divided into groups of fifties and tens (Exodus 18:21) and, at times, were fractious and whiny.

A few trail journals give a romantic cast to the exodus across Iowa, that "Mormon Mesopotamia" between the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers, but as most other trail accounts make clear, the worst part of the entire journey from Nauvoo to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake was the beginning. No part of the long trek surpasses the tragedy and triumph of this hegira across the rolling, open prairie of Iowa Territory, which then consisted of little more than bluestem prairie grass and stands of oak and hickory forests along the numerous rivers and streams and dangerous swamps and bogs. Often, when roads did exist, they were most primitive. Some Mormons may have reflected often on the frontier sarcasm that it was a middling good road when the mud did not quite reach one's boot tops--while astride a horse. Although the Mormons made some improvements along the roads and trails they followed across Iowa, they did little, if any, trailblazing.

Along the Iowa trail, the basic skills of immigrating and colonizing were practiced and permanent camps were established. This part of the westward march influenced Mormon history long afterward. The Saints had learned only the rudimentary lessons of immigration during the Zion's Camp march from Ohio to Missouri in 1834; the advanced training had to be acquired in Iowa.

Through the settled parts of eastern Iowa, the Mormons tried to earn what money they could by hiring themselves out to anyone who would pay them. From 1846 through the early 1850s, they found sporadic work plowing; planting; fencing; digging wells; cutting logs; splitting rails; husking corn; making shingles; digging coal; and building bridges, homes, barns, jails, and river locks. They also did some plastering and brick work, and Pitt's Brass Band, a group of musicians from this pioneer company, played for dances.

Although it was generally well known among the Saints that the Camp of Israel was headed beyond the Rocky Mountains and into the Great Basin, little was said about where the camp would cross the Missouri or where they would pick up the Oregon Trail. They had

⁶ No attempt was made initially to move all the Mormons from the Nauvoo area at once. Approximately 10,000 Mormons remained in the area until better weather, and almost all followed Brigham Young west by that September. This is why the pioneer group established several "permanent" camps across Iowa, as detailed later in the text. See Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 220-221.

little intention of returning to Missouri and crossing at Independence, Weston, or St. Joseph, and the only other well-established point of crossing to the north was Council Bluffs, Iowa Territory, which was closer to Nauvoo. In August 1845, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles (in charge of the church between the death of Smith and the presidency of Young) sent several men on a reconnaissance mission to find the best route across Iowa. They reported favorably on the Council Bluffs crossing.⁷

ORGANIZATION IMPROVED

As the camp moved west some changes and improvements in organization became necessary. Only the fundamental arrangement of the trek had been effected at Nauvoo and Sugar Creek. For various reasons, many of the original families had returned to Nauvoo, and bad roads and weather had scattered others.

On March 7th the camp reached a place they called Richardson's Point (see Historic Site 5, Chapter 7), which became the second rest stop in Iowa. The pioneers stayed here until March 18th. At Richardson's Point they lightened the loads of some of the wagons by burying some cannon balls and shot in the ground, intending to get them at some other time.

On March 22nd on the Chariton River, near present-day Sedan, Appanoose County, the remaining emigrants were called together and urged to maintain better order. To this end they regrouped into three companies, each consisting of one hundred families. All three companies were then subdivided into fifties and then tens, each unit led by a captain, the most important leaders of which were those of the six groups of fifty--Brigham Young, Heber Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Peter Haws, John Taylor, and George Miller.⁸ (See Appendix D, Illustrations 4, 6, 7, 8 and Appendix C, Biographical Sketches 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.) This Chariton camp became the third temporary camping place in Iowa. The pioneers remained there from March 22nd through March 31st.

Thereafter, the line of march continued somewhat to the southwest until the companies found themselves on Locust Creek (see Historic Site 6), either close to or in Missouri, where they made a fourth temporary camp. At that time, since the Missouri boundary was about 10 miles north of where it is today, some of them actually dipped into what was then Putnam County, Missouri.

⁷ Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*, 133.

⁸ Watson, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 107

"COME, COME YE SAINTS" COMPOSED

It was here on April 14th that a courier arrived with a letter from Nauvoo informing William Clayton, the camp clerk, of the safe birth of a son. (See Appendix D, Illustration 9 and Appendix C, Biographical Sketch 9. Many pregnant women were left behind in the relative safety of Nauvoo until the advance company of pioneers worked out the best way to travel from the Mississippi to the Missouri. Messengers were frequently sent back to help guide the other Mormons who went west in 1846.) The next morning, walking off by himself, he wrote in joy and gratitude the words of the now-famous hymn "Come, Come, Ye Saints," often called, with some justification, the "Mormon Marseillaise" or the "hymn heard around the world." The verses epitomized the Mormon motivation for going west and their experience on a dozen trails, some well known, some totally forgotten, between New York and Utah from 1831 to the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. (For the words to this hymn, see Appendix B, Document 2.)

GARDEN GROVE ESTABLISHED

From Locust Creek the camp bore more to the north to get away from their old enemies, the Missourians. By April 24th the pioneers had reached a place that they named Garden Grove (REC, see Historic Site 7 and Appendix D, Illustration 10).⁹ It was about halfway across Iowa, 144 miles west of Nauvoo and 120 miles east of Council Bluffs. Here, on the east bank of the Weldon Fork of the Grand River, they established the first of several permanent camps between Nauvoo and Winter Quarters. In three weeks they had broken 715 acres of tough prairie sod, built cabins, and established a community.¹⁰ Although nothing of the pioneer camp exists, there is a town by the name of Garden Grove near this old campsite and the local school district is named the Mormon Trail District.

MOUNT PISGAH ESTABLISHED

When the camp moved out of Garden Grove on May 12th, enough families were left behind to maintain the community and to help later Nauvoo exiles, of which there would be thousands. Six days and about 35 miles later, they established another permanent camp and resting place. This site, on the middle fork (Twelve-Mile Creek) of the Grand River and on Potawatomi Indian land, was selected and named Mount Pisgah (REC, see Historic Site 8 and Appendix D, Illustration 11) by Parley P. Pratt, who, when he first saw it rising above the Iowa prairie, was reminded of the biblical Pisgah (Deuteronomy 3:27), where

⁹ REC indicates that the site is recommended for listing on the National Register of Historic Places by the author (see page 75).

¹⁰ Watson, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 144; Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 224.

Moses viewed the Promised Land. There they built cabins and planted several thousand acres of rich bottomland lying to the west of the rise with peas, cucumbers, beans, corn, buckwheat, potatoes, pumpkins, and squash. Mount Pisgah was maintained as a camp until at least 1852. At its height it had over 2,000 inhabitants, most staying until their future homes in what is now Utah were more certain.¹¹

At Mount Pisgah, after over two and a half months of Iowa mud and other assorted troubles, Mormon leaders felt the need for divine guidance, so they withdrew to the isolation of the limitless prairie, clothed themselves in temple robes, formed a prayer circle, and invoked God for the good of the people and the success of the venture. All along the trek such special group prayers were held.¹²

About 35 miles farther west they deepened some trail ruts still visible today--the only good ruts this author has found in Iowa (REC, see Historic Site 10 and Appendix D, Illustration 12). Mormon Trail ruts are very rare in Iowa for several reasons: the Iowa portion of the trail was much less used than the Nebraska and Wyoming portions, the soft soil did not hold and preserve the ruts well, and most of the ruts that did remain after the Mormons passed have since been destroyed by the plow.

COUNCIL BLUFFS REACHED

Late on June 2nd, the camp moved on toward Council Bluffs, some 90 miles to the west, leaving behind enough people to improve and maintain Mount Pisgah for the benefit of future Saints going west. This last section of the 1846 journey was relatively pleasant: the sun dried the roads, grass grew, and wild strawberries flourished. On June 13th, the camp reached the Council Bluffs area at the Missouri River, and the first portion of the march was nearly over. The vanguard had taken a full four months, 120 days, to cross some 265 miles of southern Iowa, averaging only about 2.25 miles per day. (For a historical view of Council Bluffs and a generalized map of the whole area on both sides of the Missouri, see Appendix D, Illustration 13 and Appendix A, Map 13.)

Despite the troubles experienced while crossing Iowa, the Mormons survived as a community, a community that grew stronger on the Missouri River, across the trans-Missouri west, and in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake.

¹¹ This information comes from an informational kiosk at Mount Pisgah.

¹² Prayer circles ordinarily were (and are) performed only in Mormon temples. Under unusual circumstances, however, they may be performed as at Mount Pisgah.

Chapter 4

COUNCIL BLUFFS AND WINTER QUARTERS: 1846-1847

COUNCIL BLUFFS GENERAL AREA

In the Council Bluffs area the Mormons were not yet in the wilderness. The general area, up and down both sides of the river, had been discovered by French and Spanish explorer-trappers in the 1700s and had been an Indian trading site since at least 1804, when Lewis and Clark met with Indians north of there. Military forts, such as Fort Lisa and Fort Atkinson, had been built nearby as early as 1812, steamboats from St. Louis reached there as early as 1819, and it was an established point of departure for Oregon and California. Francois Guittau founded the first white settlement there at Trader's Point in 1824. In 1846 there was a village and a steamboat landing on each side of the river, with service to Fort Leavenworth, Independence, and St. Louis, and regular mail service. Indian agents were located on one, sometimes both, sides of the Missouri, and a Presbyterian Indian mission was on the west bank. Many goods and services, including some medical aid, were available.¹

When the Mormons arrived in 1846 they first called the area Miller's Hollow, then Kaneshville (after a non-Mormon friend, Colonel Thomas L. Kane). By special charter in 1853 the State Legislature changed the name to Council Bluffs. The name derived from a council held by Lewis and Clark with the Indians in 1804 on the west side of the river about 12 miles upstream.

MORMON CAMPS AND COMMUNITIES

Here in southern Iowa and eastern Nebraska between 1846 and 1853 the Mormons built at least fifty-five temporary and widely separated communities, farmed as much as 15,000 acres of land, and established three ferries. They eventually occupied five successive headquarters sites named Grand Encampment, Cold Spring Camp, Cutler's Park, Winter Quarters, and Kaneshville (Council Bluffs).² These numerous communities were established primarily to accommodate the thousands of Mormon emigrants, while they were either waiting to cross the Missouri River, or resting and preparing financially and physically to continue westward to Utah. Most of these communities, some named Barney's Grove,

¹ The best recent study is Bennett, *Mormons at The Missouri: 1846-1852*.

² Gail G. Holmes, "The LDS Legacy in Southwestern Iowa," *The Ensign*, (August 1988), 54-57.

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Davis Camp, or Little Pigeon, were close to the Missouri River and disappeared after the Mormons went west.

Initially the pioneers settled temporarily in camps along the bluffs near Mosquito Creek (near what is now the Iowa School for the Deaf), on the flats near the Missouri River, and near Trading Point (or Indian Town) located today just east of Bellevue, Nebraska--almost on the present Pottawattamie-Mills County, Iowa line. In July the Mormons established a third, more permanent camp on the Iowa shore, a camp that became known as Kaneshville, the origin of modern Council Bluffs.

INDIAN RELATIONS

In the Council Bluffs vicinity the Mormons in general had their first real and sustained contacts with Indians. Across Iowa the Mormons had been on Potawatomi lands since they left Mount Pisgah. At Council Bluffs they met the Potawatomi chief, Pied Riche, called "the clerk" by the French because of his education. The chief, who had been driven from his ancestral lands in Michigan by the Indian Removal policy of the 1830s, felt some kinship with the Mormons.³ The Indian agent in Council Bluffs, Major Robert B. Mitchell, was also friendly to the Mormons. He reported, for example, to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in St. Louis, "I am gratified to say that since their arrival I have seen nothing to which exception could be taken... They complain that they have been badly treated, but declare their intention to bear the American Flag to whatever country they cast their lot."⁴

And across the river at what became Winter Quarters, the Mormons were in close contact with the Oto and the Omaha.

The Omaha were a small tribe of only about 1,500 and were known for their consistent friendliness to the whites. The Oto, on the other hand, were considered by both Indians and whites to be a thieving people. They numbered about 1,000. Both tribes were basically farmers living in permanent earthen lodge villages.

Chief Big Elk and the Omahas were agreeable to the Mormons settling among them: the Indians might benefit from Mormon expertise and what the Saints would leave behind, and the whites might afford them some help against their ancient enemy, the warlike Sioux, who frequently raided Omaha villages.

³ Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*, 138.

⁴ Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, M234, role 216, frame 497, June 29, 1846, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

THE MORMON BATTALION

After the Kaneshville camp was made, Mormon leaders were immediately concerned over two major problems: sending an advance company to the Rocky Mountains, and locating a place for the main portion of the camp to build winter quarters until they, too, could go west in the spring.

On July 1st, the first problem was solved by the process of elimination. On that day, Captain James Allen of the U.S. Army's First Regiment of Dragoons of Fort Leavenworth rode into the Mosquito Creek camp with a request from President James K. Polk for a battalion of 500 Mormon men to fight in the Mexican War. Part of the agreement was that the Mormons would be permitted officially to camp on Potawatomi lands and, unofficially, allowed to move across the Missouri River and settle temporarily on Omaha lands, which had previously been closed to whites. (It was important to the Mormons to put one more river between them and the "anti-Mormons.")

The battalion of about 489 men, some 20 wives who went as laundresses, four to a company, and perhaps a dozen boys as officers' aids, (because of imperfect records the exact number of men, women, and children in the battalion is not known and estimates vary) was eventually raised. They mustered in a little south of what became Council Bluffs, near what is now the Iowa School for the Deaf and on July 20th, the new recruits started off for Fort Leavenworth, 150 miles down the Missouri.

There is still, as there was then, a widespread belief among Mormons that raising the Mormon Battalion was a great sacrifice on the part of the church to an undeserving government. Actually, the government was responding to the requests of Mormon leaders for any kind of help in their move to the west.⁵ The Mormon leaders provided the men because it would help demonstrate their loyalty to their country (during wartimes Americans, including Mormons, generally work together), and because the church would benefit materially from the military pay, from the arms that the men could keep, from the uniform money allotments (since Mormons were allowed to wear their own clothes), and from the fact that many men would be transported west at government expense. (This last point was only partly realized, because, after being discharged, members of the battalion had to transport themselves back from California to either Salt Lake City or Winter Quarters to pick up or meet with their families.)

CAMPS WEST OF THE MISSOURI RIVER

With the question of a pioneer group going west that fall eliminated by the formation of the battalion, Young began in earnest to locate winter quarters and to settle the Saints. Most of their searching was on the western side of the Missouri River on Indian lands

⁵ Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 226-227.

disputed by the Omaha and Oto nations. As previously noted, Chief Big Elk and the Omaha were agreeable to the Mormons settling among them.

Cold Spring and Cutler's Park

Two temporary camps were made opposite Council Bluffs. The first, called Cold Spring Camp, in what is now South Omaha, was of very short duration; the second was Cutler's Park (see Historic Site 18), after Alpheus Cutler, the father-in-law of Heber C. Kimball, who selected it that August. (See Appendix D, Illustration 14.) Cutler's Park is now considered to have been the first official town in what became Nebraska. The Mormons elected Cutler as mayor, chose a city council of twelve, and hired police and fire guards.

Winter Quarters

It was soon decided, however, that Cutler's Park was not suitable and in early September, another campsite was selected, 3 miles closer to the river. It was there, in what is now Florence (technically North Omaha), Nebraska, that the Saints finally built their Winter Quarters, the Mormon "Valley Forge." Winter Quarters (see Historic Sites 19 and 20) soon became a city of about 800 cabins, huts, caves, and sod, or "prairie marble," hovels, and 3,483 people. At its height it had about 4,000 people. (See Appendix A, Map 14.) During the winter of 1846-1847 there were approximately another 11,800 Mormons in camps scattered throughout Iowa.⁶

The Winter Quarters period in church history, 1847-1852 has, until recently, been neglected in Mormon historiography. It has now come to be considered one of the most important periods in Mormon history, "Mormonism in the raw," as one student put it.⁷ During these years Brigham Young became president of the Mormon Church (in 1847) and inaugurated many policies and practices that were later applied in the Great Basin. Particularly important were the lessons learned from being in close proximity to Indians--how to understand Indian life and customs, how to trade with Indians, and how to prevent and punish Indian thievery, for example. Equally important were the lessons learned about surviving on the frontier, and how to lead and hold together a people under adverse conditions, and how to openly implement doctrines heretofore kept generally secret--the doctrines of polygamy and adoption, for example.⁸ The doctrine of polygamy, or plural marriage as Mormons prefer to term it, needs little comment. It had been practiced secretly in Nauvoo since at least 1841 and was defended on the grounds that it had been sanctioned in the Old Testament, was not forbidden in the New, and was necessary to the

⁶ Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri*, 79-90.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 169.

⁸ *Ibid.*; 91-183, *passim*.

Mormon concept of the "restoration of all things." It was, however, not publicly admitted until 1852, when the Mormons were safely in Utah Territory. The law of adoption permitted church leaders to graft entire families onto their families, in order to increase their own posterity and blessing in this world and the next.

The winter of 1846-1847 was grim. At least 400 died from various causes and are buried in the Winter Quarters' cemetery (REC, see Historic Site 20, and Appendix D, Illustration 15). These deaths added to the number already dead from malaria and other fevers. Some gave up the faith and returned to the east. Others simply stayed in the area and never went west. There was also some trouble with the Indians--mainly stealing. Young warned Big Elk, Chief of the Omaha, that any Indians caught stealing would be whipped--the same punishment meted out to white malefactors. (Since the Mormons had no jails, they found it necessary to practice corporal punishment for a few years.)⁹

Still the Mormons made the best of things. They organized concerts, dances, (even dancing lessons), songfests, feasts, festivals, and sleigh rides, and visited back and forth with the other whites on both sides of the river and downstream at Bellevue.¹⁰

In Winter Quarters the Mormons received some unexpected and welcomed information regarding the mountain west. That November, as previously noted, the famous Jesuit, Father Pierre Jean de Smet, stopped and visited with the Mormons. He was en route to St. Louis after spending five years in the mountains preaching to the Flathead Indians and was one of the few white men who had visited the Great Salt Lake. Taking full advantage of this good luck, the Mormons asked him every question they could think of. De Smet took it goodnaturedly and some years later wrote a brief account of this meeting.¹¹

MORMONS AND TRAIL-SIDE SERVICES

During that winter, and throughout the next several years, until at least 1852, Mormons on both sides of the Missouri tried to make money offering what we might call trail-side services, such as blacksmithing, ferrying, cooking, baking, sewing, and selling hay, corn, and wheat. They even provided some warehousing services. In addition, they handcrafted items such as baskets, flour sacks, chairs, washboards, tables, and hats to the many hundreds of non-Mormon emigrants who also jumped-off for the Far West from that area. The area

⁹ *Ibid.*, and Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*, 145.

¹⁰ Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri*, 168-173.

¹¹ As cited by Leland H. Creer, *The Founding of an Empire* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1947), 167-168.

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was a very popular point of departure for non-Mormons.¹² Some did a little "doctoring" and pulled and cleaned teeth. Others made wine from elderberries and sold it. Some of the sisters also taught school, did washings, sewed, cooked, baby-sat, spun yarn, made clothing, and worked in restaurants and boarding houses. Some men went south into Missouri to seek work for short periods.

Throughout their emigrating period, to 1869, Mormons took every opportunity to make money by offering such services. West of the Missouri River they continued to offer blacksmithing services; they established ferries on the Elkhorn and Loup rivers (one was near what became Genoa) and did some contract bridging across the Green River (in what is now Wyoming) and down Echo Canyon (in what is now Utah), for example.

Over the years Mormon emigrants also used trail-side services provided by "Gentiles," or non-Mormons. West of the Missouri River, in what is now Nebraska, Mormons could have obtained supplies at settlements such as Fremont, North Bend, Columbus, Buchanan (near Shell Creek, which no longer exists), Cleveland (west of Columbus, which no longer exists), Monroe, Grand Island, Fort Kearny, Fort McPherson, (these two forts were on the Oregon Trail) and at scattered trading posts, such as Robidoux's near Scotts Bluff, and at various "road ranches."

Across what is now Wyoming, there was an ever-increasing number of trading posts and forts useful to the Mormons located at Dripps Trading Post, the Bordeaux Station, Fort Laramie, Ward and Guerrier's Trading Post, Horseshoe Station, Labonte Station, Deer Creek Station, Fort Caspar, Devil's Gate Station and fort, and St. Mary's Station, among others.

WINTER QUARTERS ABANDONED

After the dreary winter of 1846-1847 passed, the Mormon Pioneer advance party readied to continue west during the spring of 1847. And after they successfully planted a colony in what is now Utah, Young and other leaders returned to Winter Quarters to lead a much bigger group west in 1848. Thereafter, Winter Quarters was quickly abandoned. The Mormons who did not go west at that time tended to congregate near what was to become Council Bluffs, Iowa, until such time as they could continue on west. Some Mormons remained in western Iowa until at least 1853. They founded a newspaper, the *Frontier Guardian* (1849-1852) and made money helping with church migration and, as previously noted, also catering to the needs of thousands of other Americans traveling to Oregon and California.

¹² Merrill J. Mattes, "The Northern Route of the Non-Mormons: Rediscovery of Nebraska's Forgotten Historic Trail," *Overland Journal*. 8 (No.2, 1990), 2-14.

Chapter 5

THE PIONEER TREK OF 1847

PREPARATION

In early January 1847, the pioneer company began in earnest to prepare to leave for the Rocky Mountains that spring. The traditional time, the "window," to head west from the Missouri River was sometime between April 15th and May 30th. This vanguard differed from other westering Americans in that they were not interested in just getting themselves west, but in improving the trail for the benefit of the many thousands of their co-religionists, who would soon be following them to their new Zion. (For short accounts of those who followed the pioneers of 1847 west, see Chapter 6.) Among the improvements the pioneers made were cutting down the banks of deep stream beds so that wagons could cross them easier, bridging small creeks, marking the trail with signs, locating good fords, and establishing ferries.¹

Some idea of the staggering logistics of preparation for such a venture can be gained from the following inventory, detailed to the last half-cent, of what Heber C. Kimball assembled and transported in his six wagons:

Teams belonging to H.C. Kimball: Horses 5, mules 7, oxen 6, cows 2, dogs 2, wagons 6. List of provisions: Flour 1,228 lbs., meat 865 lbs., sea biscuits 125 lbs., beans 296 lbs., bacon 241 lbs., corn for teams 2,869 lbs., buckwheat 300 lbs., dried beef 25 lbs., groceries 290¾ lbs., sole leather 15 lbs., oats 10 bus., rap 40 lbs., seeds 71 lbs., cross-cut saw 1, axes 6, scythe 1, hoes 3, log chains 5, spade 1, crowbar 1, tent 1, keg of powder 25 lbs., lead 20 lbs., codfish 40 lbs., garden seeds 50 lbs., plows 2, bran 3½ bus., 1 side of harness leather, whip saw 1, iron 16 lbs., nails 16 lbs., 1 sack of salt 200 lbs., saddles 2, 1 tool chest, 6 pairs of double harness. Total \$1,592.87½.²

ORGANIZATION

Apparently the original idea, by design or accident (but in any case consonant with the tendency of Mormons to pattern themselves after the ancient House of Israel), was to hand-pick and outfit 144 men (including three Black slaves or "servants" of southern members and two non-Mormons selected for their special skills)--twelve for each of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, in seventy-two wagons. The pioneer band was hand-picked by Young and

¹ Preston Nibley, *Exodus to Greatness: The Story of the Mormon Migration*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1947), passim.

² Howard L. Eagan, *Pioneering the West*, (Richmond, Utah: Eagan Estate, 1917), 24.

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other top church leaders. Men were interviewed and selected with a view to making roads, building bridges, erecting temporary quarters, and other pioneering skills. Collectively those chosen had a variety of talents and skills. There were mechanics, teamsters, hunters, frontiersmen, carpenters, sailors, soldiers, accountants, bricklayers, blacksmiths, wagonmakers, lumbermen, joiners, dairymen, stockmen, millers, and engineers--varying in ability, temperament, and saintliness; they represented a cross section of humanity.³

The numerical symmetry was not essential. Even before the group left Winter Quarters, three women and two children were added and a few days later one sick man returned to Winter Quarters. En route, nineteen men left the pioneers on other assignments and thirty persons were added. So the original 144 was augmented by 35 and decreased by 20, leaving a net gain of 15. A final group of 159 members entered the Valley of the Great Salt Lake in July 1847. (See Appendix B, Document 3 for a roster of the Pioneer Company.)

The unanticipated inclusion of three women and two children in an otherwise all-male venture was occasioned by the insistence of Young's younger brother, Lorenzo, that he be allowed to take his asthmatic wife, Harriet, and her two children. This, of course, necessitated including at least one or two other females to keep Harriet company. Fortunately, Brigham had married Harriet's daughter, Clara Decker, so he took her. Kimball took Ellen Sanders, one of his sixteen wives. Her child, born February 13, 1848, was one of the first to be born in what is now Utah. Rank had its privileges.

The pioneers of 1847 were much better disciplined than was Zion's Camp of 1834, or the crossing of Iowa in 1846. This was in part the result of a revelation given to Brigham Young on January 14, 1847, at Winter Quarters--the only revelation Young ever published. It began, "The Word and Will of the Lord concerning the Camp of Israel in their journey to the west," and is known today as Section 136 of the Doctrine and Covenants. Basically the revelation gave details on camp organization. (See Appendix B, Document 4 for the full text of this revelation.) Equally important was the fact that the Mormons had learned valuable lessons while crossing Iowa, especially the value of discipline.

For a variety of reasons, including expense, the Mormons never hired professional guides or outfitters, although they consulted with them whenever possible. They preferred to "trust in the Lord" and pick up trail savvy as they moved along. Men were appointed to scout the trail and others to ride along the front, flanks, and rear--guarding and enclosing the moving camp in a box-like formation. Neither persons nor animals could be allowed to roam. Disreputable whites and Indians had to be kept at a safe distance, and wolves had to be restrained from picking off stray or weakened animals.⁴

³ A good study of these individual pioneers is Andrew Jenson, *Day by Day with The Utah Pioneers of 1847*, a series of newspaper articles published in 1934 in the *Deseret News* and subsequently bound into book form.

⁴ This information comes from the author's reading of hundreds of trail accounts.

The scouting assignment was vital. Not that there was much chance of getting lost on the established trails the Mormons used, but water, feed, fuel, grades, crossings, and whatever might prove dangerous to man or beast had to be anticipated, found, and reported. Eight men were appointed to hunt on horseback and eleven to hunt on foot.

Contrary to myth and popular belief, this 1847 trek of approximately 1,032 miles and 111 days was not one long and unending trail of tears or a trial by fire. It was actually a great adventure. Over the decades, Mormons have emphasized the tragedies of the trail, and tragedies there were, but generally after 1847. Between 1847 and the building of the railroad in 1869, at least 6,000 died along the trail from exhaustion, exposure, disease, and lack of food. Few were killed by Indians.⁵ To the vast majority, however, the experience was positive--a difficult and rewarding struggle.⁶ Nobody knows how many Mormons migrated west during those years, but 70,000 people in 10,000 vehicles is a close estimate. (See Appendix B, Document 5.) To the 143 men, 3 women, and 2 children who left Winter Quarters, the 111-day pioneer trek of 1847 was mostly a great adventure, with a dramatic ending. One hundred and eleven days later Brigham Young entered the valley and declared, "This is the place, drive on."

The feelings of the female pioneers, the three who left Winter Quarters and the six who joined at Fort Laramie, were, naturally, somewhat different. At least two of them saw only a wilderness, a reptile's paradise. "I have come 1,200 miles to reach this valley and walked much of the way," Clara Decker, Young's wife, said, "but I am willing to walk 1,000 miles farther rather than remain here." Her mother, Harriet, echoingly said, "We have traveled fifteen hundred miles over prairies, desert, and mountains, but, feeble as I am, I would rather go a thousand miles farther than stay in such a place as this."⁷ Nevertheless, they stayed.

SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENTS AND OBSERVATIONS

The 1847 pioneer trek from "civilization to sundown" took a few days to get properly under way, as did the trip in 1846, when the Camp of Israel left Nauvoo. Kimball moved three wagons out 4 miles on April 5th (see Historic Site 21), but returned to Winter Quarters to meet with John Taylor (see Appendix D, Illustration 8 and Appendix C, Biographical Sketch 7) who had just arrived from England with some specially ordered scientific instruments for Orson Pratt (see Appendix D, Illustration 16 and Appendix C, Biographical

⁵ Kimball, "Red Men and White Women on Mormon Trails."

⁶ This observation is based on a study of many trail journals. The best recent study of overland emigration in general, including the Mormons, is Unruh, *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1860*.

⁷ Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*, 170.

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Sketch 10). The elite, fast-moving, well-equipped, exploring band of pioneers were not just taking themselves to the valley, they were charting a road that the Saints and others would use for more than twenty years. For this they needed sextants, a circle of reflection, artificial horizons, barometers, thermometers, and telescopes.⁸ The Mormons became a part of what is now known as the "Great Reconnaissance" of the Far West.⁹

Orson Pratt, a Mormon with some astronomy and engineering skills, served informally as the pioneers' "scientific member." He had made a few sightings along the trail from Nauvoo, but they are of little value today. Beyond the Missouri his latitudinal determinations were made, according to his journal, alternately by "meridian observation of Sirius," by "altitude of the Pole Star," by "meridian observations of the sun," and by the "meridian altitude of the moon." With the aid of the new instruments just received from England, his latitudinal determinations were quite accurate.¹⁰

Lacking a suitable chronometer, however, his few longitudinal sightings made by the "angular distance of the sun and moon taken by sextant and circle" cannot be trusted. Even Fremont, who often spent hours making multiple sightings of the occultations of the planets and stars by the moon and the Jupiterian satellites, had difficulty determining proper longitude. Along the Platte River a miscalculation of only one minute causes an error of 6,000 feet in latitude and 4,500 feet in longitude.

STAGING GROUND

On April 5, 1847, the first wagons started west and after a few days the main body of pioneers were at their staging ground on the Platte River, 47 miles west, near what is now Fremont, Nebraska. This site was later dubbed the Liberty Pole staging ground because later Mormon emigrants erected a forty-foot-tall cottonwood pole, flying a white flag, here.¹¹ (See Historic Site 23.) This staging ground on the Platte, similar to the earlier staging ground at Sugar Creek in 1846 in Iowa, was necessary since leaders like Young and Kimball had to go back and forth between Winter Quarters and the Platte in order to get

⁸ Watson, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1846-47*, 548.

⁹ An excellent study of the Great Reconnaissance is William H. Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West: 1803-63*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.

¹⁰ Orson Pratt Journal, April-July 1847, passim, Mormon Church archives. The author has plotted all of Pratt's sightings on modern maps. See Kimball, W. Clayton's *The Saints' Emigrants' Guide*.

¹¹ Kimball, W. Clayton's *The Latter-Day Saints' Emigrants' Guide*, 42.

the "drag tails" under way, and the whole migration organized and ready to go.¹² On April 14th, Young and Kimball left Winter Quarters and joined the main camp at the Liberty Pole Camp.

At the Platte River camp the group consisted of 148 people, 72 wagons, 93 horses, 66 oxen, 52 mules, 19 cows, 17 dogs, and some chickens. There they organized paramilitary fashion into two large divisions, each of which was split into units of 50s and 10s, each with its respective leaders. Young led the first division, Kimball the second; Stephen Markham and Albert P. Rockwood were appointed captains of the hundred, with Addison Everett, Tarlton Lewis, James Case, John Pack, and Addison Roundy captains of the 50s.¹³

1847 TREK BEGINS

The real beginning of the trek of 1847 and the whole trans-Missouri Mormon migration that followed was at 7:30 on the morning of Monday, April 19th. The company moved out from their staging area and the grand adventure began. (For maps of the trail from Winter Quarters to Utah see Appendix A, Maps 7-9.)

As previously noted, the Mormons had prepared themselves for this pioneering venture by studying as much trail literature and as many travel guides as they could, including works by Irving, Fremont, Hastings, Parker, and Long, and had acquired maps by Long, Wilkes, Bonneville, Fremont, and Mitchell. They referred to the maps and accounts en route, to check their location.

The Platte River, rising in Colorado and one of the largest branches of the Missouri, is very broad and shallow, a meandering, braided river that old timers used to say "flowed upside down" -- a reference to the many visible sandbars. One disgruntled pioneer remarked that it would make a pretty good stream if it were turned on its side. Travelers seemed to enjoy thinking up insults for the Platte. The consensus regarding this river was that it was a mile wide, six inches deep, too thick to drink, too thin to plow, hard to cross because of quicksand, impossible to navigate, too yellow to wash in, and too pale to paint with. For hundreds of miles the pioneers hauled themselves across its flat, monotonous plain in what is now Nebraska.

There is some evidence that the pioneers knew in advance that they were going into the Great Basin somewhere near its eastern rim, along the western slope of the Wasatch Mountains. As early as 1842, as previously noted, some claimed Smith said that the Saints would go there, and church leaders had studied Fremont's account and maps of the area. But into which of the several unclaimed valleys? En route, the pioneers consulted with

¹² Watson, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 546-548.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 549 and Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*, 151.

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everyone they could about the region, including some famous mountain men--Moses Harris, Jim Bridger, and Miles Goodyear.¹⁴ It appears that as they moved toward and into the Great Basin, they gradually decided to settle in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake.

The camp moved deliberately, casually, about 2 miles an hour (the pace of oxen pulling heavy wagons), and under little pressure. Their best distance for one day was 23³/₄-miles, but they averaged only 10 miles a day. There was no need to get to the mountains before winter snows had melted.

THE TRAIL/DIVISIONS AND TOPOGRAPHY

West of Winter Quarters the Mormons followed generally what is sometimes called the Great Platte River Road or the north branch of the Oregon Trail, which had always been regarded as the most advantageous approach to the easiest crossing of the Rocky Mountains. The original Oregon Trail, from 1812, was north of the Platte and after Independence Missouri became the eastern terminus around 1827, it shifted to the south side. The Mormons of 1847 simply followed the older Oregon Trail to Fort Laramie, where they crossed the North Platte River and picked up the then main route of the Oregon Trail. (In trail days whatever side of the Platte a party started out on is the side it remained on; no emigrants crossed that river unless absolutely necessary. Had the Mormons started out south of the Platte, they probably would have remained on that side.) Among those who preceded the Mormons west along the north bank of the Platte were Indians, trappers, traders, Robert Stuart, James Clyman, Major Stephen H. Long, Samuel Parker, the Marcus-Whitman party of 1836, and the Townsend-Murphey group of 1844. And many non-Mormons followed the pioneers of 1847, for the Council Bluffs area was a very important and popular jumping off place throughout the westering period in American history.

The simplest way of following the pioneers (and most subsequent Mormon emigrants) from "civilization to sundown" is to divide the trail into four sections and relate them to the Oregon Trail, the "main street to the west."

- The Oregon Trail proper of the 1840s started at Independence, Missouri, and crossed Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Idaho. The first section of the Mormon Trail from Winter Quarters was generally along the north bank of the Platte River, some 185 miles to near what is now Kearney, Nebraska. Up to this point the Mormon Trail and the Oregon Trail of the late 1840s were entirely separate.
- The second portion of the Mormon Trail was from Kearney to Fort Laramie, Wyoming. Along this approximately 320-mile-long section, the two trails followed

¹⁴ Watson, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 560-561 and *William Clayton's Journal*, 289.

the Platte, the Mormons on the north bank and the Oregonians on the south. Since in the 1840s, the favored route to Oregon and California was along the south bank of the Platte, it might appear that the Mormons pioneered the north bank trail, but actually during the 1820s and 1830s the north bank had been the preferred way, used by fur trappers and missionaries.¹⁵ As late as 1846, the famous historian Francis Parkman took the northern route to South Pass.

- The third section of the trail was from Fort Laramie to Fort Bridger. Here the Mormons followed the Oregon Trail proper for some 397 miles.
- The fourth and final section of about 116 miles started at Fort Bridger, where the Oregon Trail turned north and where the Mormons left the Oregon Trail and picked up the year-old Reed-Donner track through the Rockies into the Salt Lake Valley.

West of Winter Quarters the Mormons passed along river valleys, across grasslands, plains, steppes, deserts, and mountains, and through western forests, experiencing dramatic changes in flora and fauna. Topographically the trail led across the Central Lowlands of eastern Nebraska, covered with the tall prairie grass of blue stem and needle; across the High Plains of central Nebraska and the Upland Trough of western Nebraska and eastern Wyoming, blanketed with short, stubby plains grasses such as grama and buffalo; through the Wyoming Basin with its desert shrub of sagebrush, creosote bush, and greasewood; through the forests of Douglas fir and scrub oak of the middle Rocky Mountains, and into the sagebrush desert of the Great Basin.

From Winter Quarters they followed the broad, flat valley of the Platte for some 600 miles and the beneficent little Sweetwater for about 93 more, all the while enjoying an increasingly rugged and beautiful land, and finally zigzagging through a series of defiles and canyons.

They traversed the empire of the bison, wolf, antelope, bear, coyote, goat, elk, fox, raccoon, rabbit, hare, gray swan, great blue heron, and quail; the bee, grasshopper, and firefly; the rattlesnake, copperhead, lizard, and turtle; the grayling, catfish, and trout. Seasonally the area was a piebald garden of sunflowers, daisies, gayfeather, and butterfly milkweed. The modern traveler can still find some parts of the old trail (see *Historic Sites*, Chapter 7). Much of the plains, deserts, mountains, steppes, and forests remain, but the tall grass prairie is almost all gone, a victim of the white man's plow. (See previous section on *Mormons and the Environment*.)

¹⁵ Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*.

Part I, Winter Quarters to Kearney, Nebraska

From their staging ground the Mormon Pioneers followed the Platte to near what is now Columbus, where they decided to follow the Loup Fork of the Platte. (See Appendix D, Illustration 17.) Near here the pioneers (and later Mormons) had their first meeting with a group of Plains Indians--a band of Pawnee,¹⁶ the largest indigenous tribe in Nebraska, numbering as many as 10,000 people. The nation was centered on the Loup River and habitually demanded gifts from white travelers near Shell Creek. Later the pioneers, who would meet other groups of Plains Indians such as the Sioux and the Crow, were entering the Great Plains at a time of great disorder and intertribal warfare. The inexorable push of the white man west had driven a jumble of eastern Indians onto the Great Plains, where they were considered invaders by the natives.

On April 24th, the pioneers crossed the Loup near what is now Fullerton (see Historic Site 25) and went due south about 16 miles, where they again picked up the Platte. On May 1st, just west of what is today Kearney, Nebraska, the pioneers sighted a herd (or, to pedantically use the proper noun of assembly, an obstinacy) of bison.¹⁷ Originally the animal had ranged from the Appalachians. Some were even known to live along the east coast from Virginia to Florida, to the Rockies, but by 1820 had been killed off east of the Missouri River. In 1847 the Mormons found them 200 miles farther west, along the Platte and Sweetwater rivers. A hunt was quickly organized. Four wagon loads of meat were secured and the camp feasted.

Part II, Kearney to Fort Laramie

A few days later, on May 5th, the pioneers experienced another of the great natural phenomena of the plains--a prairie fire. Usually caused by dry lightning or Indians, it became a scourging wall of flame that, wind-driven, could reach a height of twenty feet, could scorch and blind buffalo, overtake a horse, and easily engulf a slow-moving ox train. Nebraska country was a great sea of grass, which summer sun and winter frost regularly dried or killed, leaving it tinder to great fires every fall and spring. There are only two ways of fighting such a fire: with firebreaks or backfires. The pioneers had time for neither, they simply drove their wagons to a convenient island in the Platte and let the fire pass harmlessly by.

On May 10th, west of the confluence of the North and South Platte rivers, several pioneers gave some thought to making an instrument to attach to a wagon wheel that would measure miles traveled. Prior to this William Clayton had kept track of distance by tying a red cloth to a wagon wheel and counting its revolutions (360 to the mile). The device was an endless screw fashioned out of wood. It was because of this measuring device and his detailed

¹⁶ *William Clayton's Journal*, 84-87.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 116-117.

journal that Clayton was later, in 1848, to publish his famous *The Latter-day-Saints' Emigrants' Guide*. (See Appendix D, Illustration 18.)

West of Ash Hollow, a famous camping site on the Oregon Trail, the Mormons entered the broken lands of the Upper Missouri Basin and the terrain became increasingly more interesting and varied. For 80 miles to Scotts Bluff, the pioneers traveled through what might loosely be called a monument valley. Along this stretch on both sides of the river are some of the most famous and dramatic topographical features of the Mormon and Oregon-California Trails. Courthouse Rock, Chimney Rock, and Scotts Bluff guarded the Oregon Trail, while Indian Lookout Point and Ancient Ruins Bluff sentineled the Mormon Trail. In mid-May they crossed a short section of Nebraska's Sand Hills, where ruts can still be found. (REC, see Historic Site 27 and Appendix D, Illustration 19.)

On May 22nd the pioneers made camp near the most impressive topographic site along the entire Mormon Trail, a place the Mormons called Ancient Ruins Bluff, which consists of three separate and magnificently eroded formations. (See Historic Site 30 and Appendix D, Illustration 20.) On Sunday, May 24th, Brigham Young and others climbed the main bluff. While there, they wrote their names on a buffalo skull and left it on the southwest corner.¹⁸ (Years later this author tried to find this skull but, of course, it was no longer there.)

In this general area the pioneers engaged in some mock trials and elections. James Davenport, for example, was accused of "blocking the highway and turning ladies out of the way," and "Father" Chamberlain was voted the most even-tempered man in camp--always cross and quarrelsome.¹⁹

On May 24th, at their camp opposite Courthouse Rock, at one time thought to have been named from its fancied resemblance to the St. Louis courthouse, the pioneers were visited by a party of Sioux, certainly the largest of the Great Plains tribes and the most dominant. The visit was pleasant and the pioneers were favorably impressed with the Indians.²⁰

On May 26th, they passed Chimney Rock--a principal milestone, which, though only 452 miles from Winter Quarters, came to be considered sort of a halfway mark. This most familiar sight on the Oregon Trail was an eroded tusk of Brule clay jutting some 500 feet above the Platte. No one is known to have successfully climbed it, but there is one legend that an Indian suitor, in order to win a bride, reached the top, only to plunge to his death.

¹⁸ Ibid., 177.

¹⁹ Ibid., 176.

²⁰ See Jenson, *Day by Day*, May 24th, and Stanley Kimball and Hal Knight, *111 Days to Zion*, Salt Lake City: Deseret Press, 1979, 114-115.

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On Friday, May 28th, they were opposite the massive formations of clay and sandstone called Scotts Bluff and passed the future site of the famous Rebecca Winter's grave. (REC, see Historic Site 31, and Appendix D, Illustration 21.) The grave is famous, because it is one of the very few authenticated Mormon emigrant graves known.

The following day was Sunday and, just east of what today is the Wyoming state line near Henry, Young convened a special meeting. They went out on the bluffs (see Historic Site 32), clothed themselves in their temple robes and held a prayer circle to pray for guidance.

That same day they spotted the pyramidal bulk of Laramie Peak looming regally above the "Black Hills," today's Laramie Mountains, the first western mountains seen by westering Americans. (See Appendix D, Illustration 22.) A day later they passed out of what is now Nebraska and came upon a wagon track that led them to Fort Laramie, 30 miles farther west.

Fort Laramie (NR, see Historic Site 33) has had at least three names. It was founded in 1834 as Fort William, later called Fort John, by which name the pioneers knew it, and then in 1849 it became Fort Laramie, after a French trapper, Jacques LaRamie.²¹ Thus far the pioneers had suffered no deaths, little illness, and the loss of only four horses, two to the Indians and two accidentally killed--one was shot (loaded firearms kept in jolting wagons or held by people on horseback claimed many a life needlessly on the frontier), the other fell into a ravine while tethered, and broke its neck.

In 1847 while at Fort Laramie, the pioneers rested their animals and themselves and prepared to pick up the Oregon Trail, the longest wagon road in history. Called the main street of the old west, the Oregon Trail stretched over 2,000 miles from Independence, Missouri, to the Columbia River. It had been blazed between 1811 and 1839 and thereafter tens of thousands used the trail annually on their way to Oregon and California. Estimates range from 350,000 to 500,000 people used the Oregon Trail up until the coming of the railroad in 1869.²² Those going to California left the Oregon Trail at Soda Springs and Fort Hall in what is now Idaho.

While at Fort Laramie, the pioneers were joined by seventeen advance members of the "Mississippi Saints" from Monroe County, Mississippi, who had been waiting for them for two weeks. Among this advance group were six females: Elizabeth Crow and her five daughters. The Mississippi Saints told the pioneers that most of their group and some soldiers of the Mormon Battalion, too sick to pursue the march any farther (commonly

²¹ Somehow, probably because he was killed by Indians, Jacques not only got a fort named after him, but a mountain range, peak, river, city, and a county, as shown on Wyoming maps.

²² See Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 23; and Gregory M. Franzwa, *The Oregon Trail Revisited*, (St. Louis: The Patrice Press, 1988).

called the Sick Detachment), were at Fort Pueblo in what was to become Colorado.²³ To help this group join the pioneers in the Valley, Young dispatched four men to Fort Pueblo. This meant a net gain of thirteen individuals, bringing the number of the pioneer group to 161 people with 77 wagons.

Part III, Fort Laramie to Fort Bridger

On Saturday, June 5th, the pioneers were ready to leave for the continental divide at South Pass and Fort Bridger, 397 miles west. For a little over one month the pioneers would be on the Oregon Trail with several other Gentile (non-Mormon) companies, with whom they would vie for the best campgrounds, feed, and priority in fording rivers.

On their first day out from Fort Laramie they came to what is now called Mexican Hill (REC, see Historic Site 34 and Appendix D, Illustration 23). They may have been familiar with the frontier hyperbole regarding this steep cut down the bluffs to the river. While descending, so the story went, if a tin cup fell out of a wagon it would land in front of the oxen. Two miles west of Mexican Hill is Register Cliff (NR, see Historic Site 35) and 1½ miles beyond that are some of the most dramatic trail ruts in the world--four feet deep in solid rock--near what is now Guernsey, Wyoming, in Guernsey State Park. (NR, see Historic Site 36, and Appendix D, Illustration 24.) Near here is Warm Springs Canyon, the Emigrants' Wash Tub (see Historic Site 37), where the water is always a warm 70 degrees.

Two days later, near Horseshoe Creek, Heber C. Kimball discovered a large spring (see Historic Site 38), which was named after him. On Sunday, June 13th, while at their fording site on the Platte, frequently referred to as "Last Crossing," the pioneers established a ferry for the Saints who would follow. It was also established to be a money-making venture. Ten men were left behind to operate and maintain what soon became known as Mormon Ferry. (NR, see Historic Site 40.)

When the pioneers left Last Crossing on June 19th, they quit the Platte for good. From the Elk Horn River to Last Crossing they had followed its generally gentle valley for more than 600 miles. The easy part of the trek was over, as the next 50 miles would prove. The stretch from Last Crossing through Emigrant Gap, by Avenue of Rocks, Willow Springs and up Prospect Hill (see Historic Sites 41-44) to the Sweetwater River near Independence Rock (see Historic Site 45) was the worst section of the whole trail between Nauvoo and the Salt Lake Valley. It was a "Hell's Reach" of few and bad campsites, bad water, little grass, one steep hill, swamps, and stretches of alkali flats.²⁴

But the pioneers endured and lived to enjoy refreshing draughts of the Sweetwater River, which probably acquired its name either from American trappers because of its contrast

²³ Watson, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 556-557 and 608.

²⁴ This evaluation is based on the author's personal observations.

with the other brackish streams in the vicinity, or from French *voyagers*, who called it the *Eau Sucree* because a pack mule loaded with sugar was lost in its water. This small, gentle, beneficent river, which all Oregonians and Mormons followed for 93 miles to South Pass (NR, see Historic Site 52), made it possible for travelers to reach their destination in one season, avoiding a winter in such desolate country.

Like all travelers before and after them, the pioneers stopped to climb the huge turtle-shaped Independence Rock and some carved or painted their initials or names into or on it. Four and a half miles west was the equally famous Devil's Gate (REC, see Historic Site 46 and Appendix D, Illustration 25), another popular resting place on the trail. Its name derives from the notion that the formation bears the profiles of twin petrified genies. It is a 1,500-foot-long, 370-foot-deep gap in a rocky spur, through which flows the Sweetwater. Signatures can still be found in this gap.

West of Devil's Gate came Martin's Cove (NR, see Historic Site 47, and Appendix D, Illustration 26), the Split Rock ruts (REC, see Historic Site 48 and Appendix D, Illustration 27), Three Crossings (see Historic Site 49), the Ice Springs (Historic Site 50), the Willie's Handcart grave (REC, see Historic Site 51, and Appendix D, Illustration 28), and South Pass.

On June 27th they crossed the flat, almost imperceptible 7,750-foot-high continental divide at South Pass, the "Cumberland Gap" of the Far West. Oregonians and Californians tried to reach this pass by July 4th in order to get to their destinations before winter. (The Mormons, with a shorter distance to go, did not have to be so careful.) At Pacific Springs (see Historic Site 53), immediately west of South Pass, the pioneers refreshed themselves and their animals. These famous springs, so named because their waters flowed to the Pacific Ocean, were the recognized beginning of the sprawling and ill-defined Oregon Territory.

A few miles farther, on the aptly named Dry Sandy, they met Moses Harris, the first of the mountain men with whom they consulted about their destination. Harris, who had roamed the west for twenty-five years, did not think much of the country around the Great Salt Lake; he said it was barren, sandy, and destitute of timber and vegetation except wild sage. On the next day, still on the Dry Sandy, the pioneers met the famous Jim Bridger, who was on his way to Fort Laramie, and spent some time with him discussing the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. This camp was the setting of Bridger's well-known challenge that he would give a thousand dollars for a bushel of corn raised in the Great Basin.²⁵ For his help, Young gave Bridger a pass for the Mormon Ferry on the Platte.

At this time, Bridger, who was quite "likkered up," entertained them with some of his tall tales, like the one about the glass mountain strewn about with the corpses of animals and birds that had killed themselves running and flying into it; or the one about petrified birds

²⁵ Watson, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 560-561.

singing in a petrified forest; perhaps the one about a stream that ran so fast it cooked the trout in it; or about the rock he threw across the Sweetwater River, which just kept on growing until it became Independence Rock; and maybe the story of the time some Indians chased him up a narrow canyon closed at the head by a 200-foot waterfall. "And how did you escape, Jim?" the Mormons may have asked. "I didn't," he'd have answered, "they scalped me."²⁶

June 29th was a banner day: the Mormons, passing the famous Parting of the Ways (NR, see Historic Site 54) made the best distance of the whole crossing--23¾-miles, against an overall average of 10 miles per day. Such a distance was covered only because there was no water between the Dry Sandy and the Sandy. By July 3rd they were at the Green River where they established another ferry. (See Historic Site 56.) From there they passed Church Butte (see Historic Site 57, and Appendix D, Illustration 29) and, finally, on the afternoon of July 7th, they arrived at Fort Bridger (NR, see Historic Site 58 and Appendix D, Illustration 30), a poorly built ramshackle adobe establishment on Black's Fork of the Green River, put up in 1842 to service emigrants on the Oregon Trail.

Part IV, Fort Bridger to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake

The pioneers tarried at this rather shabby fort just long enough to do some trading and repair their wagons, especially the running gear and wheels. At 8:00 A.M. on Friday, July 9th, the pioneers quit the Oregon Trail, which there turned north, and began the last leg of their journey. The Mormons followed Hastings Cutoff, a barely visible track through the Rockies made by the Reed-Donner party of 1846, many of whom later perished in the Sierra Nevada snows. Even with the trailblazing done by the Reed-Donner group, it took the pioneers sixteen days and ten camps to traverse the 116 miles between Fort Bridger and the Salt Lake Valley.

Their second day out of Fort Bridger, the pioneers met a third mountain man, Miles Goodyear, who owned a trading post at the mouth of the Weber River, near what is now Ogden, Utah, about 38 miles north of where Young was to locate that summer. They also passed a pure-water spring, a sulfur spring, and an oil spring (see Historic Site 59). Then they entered the beginning of a 90-mile-long natural highway, a chain of defiles, which meandered through the forbidding Wasatch Range of the Rockies into the valley, as if an ancient Titan had dragged a stick through the area. The first part of the final stretch came to be called Echo Canyon. (See Appendix D, Illustrations 32 and 33.)

By noon on July 12th, they had made midday camp along Coyote Creek, about 1 mile east of a prominent and strange formation of conglomerate rocks called the Needles, or Pudding Rocks (see Historic Site 60), and about 1½ miles east of what is now the Wyoming-Utah border. Here Young was suddenly stricken with tick fever. He remained ill for nearly two weeks, during which time Kimball took over the direction of the camp. In the hope that

²⁶ Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*, 166.

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Young would be well enough to travel the next day, Kimball and a few others remained at the Coyote Creek camp and sent Orson Pratt and the main company on. On July 13th, it was obvious that Young was worse, not better, so Kimball rode 6¾ miles ahead to the main camp near the well-known rendezvous site called Cache Cave (REC, see Historic Site 61 and Appendix D, Illustration 31) and suggested that Pratt drive on to "hunt out and improve a road."²⁷

For the rest of the journey, the pioneers split into three groups--Pratt's vanguard, the main portion following, and a rear guard, which stayed with Young and Kimball. Pratt's company sighted the Valley on July 19th and scouted it on the 21st. On the 22nd at about 5:30 P.M., the main company arrived in the valley via what came to be called Emigration Canyon. Early the next morning the group moved about 2 miles northwest and made camp on the south fork of what became known as City Creek. There they dammed up the water and began plowing, planting potatoes, and irrigating.

Meanwhile, back on Coyote Creek, Kimball and a few others went to the top of the Needles and offered up prayers for the sick, and on July 15th, Young was well enough to travel in Wilford Woodruff's carriage. (See Appendix C, Biographical Sketch 11 and Appendix D, Illustration 34.) Shortly thereafter they crossed the Hogsback (see Historic Site 63) at the summit of Main Canyon (west of present Henefer) and caught the traveler's traditional first view of the continent's backbone, the Wasatch Range of the Rocky Mountain cordillera--disheartening assurance that the worst of the mountain passes still lay ahead. On the morning of July 23rd, the Young-Kimball detachment left Mormon Flat (NR, see Historic Site 64) on East Canyon Creek and began the final section of the trail--up Little Emigration Canyon to Big Mountain Pass (see Historic Site 65).

As the pioneers crossed the 7,400 foot-high Big Mountain pass, they entered their new homeland, the Great Basin--a vast and forbidding area of over 200,000 square miles lying generally between the crests of the Sierra Nevada and the Wasatch Mountains, including parts of Utah, Nevada, California, Oregon, and Idaho, and inhabited by various tribes of Great Basin Indians. (It is a natural basin. What streams and rivers there are, such as the Humboldt, Jordan, Provo, and Weber, have no access to the sea. They flow into the Great Salt Lake, into sinks, or disappear by evaporation and percolation. The area is spotted with unattractive places now named Salt Marsh Lake, Little Salt Lake, Fossil Lake, and the Humboldt Sink.)

Until the Mormons arrived, this region had only been slightly explored and settled by Europeans. Imperial Spain, which had claimed it by right of discovery, had done little with it for centuries except try to find a trail between Santa Fe, New Mexico and Monterey,

²⁷ Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*, 167.

California. To this end, they sent out the eighteenth century expeditions of the Fathers Escalante and Dominguez and eventually the Old Spanish Trail was worked out.²⁸

England and France had never even fought for it. The Mexicans, who took it from Spain in 1821, generally considered it a worthless waste separating more desirable lands. Prior to the advent of the Mormons some Anglos had visited and explored the area. They included mountain men, California-bound emigrants, Captain John C. Fremont of the United States Topographical Corps, and Miles Goodyear, who in 1846, established a trading post on the Weber River near what is now Ogden, Utah.²⁹

For perhaps four billion years the Great Basin had bent all to its inexorable will--adjust or perish. In 1847 the Mormons, however, decided to make the Great Basin their home, and they did it on ancient principles worked out in Mesopotamia and among some Native Americans in South America and in the American southwest--centralized organization, division of labor, and a chain of command, all on an agricultural basis with controlled irrigation at its heart.

This author believes that Young made his famous statement "This is the place, drive on." on the Big Mountain summit rather than over the mountains near what is now Salt Lake City, where the "This is the Place Monument" has been placed. This minority view is based on Young's pioneer journal of July 23, 1847, where it is recorded, "I ascended and crossed over the Big Mountain, when on its summit I directed Elder Woodruff, who had kindly tendered me the use of his carriage, to turn the same half way round so that I could have a view of a portion of Salt Lake Valley. The spirit of light rested upon me and hovered over the valley, and I felt that there the Saints would find protection and safety."³⁰ Then the Young-Kimball party rough-locked their rear wheels with chains and attached drag shoes (wagon brakes were not then in general use), slid down Big Mountain, and a few hours later ascended Little Mountain (see Historic Sites 65 and 66). At 5:00 that afternoon, suffering much from heat and dust, they were in Emigration Canyon, at Last Camp.³¹

The next day was July 24th--the day acclaimed as the official entrance of Young into the valley. July 24, 1847, is the traditional pivot in Mormon history--everything is related to and from this date. Brigham Young had finally accomplished what in January 1845, he had set out to do.

²⁸ LeRoy Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*, (Glendale, CA, Arthur H. Clark Co., 1954).

²⁹ S. George Ellsworth, *Utah's Heritage*, (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1972).

³⁰ Watson, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 564.

³¹ *Ibid.*

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In 1880, during Mormondom's fifty-year jubilee, Woodruff enhanced the events of July 24, 1847, with the following afterthought, probably an embellishment of the passage quoted from Young's journal: "President Young was enwrapped in a vision for several minutes. He had seen the Valley before in vision, and upon this occasion he saw the future glory of Zion and of Israel, as they would be, planted in the valleys of these mountains. When the vision had passed, he said: 'It is enough. This is the right place, drive on.'³² Such was the origin of the most famous single statement in Mormon history.

The event is commemorated today by the large granite "This is the Place" monument at the mouth of Emigration Canyon (see Historic Site 67) that honors the pioneers and pre-Mormon explorers and trappers. Atop a huge shaft thrusting up from the center of the base, stand larger-than-life figures of Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Wilford Woodruff, serenely and eternally contemplating their work.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A COLONY AND RETURN TO WINTER QUARTERS

Place of revelation or not, the valley was the first site suitable for Kingdom Building that the pioneer leaders had seen since Nauvoo. It was vast and isolated and they set about earnestly and immediately to tame it. As quickly as possible the pioneers laid out a city, planted crops, built homes, a fort, a bowery for worship services, and fences to prepare for the approaching winter; the people were organized into wards (congregations). Thirty-five days after he arrived, Young was ready to return to Winter Quarters. More than 150 pioneers, including all the women and children, remained in the valley when Young and 105 others started their eastward return on August 27th.³³

En route, the returning pioneers met 1,553 Saints of the Second Division from Winter Quarters heading for the valley. On the evening of October 31st Young and the pioneers with him were back in Winter Quarters, where they spent the winter preparing to move more than 2,400 emigrants west in 1848.

The exodus was successful. By 1860 there were about 30,000 people in Utah; by the coming of the railroad in 1869, there were more than 80,000 in more than 100 settlements. By the time Young died in 1877 he had established some 300 settlements in Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, and California.³⁴

³² Wilford Woodruff's sermon, July 24, 1880, as cited by Preston Nibley, *Brigham Young*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1937), 98-99.

³³ Extrapolated from figures given in Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 3, 292-293 and 300-301.

³⁴ The best study of this is Milton Hunter, *Brigham Young The Colonizer*, (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1973.)

Chapter 6

MORMON EMIGRANTS: 1848-1868

GENERAL COMMENTS

While this historic resource study stresses the work of the pioneers of 1846-1847 it should be remembered that up to 70,000 other Mormons made much the same trek through the time of the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. This study of trail documents reveals that the basic experience (as described above) of all immigrating Mormons was similar. A brief account of the post-1847 Mormon immigration follows.

This subsequent period of immigration can be conveniently divided into four groups and time periods, with two minor sub-topics.

- Wagon emigrants: 1848-1860
(canal, lake, and riverboats)
- Handcart emigrants: 1856-1860
(The Brigham Young Express Company, 1856-1857)
- Church ox team emigrants: 1860-1868
- "Rail and trail" emigrants: 1856-1868

WAGON EMIGRANTS: 1848-1860

The main difference between the pioneers of 1846-1847 and subsequent Mormon emigrants was that each year the trek became a little easier as a result of experience, established (and enforced) discipline, better roads, ferries, bridges, and the ever-increasing number of trail-side services like blacksmithing, medical assistance, military installations, trading establishments, and the telegraph.

Another big difference between the early companies of 1847-1848 and subsequent parties is that once the trail was well established and trail routine and discipline fixed, the leadership of post-1848 companies was turned over to lower-level leaders and even to missionaries returning from their fields of labor. Young and Kimball, for example, never led any immigrating companies after 1848. (For details on all pioneer companies that crossed the plains during 1847-1868 see Appendix B, Document 6, and for an estimate of the number of emigrants by year see Document 5.)

Still another difference was the use of trail variants such as those developed in southern Iowa, or via Mitchell Pass in Nebraska, not crossing the Platte River at Fort Laramie in

Wyoming, and many Oregon Trail variants. Post-1847 Mormons even used entirely different trails.

Between 1846-1853, Mormons infrequently used the Dragoon Trail between Montrose, Iowa, to what is now Des Moines, Iowa. Between 1849-1859 they sometimes traveled the Ox-Bow Trail, a variant of the Oregon Trail, which extended from Nebraska City, Nebraska, to Fort Kearny on the Platte. Then from 1860 to about 1866, Mormons infrequently used the Nebraska City Cutoff Trail, another variant of the Oregon Trail, which replaced the older Ox-Bow Trail, from Nebraska City to Fort Kearny. A few Mormons, between 1846 and about 1853, also used the little-known-today Trappers' Trail between Bent's Fort, in what is now Colorado, on the Arkansas River, to Fort Laramie on the North Platte. During the 1850s and 1860s some Mormons also traveled The Overland Trail from near what is now Sidney, Nebraska, to Fort Bridger. A major trail variant even appeared in Utah. This was the Golden Road, a 42-mile-long variant of the original Mormon Trail in Utah. Between 1850 and 1869, many Mormons preferred this variant, which left the 1847 trail at the mouth of Emigration Canyon and entered Salt Lake City via Parley's Canyon.¹

Canal Boats, Lake Boats, and Riverboats

Perhaps one other observation should be made and that is regarding the Mormon use of rivers, lakes, and canals in their westward movement. Beginning in 1831 Mormons used various canal boats, lake boats, and riverboats to reach their several church headquarters in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois.

In 1831, the Mormons in western New York and northern Pennsylvania proceeded by way of Cayuga Lake steamers, Erie Canal boats, and Lake Erie steamers to Kirtland, Ohio. (See Appendix A, Map 1.) And in the 1840s a few other Mormons used the Erie Canal en route to Nauvoo, Illinois. This author has found a few journal references from the 1830s and 1840s to Mormons traveling other canals like the Pennsylvania State Canal between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, the Ohio and Erie Canal between Cleveland and Portsmouth, and the Miami and Erie Canal between Toledo and Cincinnati. References were also found to Mormons traveling on Lake Erie.

While few Mormons used canal and lake boats, thousands traveled on riverboats. Some Mormons went to Missouri via the Missouri River, thousands reached Nauvoo on the Mississippi River via New Orleans and St. Louis. After the Mormons began departing the Far West from various Missouri River locations, most emigrants reached Missouri via Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri riverboats until the railroad reached the Missouri in 1859.

¹ For a full discussion of these and other trails used by the Mormons, see Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers*.

According to contemporary Mormon journal accounts of riverboat travel, Mormon emigrants experienced not only "enchantingly beautiful scenery," kind "colored waiters," and their own preaching, but also snags, cholera, accidents, death (most riverboats carried extra coffins for those who died aboard), miscarriages, explosions (many, for example, died in the *Saluda* disaster near Lexington, Missouri, on the Missouri River in 1852), and what they took to be "anti-Mormon" sentiments. A few emigrants could afford cabin class passage, but most, unfortunately, traveled in steerage--on the crowded lower decks with the animals and baggage (including an occasional occupied coffin), and few amenities. Sometimes passengers, including at least two Mormon children, fell overboard and were lost.

THE HANDCART EMIGRANTS 1856-1860

A major change in the pattern of Mormon immigration took place in 1856 in Iowa City, Iowa, with the development of a remarkable travel experiment in the history of the west--the handcart experience.² In 1854 the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad (C&RI) reached the Mississippi River at Rock Island, Illinois; two years later the railroad bridged (or should one say trestled?) the Mississippi and connected with the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad that ran to Iowa City. Thereafter, through 1858, most European Mormon emigrants took various railroads from Atlantic ports, connecting with the C&RI, directly to Iowa City, which became the main point of departure for the Rocky Mountains. (Beginning in 1859 most handcart pioneers took the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad to St. Joseph, Missouri, thence by riverboat to Florence [now North Omaha], Nebraska.)

Brigham Young, safely settled in Utah since 1847, had also decided to try this supposedly faster, easier, cheaper, and certainly more unusual way to bring thousands of European converts to Salt Lake City. While the Mormons were not the first to use some kind of carts going west (some gold-rushers, for example, had experimented with wheelbarrows and some who had moved into trans-Appalachia after the War of 1812 used handcarts),³ they were the first and only group to use them extensively, certainly the first to transport entire emigrant companies with them.⁴

The Mormon open carts varied in size and were modeled after carts used by street sweepers; they were made almost entirely out of wood. They were generally six or seven feet long, the width of a wide track wagon, and carried about 500 pounds of flour, bedding,

² See LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion, 1856-1860* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1960, and Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers*.

³ Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion*, NY: Macmillan Co., 1982, 294.

⁴ This study will present in detail only the Iowa segment of the Handcart Trail, because west of Iowa, the handcarters followed the Mormon Trail of 1847 and their experiences were much the same as other emigrating Mormons.

extra clothing, cooking utensils, and a tent. The carts could be pushed or pulled by hand. Some were painted with mottos and inscriptions like "Truth Will Prevail," "Merry Mormons," and "Zion's Express." Most companies also had a few ox-drawn wagons to carry extra supplies.⁵ (See Appendix D, Illustration 35.) These Mormons, mainly from England, Wales, and Scandinavia, landed in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, and traveled by train via Chicago to Iowa City, Iowa.

Train travel was easier than travel by wagon, but it was far from luxurious. Trains averaged 20 miles an hour and had no sleeping accommodations or dining cars. Smoke and soot were everywhere, sanitation facilities were primitive, and schedules were erratic. Travelers had to provide their own food or pick it up en route. Many spent nights sitting up or in warehouses or barns. Some Mormons felt they were singled out for rude treatment by railway officials. Passenger cars sometimes caught fire or derailed. Some women gave birth en route. But on the emigrants came. (During the Civil War, because of wartime demands, rail travel became even more difficult and uncomfortable. Mormons often had to travel in cattle cars.)⁶ Handcart emigrants crossed the Iowa River and went to the staging area that had been located on the banks of Clear Creek, 3 miles west of Iowa City, at a small settlement known as Clark's Mills, now called Coralville.

This famous experiment involved 2,962 people in 10 companies from 1856 through 1860, but only the first 7 companies, or 2,071 Saints (70 percent of the total), trod Iowa soil.⁷ The handcart company of 1859 entrained at New York City and reached St. Joseph, Missouri, on the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, where they took a Missouri River riverboat to Florence, Nebraska. The C&RI reached Council Bluffs in 1860 and handcart companies of that year (the last year of the handcart experiment) were able to ride the C&RI all the way to Council Bluffs. With the exception of the fourth and fifth companies of 1856, the famous Martin and Willie companies, which started too late in the year and were trapped in Wyoming snows, the system was a success.

The first 7 companies made the 275-mile trip across Iowa from Iowa City, Iowa, to Florence, Nebraska, in from 21 to 39 days, averaging 25 days and 11 miles a day. (See Appendix A, Map 10.) The first company of 226 persons started out on June 9, 1856, led by the Birmingham Brass Band from England, and arrived in Utah September 26th. March music and singing kept the people together and helped ward off tedium and fatigue. The most popular of all songs was the famous "Handcart Song":

⁵ Hafen and Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, passim.

⁶ Kimball, "The LDS Use of Railroads," unpublished paper based on original emigrant records.

⁷ Hafen and Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, 193.

Some must push and some must pull
As we go marching up the hill,
As merrily on the way we go
Until we reach the valley, oh!

In Coralville, Iowa, the Daughters of the American Revolution have erected a bronzed tablet commemorating the handcart companies. It is located on the south side of the road just west of the intersection of Fifth Street and Tenth Avenue. Also in Coralville and the western part of Iowa City is the Mormon Trek Boulevard, a modern highway honoring these pioneers.

In 1976, in connection with the U.S. Bicentennial Celebration, a several-acre Mormon Handcart Park was developed in Coralville on ground owned by the University of Iowa, through funds provided by the Mormon Church. The site is near Clear Creek and U.S. 6, near the Hawkeye Court housing complex to the west of Mormon Trek Boulevard. There are three markers at this site having extensive text commemorating a pioneer campsite, pioneer burial ground, and the whole site in general.

Although the handcart pioneers did not know it before starting, Iowa roads were to be veritable "super highways" compared to what lay west of the Missouri. Like all Mormon pioneers before and after them, they used the best, most convenient roads and trails. Since at least 1846, when Brigham Young led the Saints across Iowa, there had been some kind of a road between Iowa City and Council Bluffs. In the beginning it had been a military road to Fort Des Moines, and later a territorial, state, mail, and coach route. Most of the handcart pioneer journals of 1856-1857 refer often to the good roads. In fact, had the Saints not been so poor, they could have ridden over the roads by stagecoach to the Missouri for about eleven dollars a person.

Today's Highway 6 generally follows this old trans-Iowa road as far as Redfield. From Coralville the pioneers passed through Homestead and South Amana, two German colonies established in 1854. (This part of Highway 6 up to Grinnell is also marked as the Hiawatha Pioneer Trail.) Passing through Marengo, Brooklyn, Grinnell, Newton, and Rising Sun, they reached Fort Des Moines. The old fort on the west bank of the Des Moines River was by then abandoned, but still standing. Near the intersection of Riverside Drive and Southwest First Street in Des Moines is a granite marker commemorating this old fort and part of the newly restored fort.

West of Des Moines, the Mormons proceeded via Adel to Redfield. West of Redfield, the old trail is only approximated by today's roads. From Redfield the pioneers went to Bear Grove. Merely a wide spot in the road today, Bear Grove was then an important coach stop and a place where the pioneers obtained necessary supplies. (It is in Guthrie County, in section 18, T79N, R32W.)

From Bear Grove the Saints traveled the old military, or Dragoon Road, now largely nonexistent, to what is now Lewis, where they intersected the pioneer trail of 1846 and

followed it directly to Council Bluffs. There, crossing the Missouri by ferry, they arrived at the new staging ground in Florence, Nebraska, and made final preparations to go to the Salt Lake Valley.

In the Lewis, Iowa, town park, there are two markers commemorating the Mormon Trail. One is a section of a telephone pole with "Mormon Trail" carved into it; a few yards away is a handsome bronze marker that was placed by the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1917. (See Historic Site 12.)

In the Trans-Missouri west, the handcarters followed the established Mormon Trail into their new Zion and, as previously noted, most of these companies made it safely there.⁸ Across Nebraska all the of the handcart companies made the journey successfully. Their route and general experiences were much like other westering Mormons. They did move faster and, of course, suffered less from accidents occasioned by draft animals, heavy wagons, and stampedes. Costs were reduced by about one-third. Handcarters were able to transport less food, far few belongings, and of course, could neither ride in the carts nor sleep in them. Handcart companies also seemed to have a higher percentage of European emigrants; one company was largely Welsh, one Scandinavian, and in one, nine different languages were spoken. And most also made it successfully across Wyoming.

The joy of the success of this new, faster, and cheaper way of immigrating soon turned to sorrow with the tragic experience of the Willie and Martin companies, the 4th and 5th companies of 1856. When they arrived on the Missouri River, they found their carts were not yet prepared. Some wisely thought they should postpone the crossing of the plains that year, but such wisdom was decried by others as evidence of a weak faith. So, after a delay and with some carts made of green wood, the two companies headed west.

After reaching what is now Wyoming, they were caught in an early snowstorm. Among the Martin company of 576, a total of 145 (about 25 percent) died of exposure across Wyoming, as many as thirteen a night. Most could not be buried because the ground was so frozen. This company reached what has become known as Martin's Cove (see Historic Site 47) about November 3rd. It was 2 miles west of Devil's Gate. On the 6th, the temperature dropped to eleven degrees below zero. It was here a rescue party from Utah finally reached this company. Across Wyoming the Willie's company lost 77 persons (about 19 percent) out of 404. They managed to push on to a camp on Rock Creek (see Historic Site 51) where they awaited rescue, a rescue that came near the end of October.

The handcart experiment continued in 1857, and worked well until it ended in 1860. In 1857, for example, an attempt was made across Nebraska to establish supply stations for the benefit of handcarters. This effort had just gotten under way when the cancellation of a government contract ended it. Thereafter, the handcart companies replenished their supplies as best they could, bartering with the Indians, killing what animals they could,

⁸ See Hafen and Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*.

sometimes receiving supplies sent out from Salt Lake City, and buying what they needed from the ever-growing number of supply stations, forts, and trading posts along the trail.

The handcart company of 1859 experienced what this author considers the most bizarre trail experience of the entire Mormon immigration. Near Devil's Gate, in what is now Wyoming, the Mormons met a group of Indians who had just won a battle with another tribe. "The victorious tribe were [*Sic*] parading around with scalps suspended on sticks which they held high in the air. They had a number of prisoners. They invited a number of us boys to go to their camp that night to witness them torture to death their prisoners. However, we respectfully declined."⁹

In summary, about 3,000 emigrants in 10 companies were transported west between 1856 and 1860, in 653 carts and 50 supply wagons. Generally, they traveled successfully, and cheaper and faster than wagon trains. The handcart era ended after 1860, when the Mormons switched to large church ox-team trains sent out from Salt Lake City to haul emigrants and freight west from the Missouri and other points. (This change is detailed below under "Church Team Emigrants, 1860-1868.")

The Brigham Young Express Company 1856-1857

There is one more dimension to the Mormon Trail which, while it pertains little to immigration, deserves mention in this study. This is the short-lived Brigham Young Express and Carrying Company (popularly known as the Y.X. Company) of 1856-1857. It has a place in this study because the route of the company generally was the Mormon Trail of 1847.¹⁰

In 1856 the Mormon Church bid for and received a four-year contract for monthly mail service between Independence, Missouri, and Salt Lake City. Wagons, animals, feed, stations, and men were quickly lined up, and mail service commenced February 8, 1857. Soon the church was preparing to carry freight as well. The first permanent stations or settlements were set up at Genoa (see Historic site 24), about 100 miles west of Omaha, and on Deer Creek (just west of Deer Creek in what is now Glenrock, Wyoming). Other stations were begun at the Horseshoe Creek stage station (2 miles due south of what is now Glendo, Wyoming, NW¼ of SW¼, Sec. 21, T29N, R68W), at La Bonte Creek (La Bonte Stage Stop 10 miles south of Douglas, Wyoming, at NE¼, SW¼, Sec. 33, T31N, R71W), Devil's Gate (near the Gate, just south of the Sweetwater River and abandoned Wyoming Highway 220, [see Historic Site 46], and at Rocky Ridge [Secs. 21, 27, and 35, T29N, R97W], a very remote and difficult place to visit today). The Mormons also made use of

⁹ "Journal History of the Church," Mormon Church Archives.

¹⁰ This information comes from Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 162-169, Russell R. Rich, *Ensign to the Nations*, (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1979), 208-217, and original maps in the Mormon Church Archives.

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other existing stations at Fort Laramie (see Historic Site 33), Sweet Water (known today as Burnt Ranch, just south of the Sweetwater River, in NW¼, SE¼, Sec. 26, T28N, R100W), and Fort Bridger (see Historic Site 58). The proposed sites at Horse Shoe Creek, La Bonte Creek, Deer Creek, Devil's Gate, and Sweetwater River were surveyed into 640-acre or one square-mile rectangles--160 rods by 640 rods, or 2 miles by ½-mile sections.

The main objective was eventually to have stations every 50 miles--the daily distance attainable by mule teams. Such stations would also be aids to Mormon emigrants by stocking and providing grain and other basic supplies, where hay and other crops could be raised. Then suddenly the contract was canceled because of the political influence of rival mail contractors and all the Mormon mail and freight stations were closed for good.

CHURCH TEAM EMIGRANTS, 1860-1868

In 1860 Mormon leaders abandoned the handcart experiment in favor of the church ox-team method.¹¹ This was done for two reasons: the discovery that loaded ox teams could be sent from Utah to the Missouri, pick up emigrants (and merchandise), and return to Utah in one season, and for better use of the church's own resources, that is to save money. Furthermore, although cheaper and somewhat faster, the handcart system was never popular. In the few instances where emigrants had a choice between handcarts and wagon trains, most chose the latter.

By means of these "down and back" trips, the Mormons could export their own flour, beans, and bacon to supply the emigrants, and use the cash saved to buy and freight back needed supplies not available in Utah. Furthermore emigrants could be saved the expense and trouble of obtaining their own wagons or carts and draft animals to take them west.

The 2,200-mile round trip could be made in approximately six months. Church leaders arranged for the men, equipment, and supplies, and organized the trains into groups of about fifty each. The captain of each company was given complete authority to get the job done.

All the men involved were regarded as "missionaries," and were given credit on the tithing books for the value of service rendered--they were in effect paying their 10 percent church tithing "in kind." There was one other fringe benefit--bachelors often found brides among the emigrants--had first pick, so to speak. Happily, romance flourished throughout the entire Mormon immigration period.

Each wagon was pulled by four yoke of oxen or mules and carried about 1,000 pounds of supplies. The teams were expected to reach the Missouri River at Florence (old Winter

¹¹ This experiment is described in Leonard Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 205-211, and John K. Hulmston, "Mormon Immigration in the 1860s: The Story of the Church Trains," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 58, (Winter 1990) 32-48.

Quarters or modern North Omaha), in July and return with ten to twenty emigrants per wagon and all the freight they could load. (Later the jumping-off place moved to a now forgotten community with the strange name of Wyoming, Nebraska Territory,¹² and finally to Laramie and Benton, in the state of Wyoming.)

This system lasted for the period 1860-1868, and required about 2,000 wagons 2,500 teamsters, 17,550 oxen and brought approximately 20,500 emigrants to Utah.¹³ The first three years, the jumping-off place was Florence, Nebraska Territory. In 1864, however, the Mormons switched to the community of Wyoming, Nebraska, where they followed the (little known today) Nebraska City Cutoff Trail.¹⁴ (See Appendix A, Map 11.)

The principal reasons for the Mormons' switch from Florence to Wyoming seems to have been because emigrants from the east could take trains directly to St. Joseph, Missouri, then take an approximately 94-mile riverboat ride to the community of Wyoming, and then the cutoff trail shortened the distance from the Missouri River to the area of Fort Kearny, by about 50 miles. The cutoff ran 169 miles directly west to Fort Kearny on the Oregon Trail, where the Mormons could either continue on the Oregon Trail or cross the Platte River and pick up the MPNHT.

The community of Wyoming, founded as a river port in 1855, was 45 miles south of Florence and 7 miles north of Nebraska City. The Mormons favored it over Florence because it provided more open area for their staging ground and was well removed from the rough elements of Nebraska City and other lures that might have caused emigrants to not go west.¹⁵

Twenty-two organized Mormon emigrant companies (see Appendix B, Document 6) left Wyoming during its three-year service (1864-1866). It is estimated that the companies totaled about 6,500 emigrants. In addition, probably some 500 or more Mormons traveled as individuals with non-Mormon trains from nearby Nebraska City.¹⁶

Of all the early Mormon emigrant trails, one of the least known today among Mormons is the Nebraska City Cutoff Trail. There are about ten historic markers along this old trail, but none refer to the Mormons. No church teams were sent east in 1867, largely because

¹² The toponym Wyoming is Indian and originated in Pennsylvania.

¹³ Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 298.

¹⁴ See Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 143.

¹⁶ Kimball, *Discovering Mormon Trails*, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1979, 39.

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the Union Pacific railroad reached North Platte, Nebraska, that year and immigrating plans were in flux.

In 1868, when church teams were again sent east, they were dispatched to the Union Pacific railhead at Laramie, Wyoming, during July and August and to the Benton, Wyoming, railhead during August and September, and picked up a total of ten emigrant companies. That year was the last year of the wagon, handcart, or church team Mormon emigrant. The transcontinental railroad reached Utah May 10, 1869, and from that time on emigrants could ride the rails all the way to Zion. From these two railheads, at Laramie and Benton, Mormon emigrants would have picked up the Overland-Bridger Pass Trail, followed it to Fort Bridger and then taken the Mormon Trail into Utah.¹⁷

RAIL AND TRAIL PIONEERS: 1856-1868

Prior to the 1850s, Mormon emigrants seldom used railroads. There is one account of rail travel in 1837, and a few traveled to Nauvoo, Illinois, by rail in the 1840s. But it was not until 1856 that the use of railroads by Mormons became common.¹⁸

As has already been noted in the discussion of the handcart companies, Mormon emigrants made little use of railroads until the Chicago and Rock Island RR reached the Mississippi River at Rock Island, Illinois, in 1854, whence it was possible to continue west by riverboats to various jumping-off sites, such as Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri River. When the railroad went from Rock Island, Illinois, to Iowa City, Iowa, in 1856, many Mormon emigrants, especially the handcart pioneers, "took cars" to that terminal.

Another big rise in the use of rail travel was when the Hannibal and St. Joseph RR reached St. Joseph, Missouri, on the Missouri River in 1859, whence emigrants generally took riverboats to the Council Bluffs-Florence area and proceeded west. (The handcart company of 1859 did this, the first Mormons to do so.)

Thereafter, until 1867 when the Mormons were able to ride the Union Pacific RR to North Platte, Nebraska, this was the most popular manner for Mormon emigrants to reach the Missouri River and points of departure for the Far West. During the Civil War years of 1861-1865, emigrant travel by rail was difficult, especially in Missouri, where pro- and anti-Union forces in that state often clashed: timetables were erratic, routes were interrupted, impeded, and changed. Trail travel was dangerous. Bridges were blown up or burned and track torn up or blockaded. Sometimes the trains were fired on, boarded and derailed by

¹⁷ See the "Rail and Trail Pioneers" section of this chapter immediately below, and Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers*, 154-159.

¹⁸ Most of this discussion is based on the author's study of Mormon Trail accounts in the Mormon Church archives.

military units. Rail travel, at least the accommodations most Mormon emigrants could afford, hadn't improved much over the conditions of the 1850s. Passenger cars often had no springs, benches had no backs, sometimes emigrants rode in cattle cars full of lice and dirt. Food and water had to be carried or purchased in route.

Mormons also used other railroads to go west. After 1859 when the North Missouri RR, out of St. Charles, Missouri, intersected with the Hannibal and St. Joseph RR, it was possible for Mormons to take the Chicago and Alton RR to Alton, Illinois, and St. Louis, thence to St. Joseph. Some Mormons picked up the Hannibal and St. Joseph RR via the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy RR (which reached the Mississippi River in 1855). In 1867 some Mormons reached Council Bluffs, Iowa, via the Chicago and Northwestern RR.

After the Civil War, the Union Pacific RR began moving west from Omaha, Nebraska, on July 10, 1865. The following year, the Mormons abandoned the rail terminal at St. Joseph and the connecting Nebraska City Cutoff and, sequentially, took trains to four Union Pacific railheads: North Platte, Nebraska, and Julesburg, Colorado, in 1867, and Laramie and Benton, Wyoming, in 1868. (See Appendix B, Document 6 and Appendix A, Map 12.) Here the emigrants were met by church trains from Salt Lake.

Because the Union Pacific RR, moving west from Omaha, Nebraska, was in a race with the Central Pacific RR, moving east from Sacramento, California, male emigrants were sometimes offered reduced or free tickets if they would work on the road bed.¹⁹

Each of the railheads became a wide-open, rip-roaring town, which greatly concerned Mormon leaders. The first three are still prospering, but Benton is distinctive for having become the first ghost town in Wyoming, lasting only from July through September 1868. It was located on the eastern edge of the Red Desert, 11 miles east of what is now Rawlins, near the North Platte River. (The curious can find the exact location of Benton by looking for Union Pacific milepost number 672.1, indicating precisely how far one is west of Omaha, off old Highway 30.) Church wagons transported the emigrants to Utah from each of the three remaining railheads.

In 1867, about 500 emigrants took the train to North Platte right on the Mormon Trail, thence to Utah via that trail. In 1868, five companies totaling about 1,850 pioneers left Laramie during July and August in wagons sent by the church. From Laramie the only reasonable route west would have been via the Overland-Bridger Pass Trail (see Appendix A, Map 12) to Fort Bridger, to pick up the Mormon Trail there. Also in 1868, about 2,000 pioneers in five companies left Benton during August and September. From Benton, Mormon emigrants could have gone about 50 miles north and picked up the Mormon Trail, but most went a few miles south and took the Overland-Bridger Pass Trail to Fort Bridger, to intersect the main route. (A few Mormons appear to have jumped off at Julesburg.)

¹⁹ Stanley B. Kimball, "The LDS and the Railroads." Unpublished paper.

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After the Union Pacific RR reached Utah in 1869, emigrants took rails all the way from the east coast. The great trek was over and the Mormon Trail began to slowly disappear and fade from memory.

TRAIL PRESERVATION AND MARKING

In the 1930s, in connection with the centennial of the Mormon Church, a movement started to better locate, preserve, and mark the old trail. One of the first organizations to do so was the Utah Pioneer and Landmarks Association. The Daughters of Utah Pioneers and the Sons of Utah Pioneers have also erected hundreds of trail markers. The Mormon Pioneer Trail Foundation does much research on the old trail. And several federal agencies, including the National Park Service and Bureau of Land Management, state, and local organizations and individuals have done much to locate, foster, preserve, and mark the trail. The Historic Sites Committee of the Mormon Church works to the same end.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH ON THE MORMON PIONEER NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

Readers of this work are referred to the bibliography in this study for a guide to further research. Despite the extensive literature on the Mormon Trail, much research needs to be done. Generally speaking, we need to know more about every aspect of the Mormon immigration that is treated in this study. To begin with, there are hundreds of existing trail accounts that need further analysis, and new ones are found frequently. For more than twenty-five years, this author has studied trails used by the Mormons and yet, there is much to be done, especially regarding trail variants and feeder trails. We know little of the Mormon use of some Oregon Trail variants from Independence, Westport, Weston, St. Joseph, Fort Leavenworth, Nebraska City, Plattsmouth, Bellevue, or a variant *north* of the Platte River at Fort Laramie, or the Seminoe and Blacks Fork cutoffs. We know little of the Mormon use of feeder trails like the Santa Fe, Trappers' and Cherokee. We need to know much more about Mormon sea voyages, and their use of canals, lakes, and rivers. We have just touched the surface of their westering by rail experiences, and we need to know much more of their use of various stage routes and federal wagon roads.

Much is waiting to be done regarding the Mormons and the military, the telegraph, the *eastbound* use of the trail, and "go backs," or disgruntled Mormons who left Utah and returned east. We have only begun to study such social questions of trail values, norms, sanctions, courts, entertainment, single emigrants, the questions of privacy, sanitation, and intimate relations, exceptional behavior, crisis events, Blacks and other minorities, children, sex roles, and the division of labor.

Chapter 7

HISTORIC SITES ALONG THE MORMON PIONEER NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE NATIONAL REGISTER

The following is a list of sixty-seven historic sites along the Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail from Nauvoo, Illinois, to Salt Lake City, Utah. Many of these sites are also referenced in the narrative part of this study (with cross-referencing to this chapter).¹ Thirteen are already on the National Register, indicated here by the letters NR, followed by the date the site was added to the National Register and its reference number. Twelve sites (indicated by the letters REC) are recommended for nomination to the National Register through this historic resource study.

These recommendations have been made in accordance with the guidelines detailed in *The National Register Bulletin No. 16* National Park Service, 1986.

The general guidelines state that the sites must possess "integrity of location, setting...feeling and association, and [must be] associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history" and that "are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past...."²

The sites herein nominated, furthermore, fit the proper "function and use" categories of the guidelines--namely funerary, landscape, and transportation.³

Such are the general requirements. The more specific qualifications met by each recommended site will be detailed below.

In Iowa, Nebraska, and Utah, MPNHT trail ruts are so rare that all vestiges of them known to the author are presented in this study. This is not the case in Wyoming, where there are miles of Mormon-Oregon-California trail ruts. For Wyoming, only selected ruts are mentioned.⁴

¹ For more information about these historic sites and, especially for the many historic markers along the trail not here presented, see Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers*.

² *National Register Bulletin No. 16*, 1.

³ *Ibid.*, 49-53.

⁴ For a detailed account of trail ruts in Wyoming, see Gregory M. Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, (Gerald, MO: The Patrice Press, 1982).

HISTORIC SITES ALONG THE MORMON PIONEER NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

NOTE: In the following account of historic sites all quotations following the words "The text is..." are taken from official historic markers at those historic sites. Also in this chapter a few abbreviations are used: sec. for section, T for Township, R for Range, and N, S, E, and W for the points of the compass. *County maps issued by the respective states are necessary to locate sites according to these section, Township, and Range designations.*

ILLINOIS

1. THE "EXODUS TO GREATNESS" HISTORIC SITE: NR, 4/30/87, 87000031

This site and monument is at the foot of Parley Street in Nauvoo and marks the approximate site where the Mormons crossed the river into Iowa.

The text on this Mormon Church marker is:

EXODUS TO GREATNESS. Near here, the Mormon exodus to the Rocky Mountains began on February 4, 1846.... Fleeing enemies, these refugees crossed the Mississippi River with their wagons on flatboats, except for a few days when they crossed on ice....

Seeking freedom to worship God as they believed, more than 50,000 Mormon pioneers, mostly with ox-drawn wagons or handcarts, crossed the plains to the Rocky Mountains before the completion of the transcontinental railroad May 10, 1869.

IOWA

2. OLD FORT DES MOINES HISTORIC SITE

The Mormon Trail of 1846 in Iowa proper begins in what is now River Front Park in Montrose. This was the site of the first Fort Des Moines (1834-1837). The site of the old fort, now contained in this park, is located at the eastern end of Main Street and is marked by a bronze plaque set into a boulder at the south end of the little park.

3. SUGAR CREEK HISTORIC SITE

The site is 7 miles west of Montrose on road J-72, in secs. 11 and 14, T66N, R6W, Lee County.

This was the staging ground, where in February 1846, the Mormons organized themselves for their trek across Iowa. There is no marker here.

4. DES MOINES RIVER FORD HISTORIC SITE

On March 5, 1846, the pioneers forded the Des Moines River at Bonaparte, Iowa. This fact was recently commemorated by a sign on the Bonaparte side of the bridge over the river on Highway 79.

The text on this county sign is:

Brigham Young and band of Mormons crossed the Des Moines River here March 5, 1846 on their trek to Utah.

5. RICHARDSON'S POINT HISTORIC SITE

This is about 6 miles west on road J-40 from the western exit of Lacey-Keosauqua State Park, Van Buren County, in sec. 32, T69N, R11W. Here the Mormons lightened their loads by caching some ordnance.

There is no marker here, but in 1985 two Mormon graves were found and marked by relatives. These graves are in the NE ¼ of sec. 32, but one must ask locally for directions and secure permission to visit them.

6. LOCUST CREEK HISTORIC CAMPSITE

This site is in Wayne County, in sec. 4, T67N, R20W.

Here in April 1846, William Clayton wrote the words to the most famous of all Mormon hymns, "Come, Come, Ye Saints." A marker commemorating this event was erected here July 1990 and is located at the entrance of Tharp Cemetery.

The text on this Mormon Church and Wayne County marker is:

The Hymn That Went Around the World: "Come, Come, Ye Saints" was the great hymn of the Mormon immigration. It was composed near here April 15, 1846, by William Clayton, clerk of the first group of Latter-day Saints to leave Nauvoo, Illinois....

First known as "All Is Well," this is the best known of all Mormon hymns. It buoyed up thousands of pioneers on their way west. Through translations it has come to be recognized all over the world.

William Clayton (1814-79) was a convert to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1837, among the earliest in England...the hymn was set to the music of a popular English folk tune, "All Is Well."

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At the time the hymn was written, the pioneer camp was located along the ridge west of Tharp Cemetery. This ridge divides two branches of Locust Creek.

Erected by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and Wayne County Historical Society. July 1990.

Near here in a pasture in the NE ¼ of section 4 are faint ruts, perhaps dating from 1846. The General Land Office survey of 1852 shows that an old trail did go this way.

There is also an exhibit dedicated to this event in the Wayne County Historical Society Museum at Corydon, on Highway 2 about 15 miles northwest of Locust Creek.

7. GARDEN GROVE HISTORIC SITE: REC.

This cemetery not only meets the qualifications of the general guidelines of the *National Register Bulletin No. 16*, but also because of its "association with historic event[s]" and because it is "primarily commemorative in intent," and because "age, tradition...has invested it with its own historical significance."⁵ (See Appendix D, Illustration 10.)

In the town park of the small community of Garden Grove, Decatur County, is a small marker commemorating the fact that the pioneers founded Garden Grove in 1846 and built a permanent camp for the benefit of those who would follow.

The text on this community marker is:

Dedicated 1956 in memory of the Mormons who founded Garden Grove, Iowa in 1847 [sic 1846].

One mile straight west of this marker on a county road is a small, three-acre trailside historic park maintained by the Decatur County Conservation Board. Just to the north of an A-frame picnic shelter is a fenced plot enclosing a metal marker on a sandstone slab commemorating "The Latter-day Saints at Garden Grove" and those who are buried in that park. No graves are visible.

The text on this Mormon Church marker is:

THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS AT GARDEN GROVE. Early in 1846 thousands of members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) left their homes in Nauvoo, Illinois bound for the great basin in the Rocky Mountains.

Moving westward across Iowa, their advance company made camp here April 25, 1846 calling the site Garden Grove.

⁵ *National Register Bulletin*, 1.

Within two weeks, 359 men under the leadership of President Brigham Young cleared 300 acres of land, planted crops, built log houses, and cut 10,000 surplus rails for fencing and enough logs to build 40 additional houses.

Garden Grove thus became a stopover for many emigrants that followed later. Death overtook some, however. They were buried here. Refreshed by their stop at this place, the Mormon Pioneers went on to the Rockies where they founded cities and towns and made the desert to "Blossom as the Rose."

8. MT. PISGAH HISTORIC SITE: REC.

This site meets the same NR criteria of site 7.

This site is near Thayer, Union County, in sec. 8, T72N, R28W. (See Appendix D, Illustration 11.)

Like Garden Grove, it was a permanent camp on the trail for the benefit of the Mormons who followed the pioneers west. There is little left today of the old campsite, which today is a small, 9-acre park with informative signs and historical markers maintained by the Union County Conservation Board. In 1928 the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) also placed a marker here and in 1888, the Mormons erected a monument honoring their dead, who rest in the adjacent cemetery. This monument may have been the first marker to a historic site erected in Iowa.

The text of the state of Iowa marker is:

MT. PISGAH-MORMON PIONEER WAY-STATION. Between 300 and 800 Mormon pioneers perished here from 1846 to 1852. Having been driven from their homes by armed mobs, they stopped here on their westward trek, named it Mt. Pisgah after a Biblical mountain range, and established a way-station. Thousands of acres were cleared, buildings built, and caves dug for shelter until log cabins were constructed, but lack of food and inadequate shelter took their toll. In spite of hardships, Mt. Pisgah became a stopping place for an almost endless trail of westward-bound Mormon Pioneers until 1852, when the last of the Latter-day Saints left and the site was bought by Henry Peters and named Petersville.

The original community was located on the slope and flat lands east of this spot. The cemetery extended down the hill to the west, north, and south beyond the railroad tracks. Headstones were long ago removed or destroyed by the elements, but the large monument was erected in 1888.

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9. MORMON TRAIL PARK

Two miles east of Bridgewater, Adair County, on a county road is the 160-acre Mormon Trail Park and Morman [sic] Lake maintained by the Adair County Conservation Commission. This park commemorates the fact that the old Mormon Trail ran about 1 mile to the south.

10. MORMON TRAIL RUTS HISTORIC SITE: REC.

This site meets the same NR criteria of site 7, and it also fits into the transportation and landscape categories of the NR. (See Appendix D, Illustration 12.)

Some of the very few, if not the only, extant Mormon Trail ruts in Iowa are found near this Mormon Trail Park. They are located in sec. 4 of Washington Township, Adair County north of County Road G-53, on the property of Mr. Jacob Pote. The deeply eroded ruts, on his private pasture ground, run east and west for about one-quarter of a mile, commencing approximately one-quarter of a mile west of his home. The author's study of the original 1850 General Land Office survey of Iowa shows that the old trail did go this way.

11. COLD SPRING STATE PARK RUTS

On a gravel road 1 mile due south of Lewis, Cass County, is the Cold Spring State Park. Near the parking area in the camping part of the park, close to a set of four swings, is a National Park Service MPNHT sign. About 100 feet west of this sign is a fence separating the park from some fields. Here, extremely dim traces of the old trail can be seen crossing the fields.

12. INDIAN TOWN HISTORIC SITE

About 1 mile west on Minnesota Avenue, in the present community of Lewis, Cass County, is the site of an old Indian Town, a Potawatomi settlement on the east bank of the Nishnabotna River. The Mormons noted and visited the settlement. This town was the junction of the Mormon Trail with a military trail from Raccoon Forks, site of Ft. Des Moines II (1837-1846). It was also here that the handcart companies from Des Moines intersected the Mormon Trail of 1847.

13. WEST NISHNABOTNA RIVER CROSSING

One mile west of present Macedonia, Pottawattamie County, on County Road G-66 is Old Towne Park, an undeveloped 8-acre park near where some Mormons temporarily settled in 1850. The area became known as the Mormon Trail Crossing. There are no signs or markers here.

Kanesville/Council Bluffs Area

While the Mormons were in the Kaneshville/Council Bluffs area for some years, especially between 1846 and 1853, and established three ferries and several communities, almost all historic sites have given way to urban sprawl and there is very little to see today. (See Appendix D, Illustration 13.)

14. MOSQUITO CREEK CAMPSITE

Near the Iowa School for the Deaf on U.S. Highway 275, close to its junction with Highway 92, is the general area of the first Mormon camp in the Council Bluffs area. (There is a marker here commemorating the Mormon Battalion that fought in the war with Mexico, 1846-1848.)

15. COUNCIL BLUFFS HISTORIC MARKER

At the north end of Bayliss Park on South Main Street in downtown Council Bluffs, is a bronze marker commemorating the Mormon Trail passing through Council Bluffs.

The text on this community marker is:

This boulder commemorates the early travel upon the Mormon Trail through Kaneshville, now Council Bluffs, and is dedicated to the memory of the throngs who crossed Iowa in advance of settlements....

16. MORMON PIONEER MEMORIAL BRIDGE HISTORIC SITE

The Mormons had three main places from which they ferried across the Missouri River into Nebraska where they finally set up their Winter Quarters of 1846-1847. Two of these places correspond quite closely with where the South Omaha and the Mormon Pioneer Memorial bridges are today. (The third site is some 20 miles to the south, near present Plattsmouth, Nebraska.) On the Iowa side there are no markers at any of these sites, but the Mormon Pioneer Memorial Bridge, the Iowa end of which is located 10 miles north of Bayliss Park on Interstate 680, can be considered a memorial. There is a historical marker for this bridge, but it is on the Nebraska side. (See Historic Site 17.)

NEBRASKA

17. MORMON PIONEER MEMORIAL BRIDGE HISTORIC SITE

(For the location and significance of this site see Historic Site 16.) This marker used to be on the south side of the entrance ramp to what is now the eastbound lane of the bridge, which has been incorporated into Interstate 680. It has since been moved to the grounds of the historic old Florence Bank at 8502 North 30th Street. The marker was originally

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erected in 1953 by the Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association when the original span of this bridge was formally dedicated.

The text is:

MORMON PIONEER MEMORIAL BRIDGE, This bridge is on the Mormon Pioneer Trail from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the Rocky Mountains. Driven from their homes by mobs, many of the dispossessed Mormon people crossed the Mississippi River on the ice in February 1846.... Winter Quarters were established on the west bank of the Missouri River, and a ferry was operated at this site. Six hundred of these people-Nebraska's first white settlers-died here that winter....

Winter Quarters Area Historic Sites

Today in the area of old Winter Quarters are several historic sites and markers commemorating Cutler's Park, Winter Quarters, the Mormon Cemetery, and the old Mormon Mill. There are also streets named Young Street, Mormon Street, and Mormon Bridge Road, and a Mormon Visitors' Center, all located in the general area of 30th and State streets.

18. CUTLER'S PARK HISTORIC SITE

This site is located on Mormon Bridge Road just north of the entrance to the Forest Lawn Cemetery. This short-lived community, selected by Alpheus Cutler, was the Nebraska Mormon headquarters in 1846, just prior to the establishment of Winter Quarters. It is known today as "Nebraska's First City." In 1988 the Mormon Church placed a marker here. (See Appendix D, Illustration 14.)

The text on this Mormon Church marker is:

CUTLER'S PARK, NEBRASKA'S FIRST CITY. The first city in Nebraska, Cutler's Park, was founded here in August 1846 by 2500 members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormon) who were en route to the Rocky Mountains. This settlement became the headquarters of the church and extended on both sides of the modern-day Mormon Bridge Road. Although comprised of only tents and wagons arranged in orderly squares, the short-lived community had a mayor and city council, 24 policemen and fireguards, various administrative committees, and a town square for public meetings.

In mid-August the settlers adopted the territory's first Anti-Pollution Ordinance--a regulation banning open burning. In September 1846 the camp began moving to Winter Quarters, three miles northeast. When the last residents of Cutler's Park moved in December, they left behind fenced streets, an improved communal spring, and about 800 tons of hay that would help supply the next group of pioneers on their journey west the following year.

19. WINTER QUARTERS HISTORIC SITE MARKER

In the southern end of the Florence Park at 30th and State streets is a Nebraska Historical Marker.

The text is:

WINTER QUARTERS. Here in 1846 an oppressed people fleeing from a vengeful mob found a haven in the wilderness. Winter Quarters, established under the direction of the Mormon leader Brigham Young, sheltered more than 3,000 people during the winter of 1846-47. Housed in log cabins, sod houses, dugouts, they lacked adequate provisions. When spring arrived more than six hundred of the faithful lay buried in the cemetery on the hill. Winter Quarters became the administration center of a great religious movement.

In the spring of 1847 a pioneer band left Winter Quarters to cross the Plains to the Great Salt Lake Valley. Thousands of others followed this trail. In 1855, Young was forced to utilize handcarts for transportation. The first company, comprising about five hundred persons, left here on July 17 and reached the Valley on September 26, 1856....

20. WINTER QUARTERS CEMETERY HISTORIC SITE: REC.

This site meets the same NR criteria as detailed in site 7. (See Appendix D, Illustration 15.)

The site can be found in old Florence, now North Omaha, at the intersection of State and 33rd streets.

It is estimated that some 600 Mormon emigrants died in the Winter Quarters area, many were buried here during 1846-1852. There are several markers in and near the cemetery.

In this cemetery are some of the finest works of sculpture produced by the Mormon Church. One should note the bronze memorial gates to the front and rear and the nine-foot-tall bronze statue of a grieving family within the cemetery, all by Avard Fairbanks.

21. MORMON PIONEER CAMP HISTORIC SITE

About 4 miles west of the Mormon Pioneer Memorial bridge on Highway 36 is the first monument to the exodus across Nebraska. It is located at the intersection of Old 36 and Seventy-Second Street, at the southern boundary of the North Omaha Airport. The marker was placed by the Daughters of Utah Pioneers in April 1947.

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The text is:

On April 15, 1847, in this vicinity the Mormon Pioneers en route from Nauvoo, Illinois to the Rocky Mountains made their first camp after leaving Winter Quarters on the west bank of the Missouri River 5 miles north of Omaha, Nebraska, where they spent the winter of 1846-47. Heber C. Kimball, a twelve apostle [a member of the Twelve Apostles] of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints and close friend of President Brigham Young, led the first company, thus forming the nucleus for the gathering of the groups that followed....

22. ELKHORN RIVER CROSSING

The pioneer crossing of this first natural obstacle in Nebraska was approximately where U.S. 6 crosses this river today, near Waterloo, Douglas County. There is no marker here.

23. LIBERTY POLE CAMP HISTORIC SITE

This historic staging ground site is near Fremont, Dodge County, in sec. 21, T17N, R8E. There is nothing to be seen today.

Once across the Elkhorn, the pioneers headed for the broad and gentle valley or floodplain of the Platte River. This staging ground, later named the Liberty Pole Camp (from a large cottonwood pole erected there July 4, 1847, by the Second Company of pioneers), was located approximately one-quarter of a mile from the Platte River, southwest of Fremont and west of U.S. 77. The pole remained until at least 1857. There is no marker here.

A Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association marker in Barnard Park in Fremont (between Irving and Clarkson streets on Military Avenue), however, commemorates this staging ground.

The text is:

THE MORMON PIONEER TRAIL. The Mormon Pioneer Trail from Nauvoo, Illinois to the Rocky Mountains passed here April 17, 1847. In this vicinity a military-type organization was formed with Brigham Young, lieutenant general; Stephen Markham, colonel; John Pack and Shadrack Roundy, majors; and captains of hundreds, fifties and tens. In the company were 143 men, 3 women, and 2 boys....

24. GENOA HISTORIC SITE: NR, 10/15/70, 70000373

In 1857, the Mormons founded this community, which still exists, in Nance County in 1857 as a way-station on their trail west. It was also a station for the Brigham Young Express Company of 1856-1857. (See page 69.) The Mormons were required to abandon it in 1859 when it became part of a new Pawnee Indian Reservation.

Although this site is on the National Register, it is so commemorated because it was an important Pawnee village from 1859 to 1876. No reference is made to the fact that the community of Genoa was founded by the Mormons--a fact confirmed by a Nebraska historical marker. The National Register should be amended to include this information.

The text on this Nebraska Historic marker is:

GENOA: 1857-1859. Genoa, named by the Mormon Pioneers, was among several temporary settlements established by the Church of the Latter Day Saints in 1857, along the 1000 mile trail from Florence, as way-stations for the Brigham Young Express and Carrying Company, which had the government mail contract to Salt Lake City, and as rest supply stops for Saints traveling across the plains.

Mormons from St. Louis, Florence, and Alton, Illinois were called to establish the Genoa settlement in the spring of 1857, and the Colony arrived here on May 16th. During the first year, 100 families settled at Genoa and began to fence the land and plant crops under the direction of Brother Allen, Mission President. A steam powered mill was constructed and log, frame, and sod structures were erected to house the settlers and their livestock.

In the fall of 1859, the Mormon Colony was forced to abandon Genoa when the settlement became part of the newly created Pawnee Indian Reservation. Genoa served as the Pawnee Indian Agency until 1876, when the Pawnee were removed to the Indian Territory and the reservation lands offered for sale.

25. LOUP FORD OF 1847 HISTORIC SITE

This pioneer ford is near Fullerton, Nance County, off Highway 22 in sec 4, T16N, R5W. (See Appendix D, Illustration 17.)

Over the years the Mormons used many fording sites above and below this original crossing. There is no marker here.

26. MORMON ISLAND STATE WAYSIDE AREA

This is located at the Grand Island exit off the westbound lane of Interstate 80. It commemorates the fact that some Mormons wintered on an island near here in the 1850s. In this wayside area is a replica of a Mormon handcart next to an informational sign.

27. SAND HILLS HISTORIC TRAIL RUTS: REC.

This site meets the same NR criteria as Historic Sites 7 and 10, plus the Sand Hills can be considered a significant natural feature still reflecting "the period and associations for which the site is significant."⁶ (See Appendix D, Illustration 19.)

These ruts are located 3.5 miles north of U.S. 30 at Sutherland, Lincoln County, in sec. 4, T14N, R33W, immediately to the northeast of the Sutherland Bridge over the Platte River. They are some of the few, as well as some of the best, Mormon Trail ruts in Nebraska, but the Sand Hills must be climbed in order to see them.

It was just west of here that the famous "odometer" was developed and tried out (see page 54).

28. INDIAN LOOKOUT POINT HISTORIC LANDMARK

This landmark can be found 2 miles west of Lisco, Morrill County, in sec. 19, T18N, R46W, to the north of U.S. 26.

Many Mormons climbed this promontory to get their bearings.

29. ANCIENT BLUFF RUINS HISTORIC LANDMARK: REC.

This site meets the same NR criteria as Historic Sites 7, 10, and 27. See Appendix D, Illustration 20. The site is 8 miles west of Lisco, Morrill County, in secs. 32-33, T19N, R47W north of U.S. 26.

These three erosional remnant buttes were named by English Mormon emigrants who thought they resembled castles in their homeland. On Sunday May 23, 1847, Mormon leaders climbed the highest bluff, wrote their names on a buffalo skull and placed it at the southwest corner. These bluffs remained a prominent landmark on the Mormon Trail throughout the immigration period and collectively form the most dramatic landmark on the entire Mormon Trail in Nebraska.

30. ANCIENT BLUFF RUINS HISTORIC RUTS/MARKER

In connection with, but separate from, the bluffs is a very short (less than 100 feet long) set of well-defined trail ruts. They can be found three-tenths of a mile east of the ranch road leading into the bluff area, just to the north of U.S. 26.

⁶ Ibid., 61.

About 1.5 miles east of this same ranch road, north of the highway is a Nebraska historical marker commemorating Narcissa Whitman, and Eliza Spaulding (the first white women on the Oregon Trail), these bluffs, and the Mormons who named them.

31. REBECCA WINTER'S GRAVE HISTORIC SITE: REC.

This site meets the same NR criteria as site 7. (See Appendix D, Illustration 21.)

Three miles east of Scottsbluff, Scotts Bluff County, along U.S. 26, is a pullout where the Belt Line Road Crosses the Burlington and Northern Railroad, in sec 30, T22N, R54W.

This famous grave, one of the few known graves of the approximately 6,000 Mormons who died crossing the plains, was discovered in 1899 by Burlington Railroad surveyors who changed the right-of-way to save and protect the grave. The grave site is about ¼ of a mile along the railroad tracks to the west of the pullout.

In 1902, the Mormon Church placed a marker here. One should first visit the Nebraska historical marker information sign at the pullout.

The text is:

REBECCA WINTERS. Rebecca Winters... was born in New York State in 1802. She was a pioneer in the Church of the Latter Day Saints... In June 1852 the family joined others of their faith in the great journey to Utah. It was a pleasant trip across Iowa through June, but in the Platte Valley the dread cholera struck. Rebecca saw many of her friends taken by the illness, and on August 15 she was another of its victims....

A close friend of the family, William Reynolds, chiseled the words "Rebecca Winters, age 50" on an iron wagon tire to mark the grave....

In 1902 a monument was erected by Rebecca's descendants. Rebecca Winters is a symbol of the pioneer mother who endured great hardships in the westward movement.

32. PRAYER CIRCLE BLUFFS HISTORIC SITE

This site is near Henry, Scotts Bluff County, in sec. 3, T23N, R58W.

These low, sandy bluffs are about 1 mile east of Henry. They can be reached by a service road, but the visit is not worth the effort, for the bluffs are visible from U.S. 26. It was here on May 30, 1847, that Brigham Young called a special prayer circle on behalf of the pioneers with him, those following, and others remaining in Winter Quarters. There is no marker here.

WYOMING

33. FORT LARAMIE AND RUTS: NR, 10/16/66, 66000755

Approximately 30 miles northwest of the present Wyoming state line traveling on U.S. 26 (which here follows the old trail quite closely), is the most famous historic site in all Wyoming - Fort Laramie, established in 1834. Here the Mormons crossed the North Platte River and picked up the Oregon Trail.

The present Fort Laramie, now a national historic site, dates mainly from the Civil War period and little remains of the 1847 fort. At the moment there is no Mormon marker in the area, only a brief reference to them in the fort's museum. Between 1986-1987, the National Park Service and the Bureau of Land Management cooperated in making some nearby, but little-known trail ruts accessible to the public. They can be found by turning west on a gravel road from the fort's cemetery and driving a mile or so toward Guernsey. There are signs and a pullout to the north of the road. These ruts are known as the "Old Bedlam Ruts" today. (Old Bedlam was the nickname of a garrison at Fort Laramie.)

34. MEXICAN HILL HISTORIC SITE: REC.

This site meets the same NR criteria as Historic Sites 7, 10, and 17. (See Appendix, Illustration 23.)

This site is 7 miles west of Fort Laramie, following the river road rather than the plateau, in the SE ¼ of sec. 8, T26N, R65W, Goshen County.

This hill is a steep and dramatic cut through the river bluffs to the flood plain. Impressive trail ruts lead up to the hill from the east. The pioneers and many other Mormons came this way. The site is unmarked, difficult to find, on private ground, and permission is required to visit it. The author recommends the use of a four-wheel-drive vehicle to get to the site.

35. REGISTER CLIFF: NR, 4/3/70, 70000674

The site is in the Guernsey State Park, Guernsey, Platte County.

The famous Register Cliff site is 2 miles west of Mexican Hill and can be reached from there only by crossing private ground. Travelers are advised to approach it via Guernsey--it is 2.8 miles southeast of that community. Most Mormons seem to have ignored this cliff, but later emigrants covered it with names, carving them into the soft sandstone. There is an informational marker here.

36. GUERNSEY OREGON-MORMON TRAIL RUTS: NR, 10/15/66, 66000761

The site is in the Guernsey State Park, Guernsey, Platte County.

One and one-half miles beyond Register Cliff are some of the most dramatic ruts of any trail in the world--cut shoulder deep through solid rock. (See Appendix D, Illustration 24.) This example of ruts is a national historic landmark, and is located a short walk from a marked parking area. The interpretive panel near them bears an almost poetic inscription.

The text is:

Wagon wheels cut solid rock, carving a memorial to Empire Builders. What manner of men and beasts impelled conveyances weighing on those grinding wheels? Look! A line of shadows crossing boundless wilderness.

Foremost, nimble mules drawing their carts, come poised Mountain Men carrying trade goods to a fur fair--the Rendezvous. So, in 1830, Bill Sublette turns the first wheels from St. Louis to the Rocky Mountains! Following his faint trail, a decade later and on through the 1860's, appear straining, twisting teams of oxen, mules and heavy draft horses drawing Conestoga wagons for Oregon pioneers. Trailing the Oregon-bound *avant garde* but otherwise mingling with those emigrants, inspired by religious fervor, loom footsore and trailworn companies--Mormons dragging or pushing handcarts as they follow Brigham Young to the Valley of the Salt Lake. And, after 1849, reacting to a different stimulus but sharing the same trail, urging draft animals to extremity, straining resources and often failing, hurry gold rushers California bound.

A different breed, no emigrants, but enterprisers and adventurers, capture the 1860's scene. They appear, multi-teamed units in draft--heavy wagons in tandem, jerkline operators and bullwhackers delivering freight to Indian War outposts and agencies. Now the apparition fades in a changing environment. Dimly seen, this last commerce serves a new, pastoral society: the era of the cattle baron and the advent of settlement blot the Oregon Trail.

37. WARM SPRING HISTORIC SITE

The site is near Guernsey, Platte County, in sec. 4, T26N, R66W.

These springs were also known as the Emigrant's Washtub because the water is warmer than the river (about 70 degrees F). Many Mormons did laundry here.

38. HEBER SPRINGS

About 11 miles southwest of Glendo, Platte County, in sec. 1, T28N, R70W off the Esterbrook Road.

The site is locally known as Mormon Springs although the Mormons did not discover them. Heber C. Kimball was simply the first of the 1847 Mormons to see them.

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39. MORMON FERRY SITE, 1849

The site is 3 miles east of Casper in a small riverside park in Evansville, Natrona County.

40. MORMON FERRY SITE, 1847: NR, 8/12/71, 71000887

This site is at Fort Caspar in Casper, Natrona County. (The Fort Caspar vicinity is on the NR.) This ferry, considered to have been the first commercial ferry on the Platte River, was established by the Mormon Pioneers in June 1847.

There is an excellent Mormon exhibit in the fort museum, a full-size replica of the original Mormon Ferry, and a 1932 Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks monument on the fort grounds.

The text is:

THE MORMON FERRY. First Commercial Ferry on the Platte River was established ½ mile south of here [this marker has been moved from its original site across the river in Mills; there has been an interest expressed in moving the marker back to its original site] in June 1847 by Mormon Pioneers on their way to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake.

Brigham Young directed nine men to remain to operate the ferry. They were Thomas Grover, Capt. John S. Higbee, Luke S. Johnson, Appleton M. Harmon, Edmond Ellsworth, Francis M. Pomeroy, William Empey, James Davenport, [and] Benj. E. Stewart.

The first passengers were Missourians bound for Oregon. The ferry was made of two large cottonwood canoes fastened with crosspieces and covered with slabs. It was operated by oars.

41. EMIGRANT GAP HISTORIC LANDMARK

This gap is along Poison Spider Road, 10 miles west of Casper, in sec. 10, T33N, R81W.

Most travelers of the Oregon-California-Mormon Trail passed through this shallow gap in the Emigrant Gap Ridge. There is a BLM interpretive site here.

42. AVENUE OF ROCKS HISTORIC LANDMARK

This site is 6 miles west of Emigrant Gap, Natrona County, on County Road 319, in sec. 16, T32N, R82W.

Most of the Avenue was destroyed by road builders. Some emigrant signatures can still be found in the area.

43. WILLOW SPRINGS HISTORIC SITE

This site is 9 miles west of Avenue of Rocks, Natrona County, on County Road 317 sec. 9, T31N, R83W.

These springs provided the only good water and campground for emigrants between the Platte and Sweetwater rivers. They are north of the road by some unused ranch buildings.

44. PROSPECT (RYAN) HILL LANDMARK

The landmark can be found 1 mile beyond Willow Springs, in sec. 8, T31N, R83W.

This 400-foot-high hill was originally called Prospect Hill, because from its summit, emigrants could see the gentle valley of the Sweetwater River, giving them hope, or good prospects, for better water and an easier road. Excellent trail ruts can be seen about ¼ mile northwest of the present road. There is a BLM interpretive site here.

45. INDEPENDENCE ROCK: NR, 10/15/66, 66000753

This site is 22 miles past Prospect Hill, Natrona County, in sec. 9, T29N, R86W off Highway 220.

Near this rock, one of the most famous landmarks on the Oregon-California-Mormon Trail, emigrants picked up the beneficent Sweetwater River, and followed it west about 93 miles to the continental divide at South Pass. The rock was named because some early trappers are said to have once celebrated July 4th here. There are information signs, names carved and painted on the rock, and bronze plaques, one commemorating the Mormons.

The text is:

In honor of the Mormon pioneers who passed Independence Rock, June 21, 1847, under the leadership of Brigham Young, on their way to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. And of the more than 80,000 [70,000 is closer to the truth] "Mormon" emigrants who followed by ox teams, handcarts, and other means of travel seeking religious liberty and economic independence...

46. DEVIL'S GATE HISTORIC LANDMARK: REC.

This site meets the same NR criteria as sites 7, 27, and 29. (Appendix D, Illustration 25.)

The landmark is 6 miles west of Independence Rock on Highway 220, Natrona County, in sec. 35, T29N, R877W. It is a 370-foot-high and 1,500-foot-long cleft, or water gap, through the Sweetwater Rocks. Emigrant signatures can be found in the gap. There is a BLM interpretive site near here on new Highway 220. A station on the Brigham Young Express Company route was near here in 1856-1857.

HISTORIC SITES ALONG THE MORMON PIONEER NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

47 MARTIN'S COVE: NR, 3/8/77, 77001383

Martin's Cove is 2 miles west of Devil's Gate on old Highway 220, Natrona County, in sec. 28, T29N, R87W. (See Appendix D, Illustration 26.)

The actual cove where many Mormons froze to death in 1856 is north of the road, across the Sweetwater River adjacent to the Sun Ranch. It is difficult to access (four-wheel-drive is recommended), and permission must be secured to visit it. In 1986 some Boy Scouts from Layton, Utah, erected a rock cairn on a rise in this cove honoring those who perished here.

The 1933 marker put up by the Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association is to the north of old Highway 220, 2 miles west of the Sun Ranch and nearly 2 miles from the cove. Permission to drive this private road is required. The general area of the cove is in the Rattlesnake Mountains, more than a mile north of the road.

The text is:

MARTIN'S COVE. Survivors of Captain Edward Martin's handcart company of Mormon emigrants from England to Utah were rescued here in perishing condition about Nov. 12, 1856. Delayed in starting and hampered by inferior [hand]carts, it was overtaken by an early winter. Among the company of 576, including aged people and children, the fatalities numbered 145. Insufficient food and clothing and severe weather caused many deaths. Towards the end every campground became a graveyard. Some of the survivors found shelter in a stockade and mail station near Devil's Gate where their property was stored for the winter. Earlier companies reached Utah in safety.

48. SPLIT ROCK MOUNTAIN RUTS: REC.

This site meets the same NR criteria as sites 7, 10, 27 and 36, which is already on the National Register. (See Appendix D, Illustration 27.)

The ruts are east of Jeffrey City, Fremont County, off U.S 287, in sec. 16, T29N, R90W, on private land. These are trail ruts cut into solid rock, similar to, but not as dramatic as, the trail ruts at Guernsey.

Split Rock Mountain itself is already on the National Register, 12/22/76, 76001959. It can be seen north of the road, a cleft in the Rattlesnake Range.

49. THE THREE CROSSINGS HISTORIC SITE

Along the Sweetwater River 2 miles north of Jeffrey City, Fremont County, is the famous area where the river was crossed three times within a short distance.

50. ICE SPRINGS HISTORIC AREA

This historic area is 9 miles west of Jeffrey City off U.S. 287/789, Fremont County, in sec. 32, T30N, R93W.

Under these famous springs, emigrants could find ice in the summer. A Wyoming informational sign is here.

51. WILLIE'S HANDCART COMPANY GRAVE SITE: REC.

This site meets the same NR criteria as sites 7 and 47, which are already on the National Register. See Appendix D, Illustration 28.

This site is 7 miles south of Atlantic City, Fremont County, in sec. 35, T29N, R99W.

This handcart company was a companion of the Martin company (see site 15). In October 1856, this company was caught in an early blizzard. At least fifteen Mormons froze to death and are buried here. In 1932 the Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association marked the site.

The text is:

WILLIE'S HANDCART COMPANY. Captain James G. Willie's handcart company of Mormon emigrants on the way to Utah, greatly exhausted by the deep snows of an early winter and suffering from lack of food and clothing, had assembled here for reorganization by relief parties from Utah, about the end of October, 1856. Thirteen persons were frozen to death during a single night and were buried here in one grave. Two others died the next day and were buried near by. Of the company of 404 persons 77 perished before help arrived. The survivors reached Salt Lake City November 9, 1856.

52. SOUTH PASS HISTORIC SITE: NR, 10/15/66, 66000754

The site is west of Atlantic City, Fremont County, sec. 4, T27N, R101W.

This gentle pass through the Rocky Mountains is considered the "Cumberland Gap of the Far West," beyond which in 1847, commenced the fabled land of Oregon. Four miles beyond the last bridge over the Sweetwater River is a South Pass Exhibit site just south of Highway 28. The site provides an excellent view of the pass and Pacific Springs.

53. PACIFIC SPRINGS HISTORIC SITE

This site is 4 miles west of South Pass, off Highway 28, in sec. 1, T72N, R102W.

HISTORIC SITES ALONG THE MORMON PIONEER NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

This was a famous campsite named Pacific Springs because it was the first water that flowed to the Pacific Ocean that was seen by westering Americans.

54. PARTING OF THE WAYS HISTORIC SITE: NR, 1/11/76, 76001962

This site is 4 miles north of Highway 28, 15 miles northeast of Farson, in sec 4, T26N, R104W.

Here the Oregon Trail continued to the southwest and the Sublette Cutoff turned to the right across the Little Colorado Desert on a shortcut to the Bear River. The Bureau of Land Management recently installed a historic marker here.

The text is:

This part of the trail is called the Parting of the Ways. The trail to the right is the Sublette or Greenwood Cutoff and to the left is the main route of the Oregon, Mormon, and California Trails. The Sublette Cutoff opened in 1844 because it saved 46 miles over the main route. It did require a 50 mile waterless crossing of the desert and therefore was not popular until the gold rush period.

The name tells the story, people who had traveled 1,000 miles together separated at this point. They did not know if they ever would see each other again. It was a place of great sorrow. It was also a place of great decision--to cross the desert and save miles or to favor their livestock. About two-thirds of the emigrants chose the main route through Fort Bridger instead of the Sublette Cutoff.

55. SIMPSON'S HOLLOW HISTORIC SITE

The site is 12 miles west of Farson, Sweetwater County, in sec. 36, T24N, R108W on Highway 28.

Here, on October 6, 1857, some Mormon guerrillas burned some U.S. army supply wagons during the "Utah War" of 1857-1858. There is a marker here.

The text of this Mormon Church marker is:

SIMPSON'S HOLLOW. Here on Oct. 6, 1857, U.S. army supply wagons lead [sic] by a Capt. Simpson were burned by Major Lot Smith and 43 Utah Militiamen. They were under orders from Brigham Young, Utah Territorial Governor, to delay the army's advance on Utah. This delay of the army helped effect a peaceful settlement of difficulties.

The day earlier a similar burning of 52 army supply wagons took place near here at Smith's Bluff.

56. GREEN RIVER MORMON FERRY SITE

This 1847 ferry site is located 28 miles southwest of Farson, Sweetwater County on Highway 28 on the Green River, in sec. 18, T22N, R109W.

The Mormons established this ferry in 1847 to help subsequent Mormons and also as a commercial venture. Located near the landmark known as Lombard Buttes, it was often referred to as the Lombard Ferry.

The present Highway 28 bridge crosses the river adjacent to the old ferry site.

57. CHURCH BUTTE HISTORIC LANDMARK

This landmark is 10 miles southwest of Granger, Uinta County, in sec. 25, T18N, R113W on old U.S. 30. (See Appendix D, Illustration 29.)

This magnificently eroded butte acquired its name because some Mormons were supposed to have held church services here at one time.

58. FORT BRIDGER: NR, 4/16/69, 69000197

The site is in Fort Bridger State Park, Uinta County.

Six miles beyond Lyman is the second most important fort on the old Mormon Pioneer Trail, the first one being Fort Laramie (see Historic Site 33). Here the main Oregon Trail (which the pioneers of 1847 picked up nearly 400 miles back, at Fort Laramie) turns north and the Mormons continued west about 100 miles on the year-old track of the Reed-Donner party into what is now Salt Lake City. (See Appendix D, Illustration 30.)

There is nothing left here of the original fort of 1843-1844, but there is an excellent fort museum with some references to the Mormon presence here.

In 1855 the Mormons bought Fort Bridger, enlarged it, and built a cobblestone wall around it. One small section of the wall is all that is left of the Mormon occupation. Rebuilt by the WPA during the Depression, it is located under a shelter at the far end of the fort and is marked with a plaque placed there by the Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association. During the summer of 1990, sections of the foundation of this wall were excavated by the Western Wyoming College.

The text is:

THE MORMON WALL. On August 3, 1855 the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints concluded arrangements for the purchase of Fort Bridger from Louis Vasquez, partner of James Bridger, for \$18,000.... A cobblestone wall was

HISTORIC SITES ALONG THE MORMON PIONEER NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

erected...replacing Bridger's stockade...The place was evacuated and burned on the approach of Johnston's Army September 27, 1857.... (See Historic Site 62.)

59. OIL SPRINGS HISTORIC SITE

The site is 12 miles south of Evanston, Uinta County, in sec. 4, T13N, R119W.

This oil spring, well known to many westering Americans as a source of lubrication for their wagons, still flows. It is on private property and permission must be secured to visit it. The entrance to the ranch is 3 miles south of the bridge over the Bear River on Highway 150 south of Evanston.

60. THE NEEDLES HISTORIC LANDMARK

This landmark is near the Wyoming-Utah state line, in Uinta County in sec. 26, T14N,R121W.

The landmark is a 7,600-foot-high formation of conglomerate rock. It was near here in July 1847 that Brigham Young was taken sick with tick fever and, as a result, entered the Valley of the Great Salt Lake two days after the vanguard did.

UTAH

61. CACHE CAVE HISTORIC SITE: REC.

This site meets the NR criteria of sites 7 and 10 and is similar to site 45, which is already on the NR. (See Appendix D, Illustration 31.)

This cave is just off Echo Canyon, Summit County, in sec. 23, T5N,R7E off Interstate 80.

This famous rendezvous place is covered inside with names of emigrants. It is on private land.

62. PIONEER DEFENSE FORTIFICATIONS. NR, 10/27/88, 88001942

These are 21 miles west of Wahsatch, Summit County in Echo Canyon, off Interstate 80 in sec. 10, T3N, R5E. See Appendix D, Illustrations 32 and 33.

They are listed in the National Register as Echo Canyon Breastworks. Near here is what is left of an old wooden marker erected by the Utah State Road Commission.

The text is:

PIONEER DEFENSE FORTIFICATIONS. In 1857, due to false official reports and other misrepresentations, troops under General Albert Sidney Johnston were

sent to suppress a mythical rebellion among the Mormons. Brigham Young, then governor...forbade the army to enter Utah on the grounds that there was no rebellion and that he had not been officially informed of the government's action in sending the troops.

Strategic places between Fort Bridger and Salt Lake City were fortified. Remnants of these fortifications can be seen on the sides of the cliffs in this section of Echo Canyon.... Fort Bridger and Fort Supply, then in Utah and owned by the Church, were burned.

Following negotiations between Governor Young and Captain Stewart Van Vliet and mediation of Col. Thomas L. Kane, the army was held east of Fort Bridger during the winter of 1857-58 and entered Utah without opposition the following spring. It was recalled at the outbreak of the Civil War.

63. HOGSBACK SUMMIT HISTORIC SITE/RUTS

(MPNHT ruts are very rare in Utah--and there are no good ones. These, regrettably, are too poor to nominate for the National Register.)

This is 6 miles west of Henefer, Summit County, in sec. 25, T3N, R3E on Highway 65.

Here Mormons got their first disheartening sight of the mountains they still had to pass through to reach their new Zion. About 100 yards back towards Henefer, just to the north of the road, about ¼-mile of rather poor trail ruts can be seen. These are some of the very few ruts left of the MPNHT in Utah.

64. MORMON FLAT HISTORIC SITE: NR, 10/27/88, 88001943

This site is 17 miles southwest of Henefer, in sec. 14, T1N, R3E.

Approximately 8 miles southwest of the Hogsback marker on Highway 65, a dirt road goes left (south) for 3 miles to Mormon Flat and the presently unmarked mouth of Little Emigration Canyon. On elevated ground at the canyon mouth, across unbridged Canyon Creek, can be seen some stone breastworks from the Mormon War of 1857-1858.

The old trail goes 4 miles up this gentle canyon, and is a pleasant hike, to the crest of Big Mountain.

65. BIG MOUNTAIN HISTORIC SITE

This is 19 miles southwest of Henefer, Summit County, on Highway 65, and is the place where the pioneers of 1847 and thousands of subsequent emigrants caught their first view of their new home--the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. It was also here that Young uttered

HISTORIC SITES ALONG THE MORMON PIONEER NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

his famous words, "This is the place, drive on." There is a marker here erected by the Sons of Utah Pioneers.

The text is:

BIG MOUNTAIN. On 19 July 1847, Scouts Orson Pratt and John Brown climbed the mountain and became the first Latter-day Saints to see the Salt Lake Valley. Due to illness, the pioneer camp had divided into three small companies. On 23 July, the last party, led by Brigham Young, reached the Big Mountain. By this time, most of the first companies were already in the valley planting crops. Mormons were not the first immigrant group to use this route into the Salt Lake Valley. The ill-fated Donner Party blazed the original Mormon trail one year earlier. They spent thirteen days cutting the trail from present-day Henefer into the valley.

That delay proved disastrous later on when the party was caught in a severe winter storm in the Sierra Nevada Mountains. The Mormons traveled the same distance in only six days. Until 1861, this trail was also the route of California gold seekers, Overland Stage, Pony Express, original telegraph line, and other Mormon immigrant companies, after which Parley's Canyon was used.

This monument, erected and dedicated 25 August 1984, by South Davis Chapter, Sons of Utah Pioneers.

66. LITTLE MOUNTAIN HISTORIC SITE/RUTS

(These rare ruts are, sadly, no better than those at Historic Site 63.)

About 7 miles southwest of Big Mountain on Highway 65, in sec. 35, T1N, R2E, is where the trail went up over Little Mountain and entered Emigration Canyon, the canyon that led directly, and finally, into the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. There appear to be some trail ruts north of the road. (See Appendix D, Illustrations 32 and 33.)

67. THIS IS THE PLACE MONUMENT: NR, 10/15/66, 66000737

This monument is on Highway 65 in Pioneer Monument State Park, Salt Lake City. The monument and the park are part of the whole Emigration Canyon site on the National Register.

In 1922, during the Pioneer Diamond Jubilee, a small monument was placed here reading, "THIS IS THE PLACE/BRIGHAM YOUNG/JULY 24, 1847." At that time sixty-six original pioneers were present. In 1947, to better commemorate the centennial of the arrival of the pioneers into the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, a more suitable monument was built here in the Pioneer Monument State Park. This massive memorial, sixty feet high and eighty-four feet wide, designed by Mahroni M. Young, features fifteen plaques and many statues and bas-reliefs honoring not only the Mormon Pioneers, but also others who

had explored the Great Basin including the American Indians, Fathers Dominquez and Esclanate, General W. H. Ashley, Peter Skene Ogden, Etienne Provost, Captain B.L.E. Bonneville, Father Jean Pierre De Smet, Thomas Fitzpatrick, Milton W. Sublette, Kit Carson, Captain John C. Fremont, and the Reed-Donner party. There is also a visitors' center and an outdoor museum in this 500-acre park, which constitutes the end of the famous Mormon Pioneer Trail from Nauvoo, Illinois, to Salt Lake City, Utah.

Also related to the MPNHT in Salt Lake City is the museum of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers and the Museum of Church History and Art.

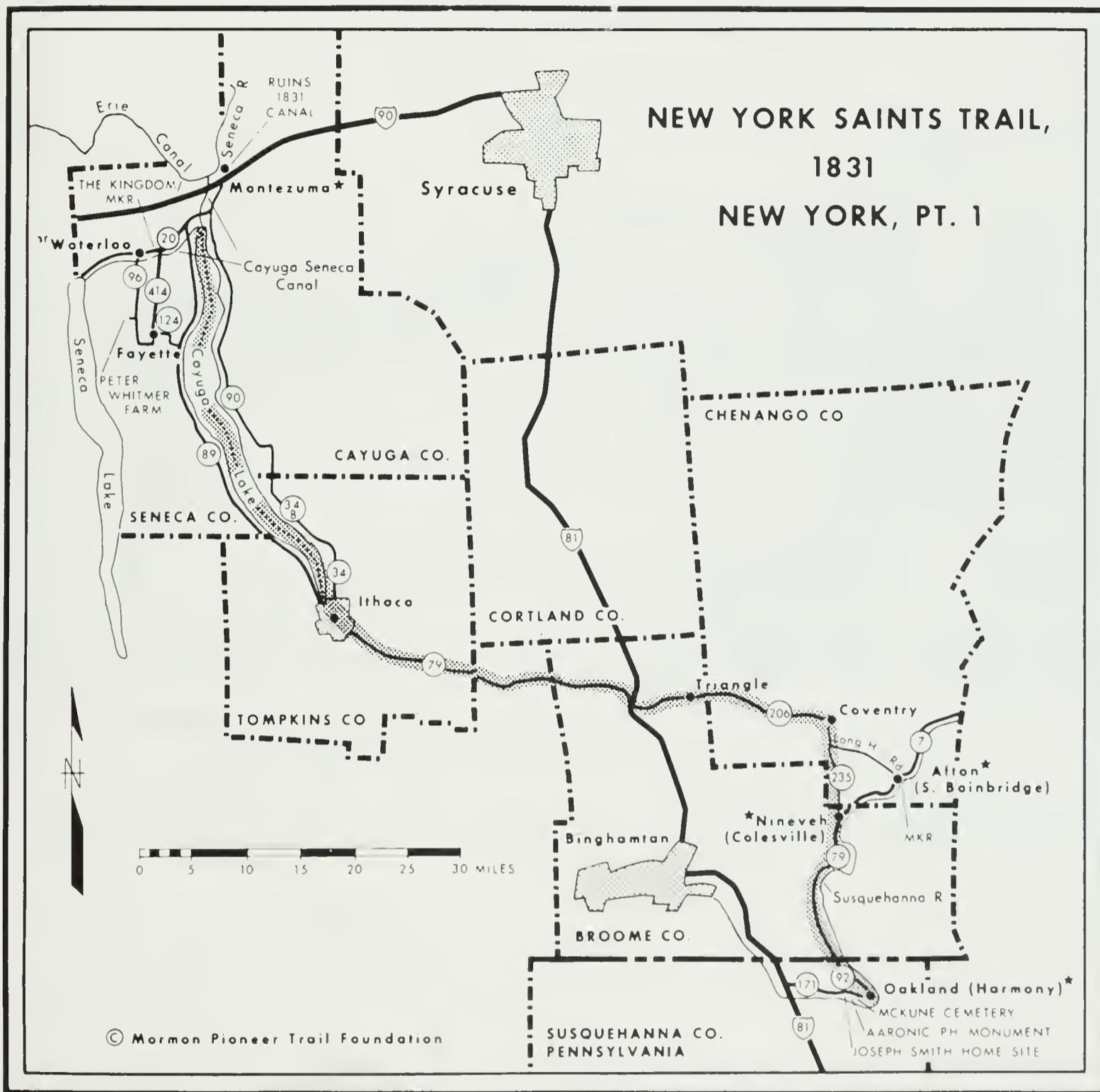


APPENDICES

Pioneers
Camped here
June 3^d / 47
making 15
miles today
All well
Bryham Young

APPENDIX A: MAPS

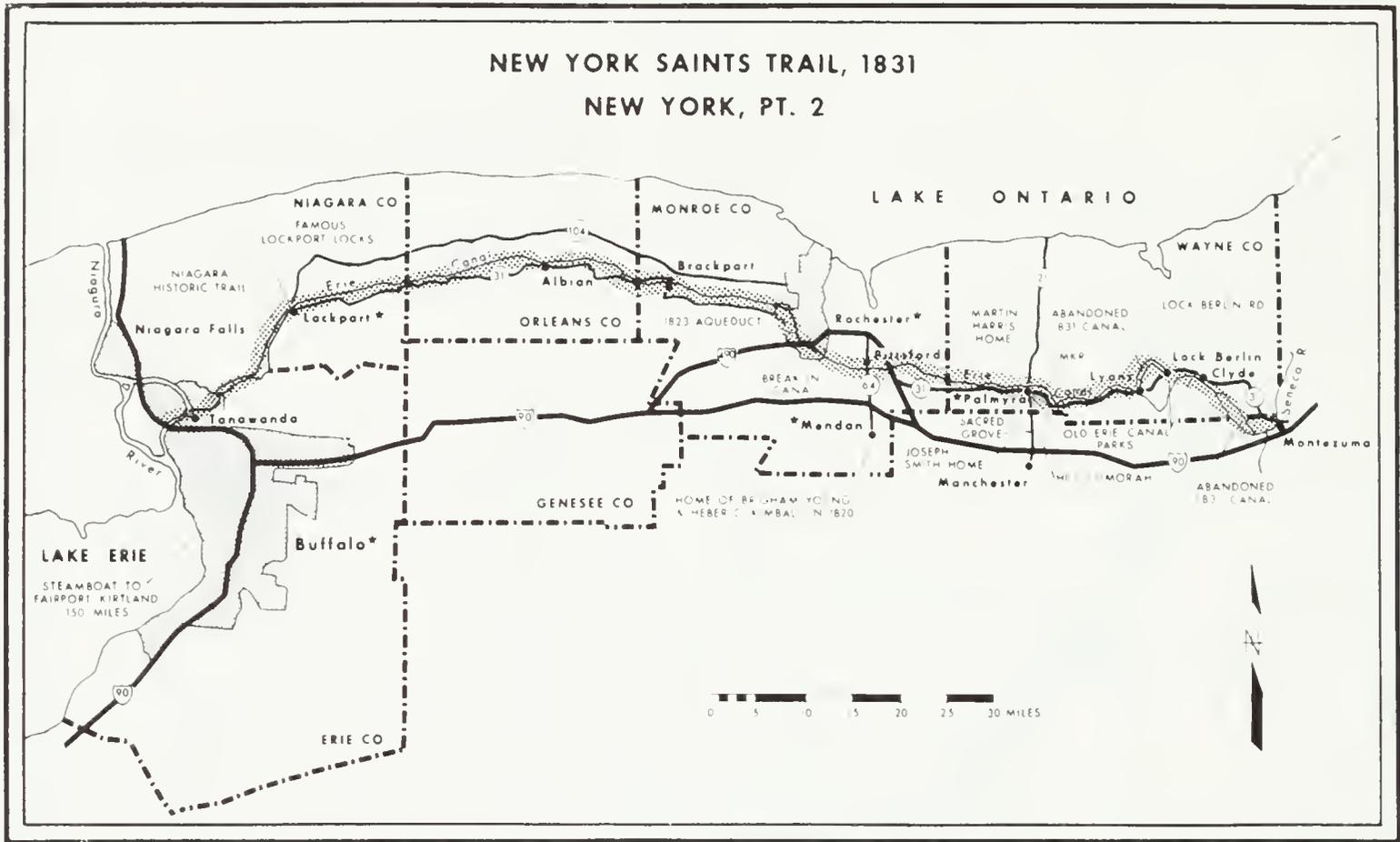
MAP 1
New York Saints Trail, 1831, pt. 1



Source: Stanley B. Kimball, *Discovering Mormon Trails*.

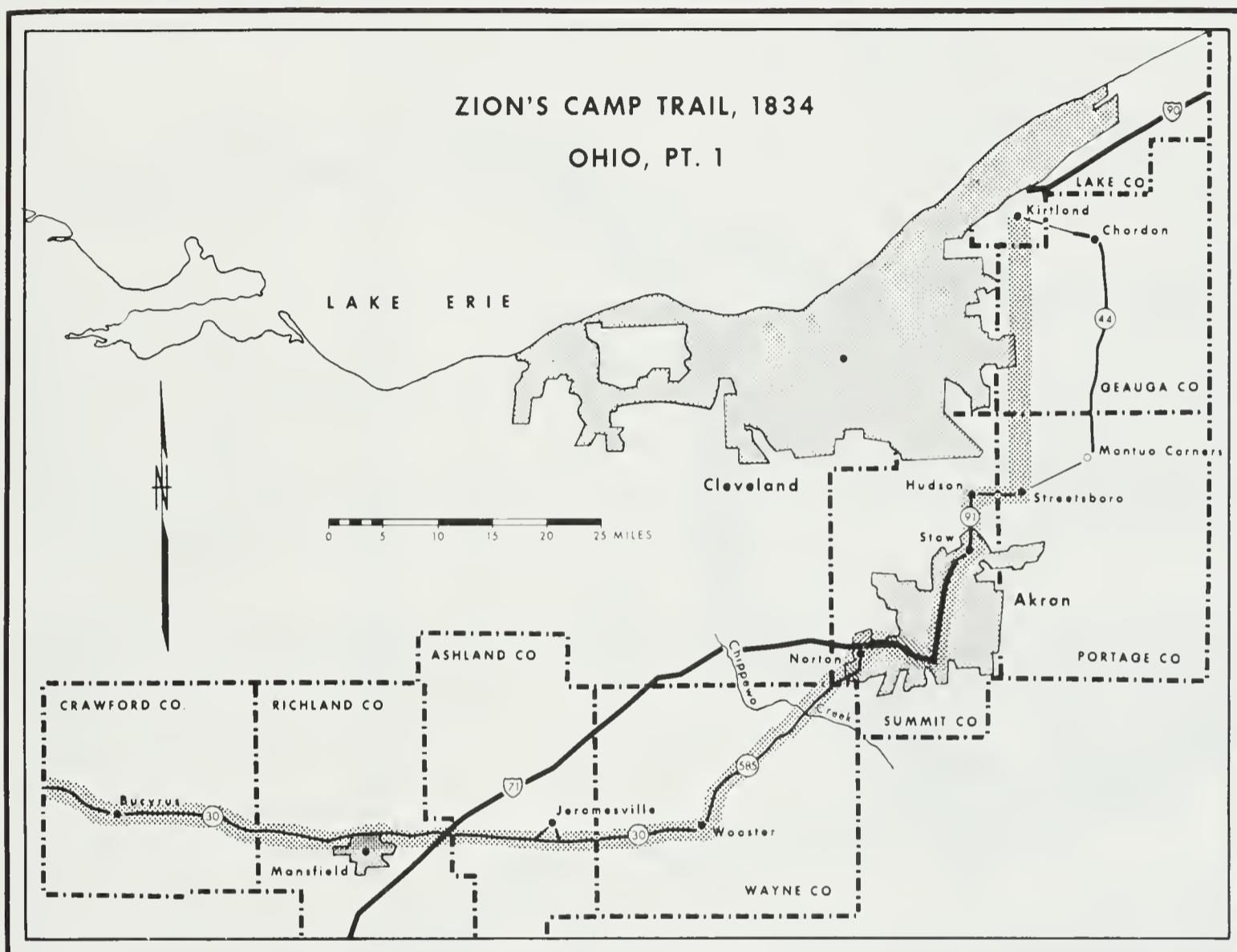
APPENDICES

MAP 1a
New York Saints Trail, 1831, pt. 2



Source: Stanley B. Kimball, *Discovering Mormon Trails*.

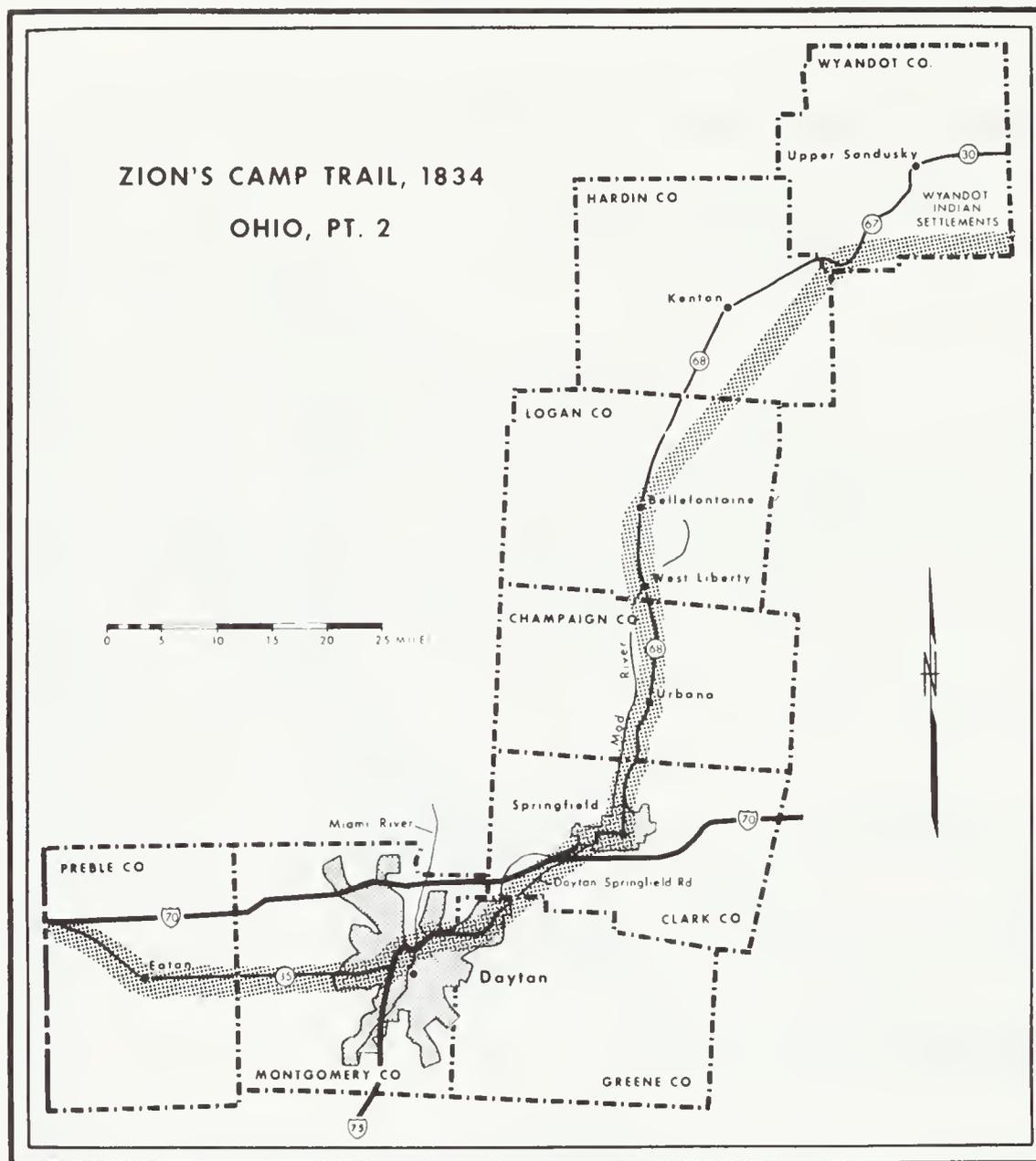
MAP 2
Zion's Camp Trail, 1834, Ohio, pt. 1



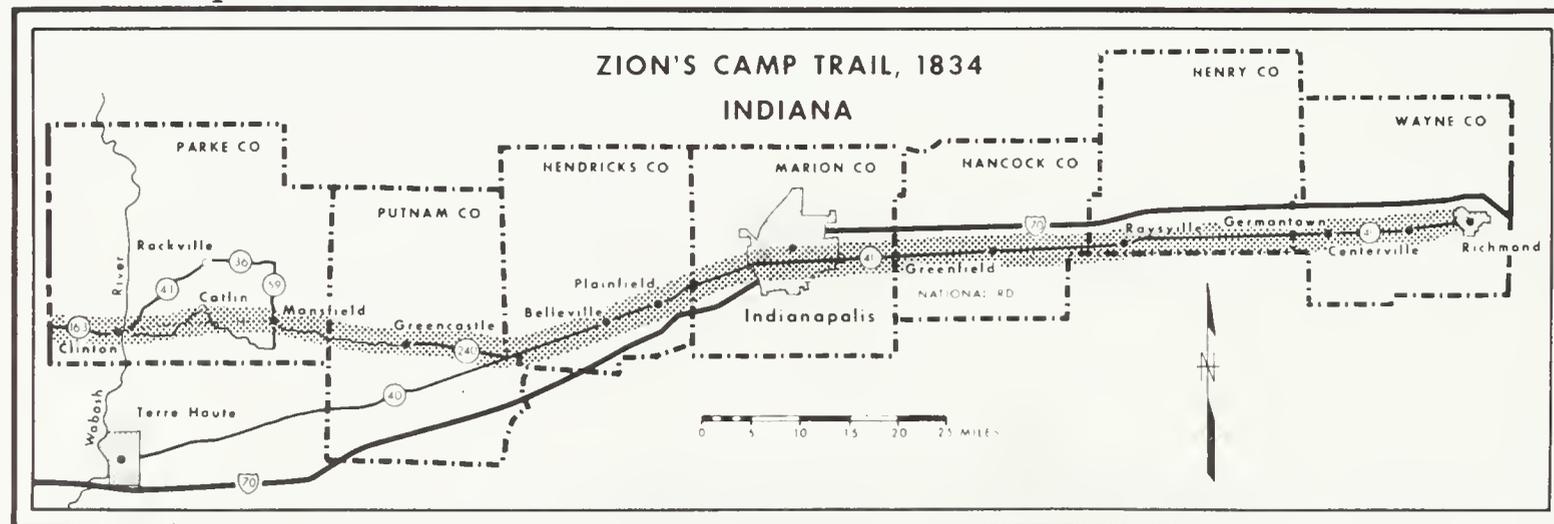
Source: Stanley B. Kimball, *Discovering Mormon Trails*.

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MAP 2a
Zion's Camp Trail, 1834, Ohio, pt. 2

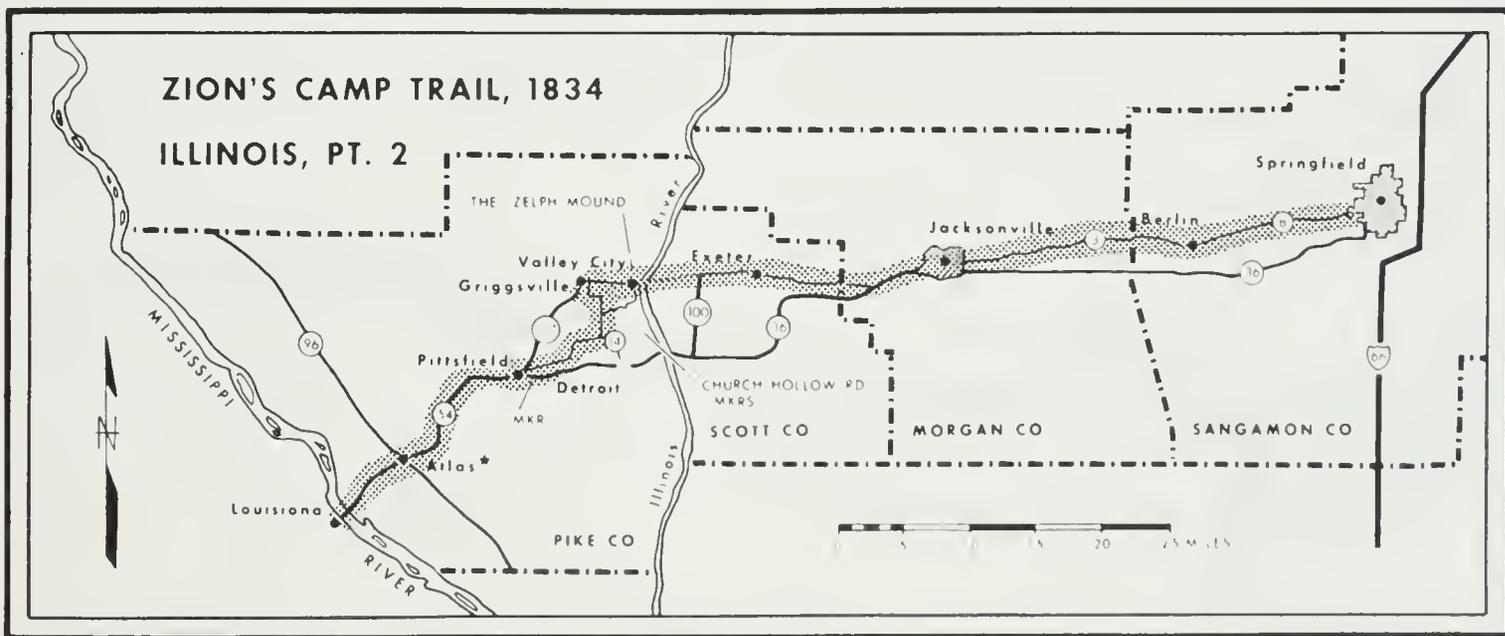
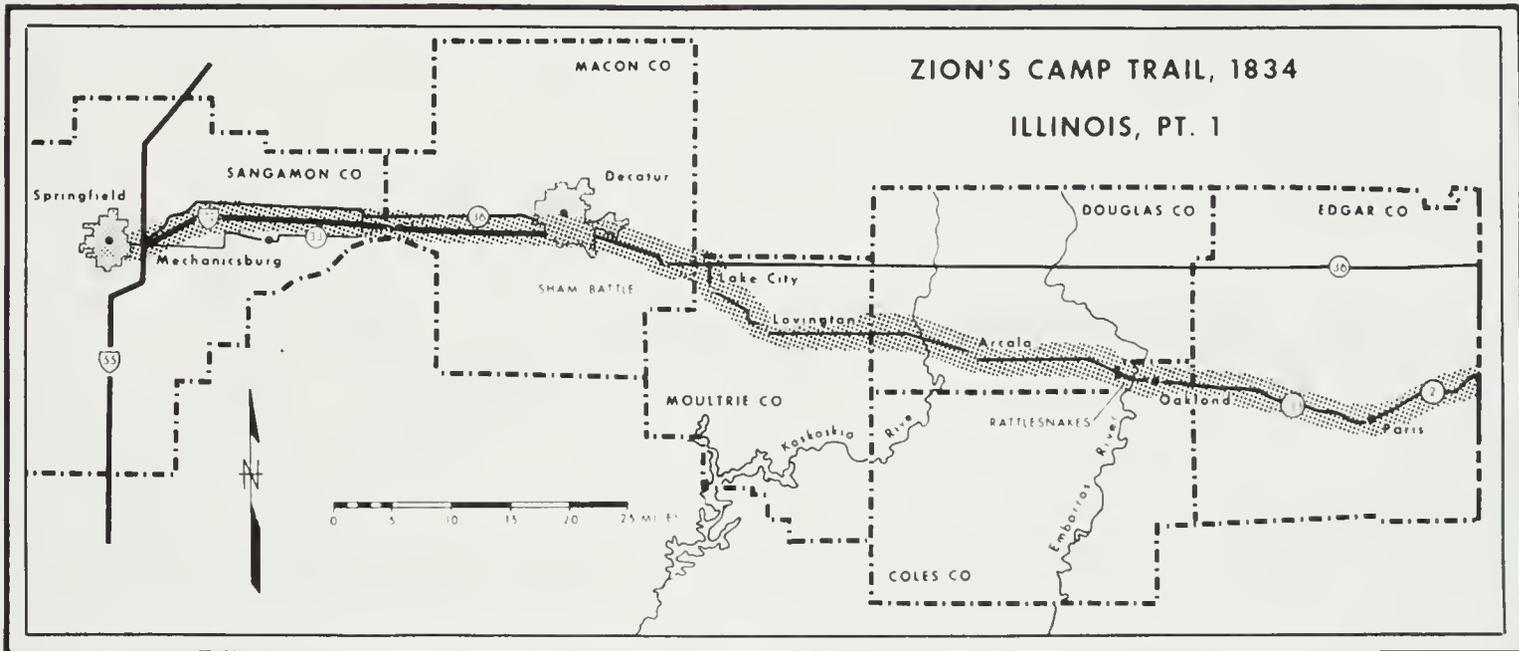


MAP 2b
Zion's Camp Trail, 1834, Indiana



Source: Stanley B. Kimball, *Discovering Mormon Trails*.

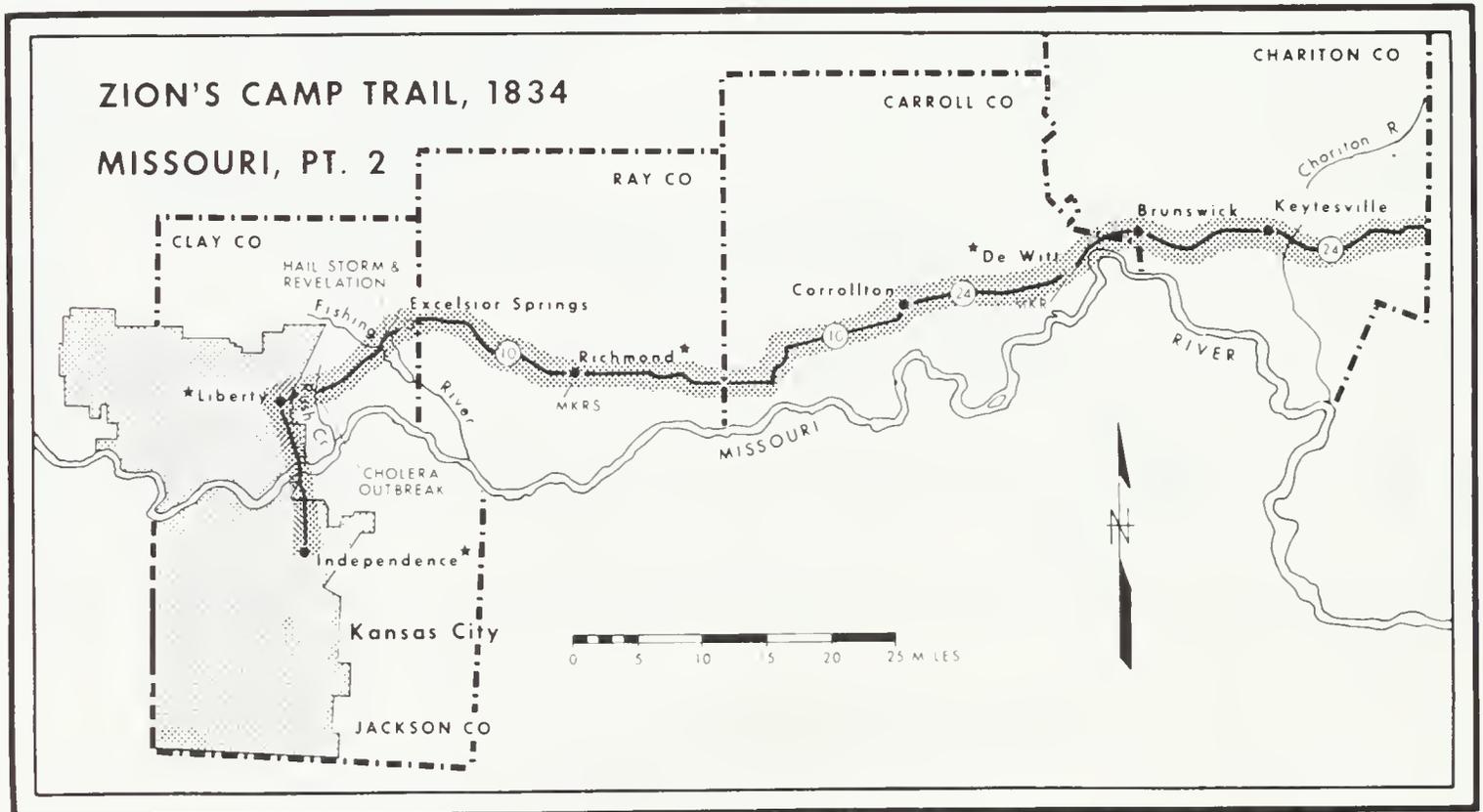
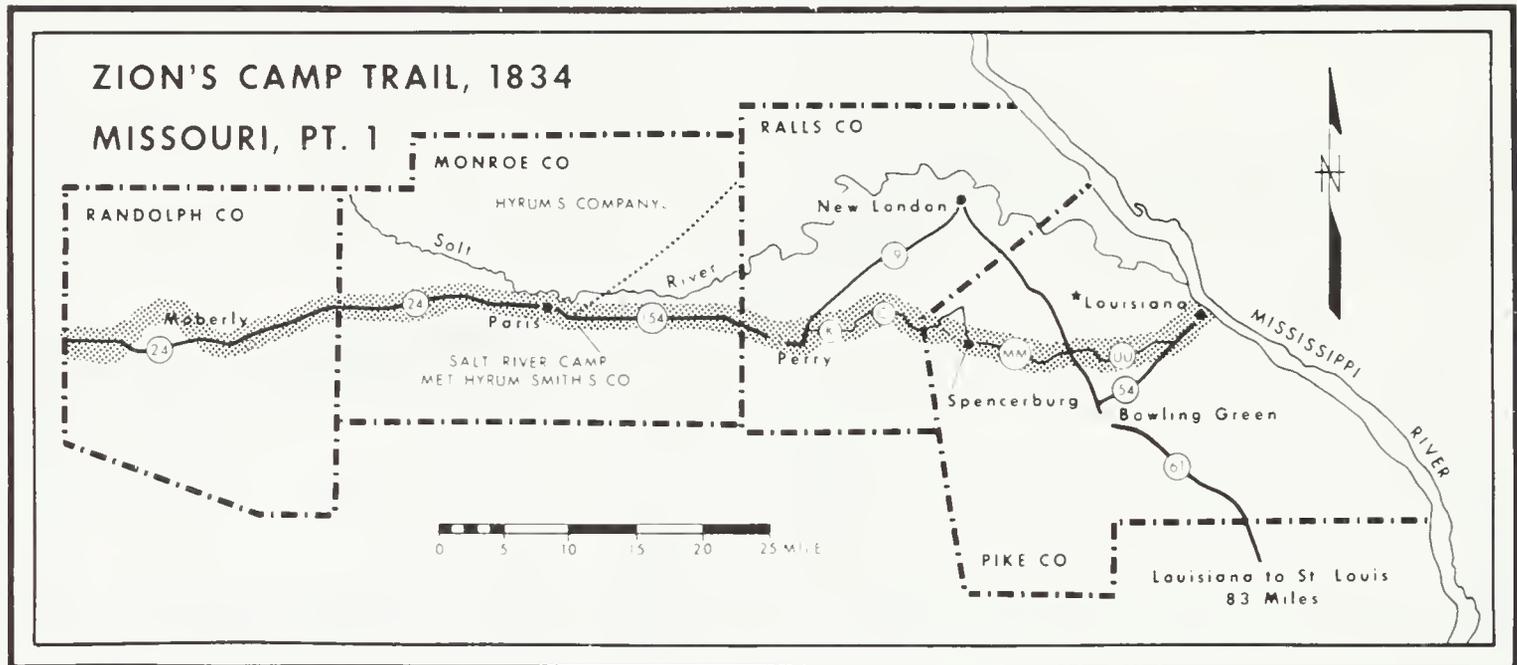
MAP 2c
Zion's Camp Trail, Illinois, pts. 1 and 2



Source: Stanley B. Kimball, *Discovering Mormon Trails*.

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MAP 2d
Zion's Camp Trail, 1834, Missouri, pts. 1 and 2



Source: Stanley B. Kimball, *Discovering Mormon Trails*.

MAP 3
The Fremont-Preuss Map, 1843

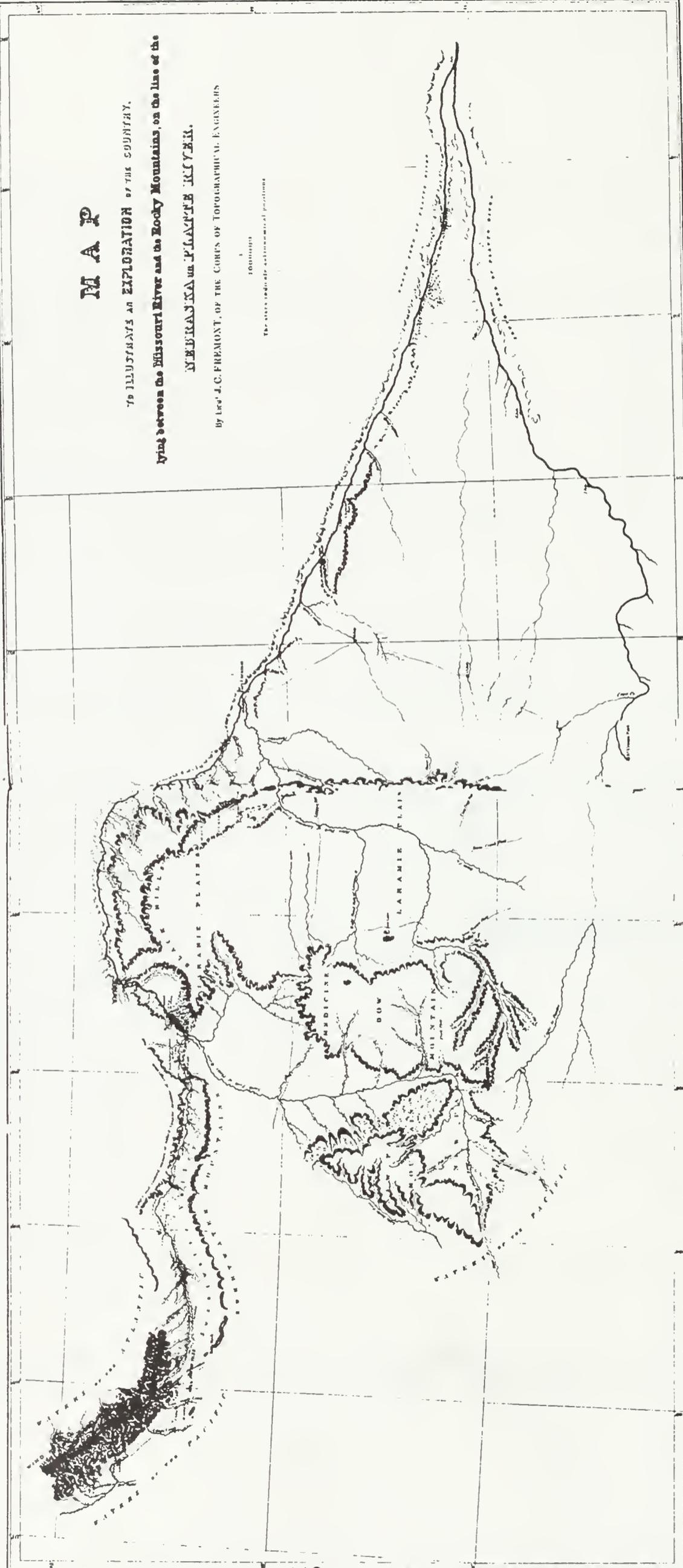
Source: John C. Fremont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition Lying between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains...* 1843.

M A P

TO ILLUSTRATE AN EXPLORATION OF THE COUNTRY,
LYING BETWEEN THE MISSOURI RIVER AND THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS, ON THE LINE OF THE
NEBRASKA AND PLATTINE RIVERS.

By Lieut. J. C. FREMONT, OF THE CORPS OF TOPOGRAPHICAL ENGINEERS.

1846
The stars indicate astronomical positions.

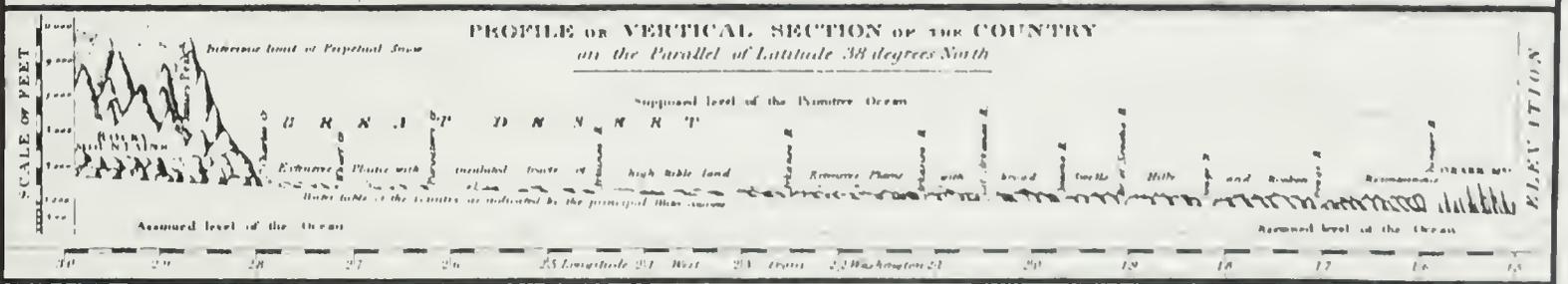
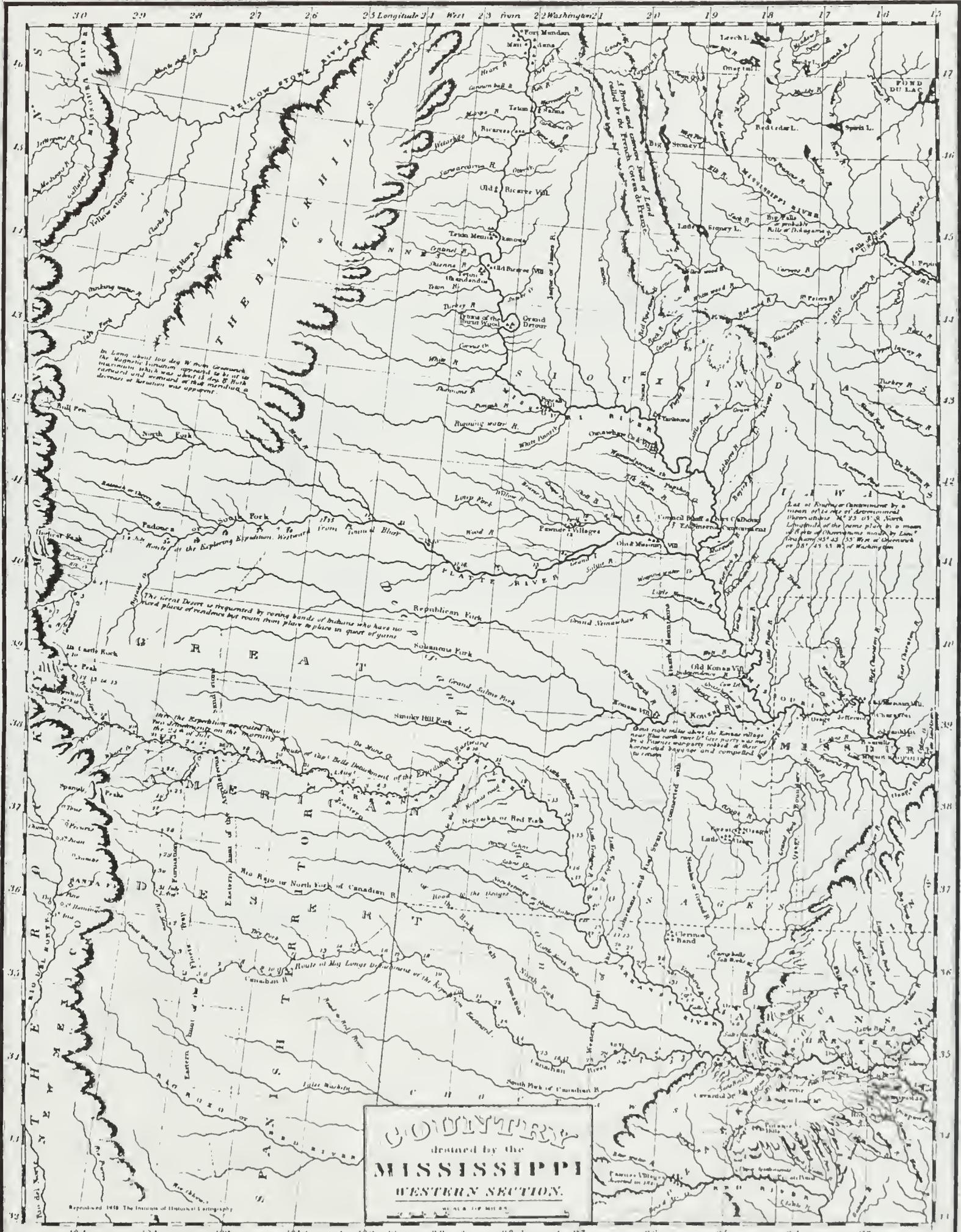


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MAP 5

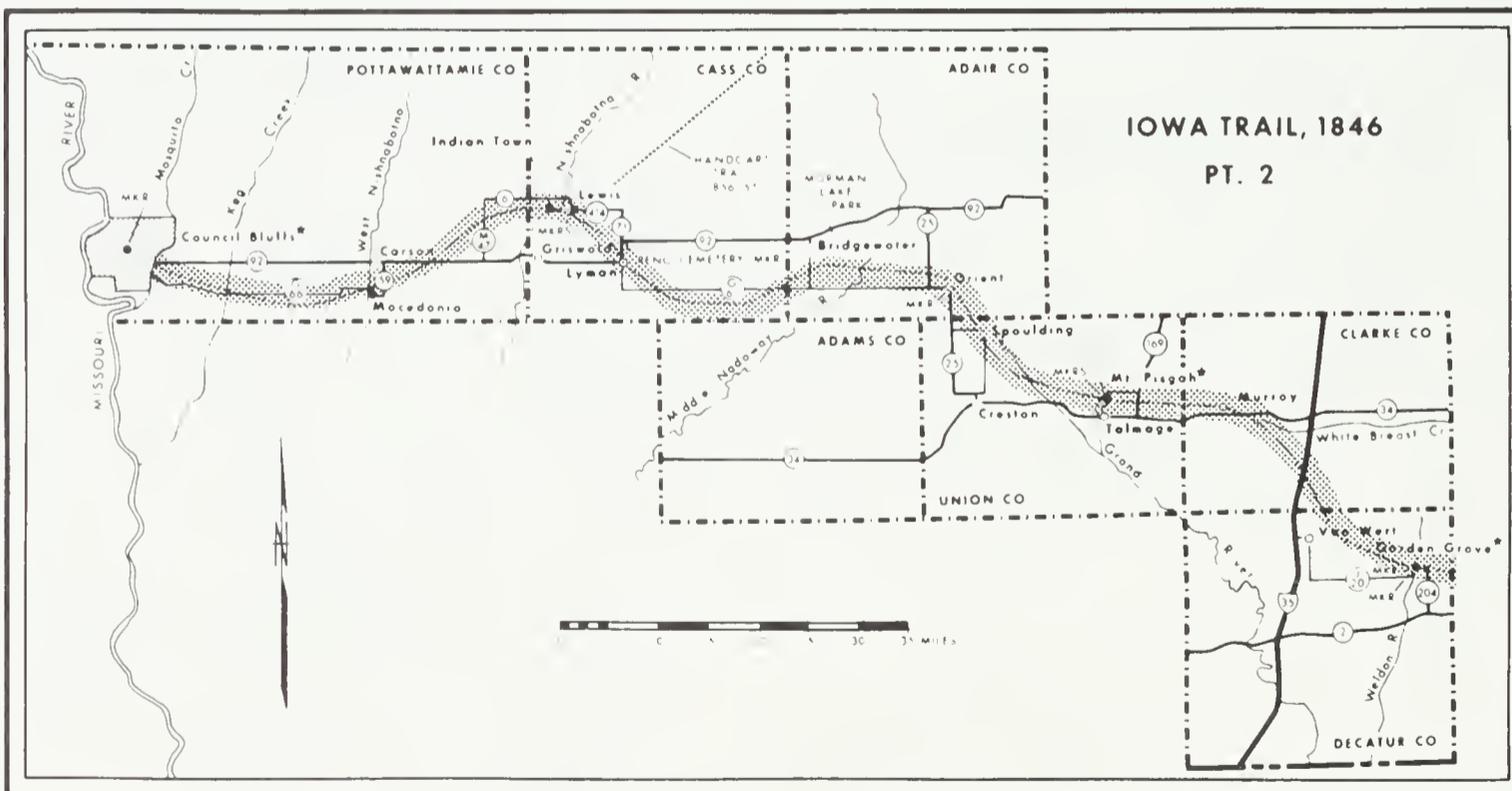
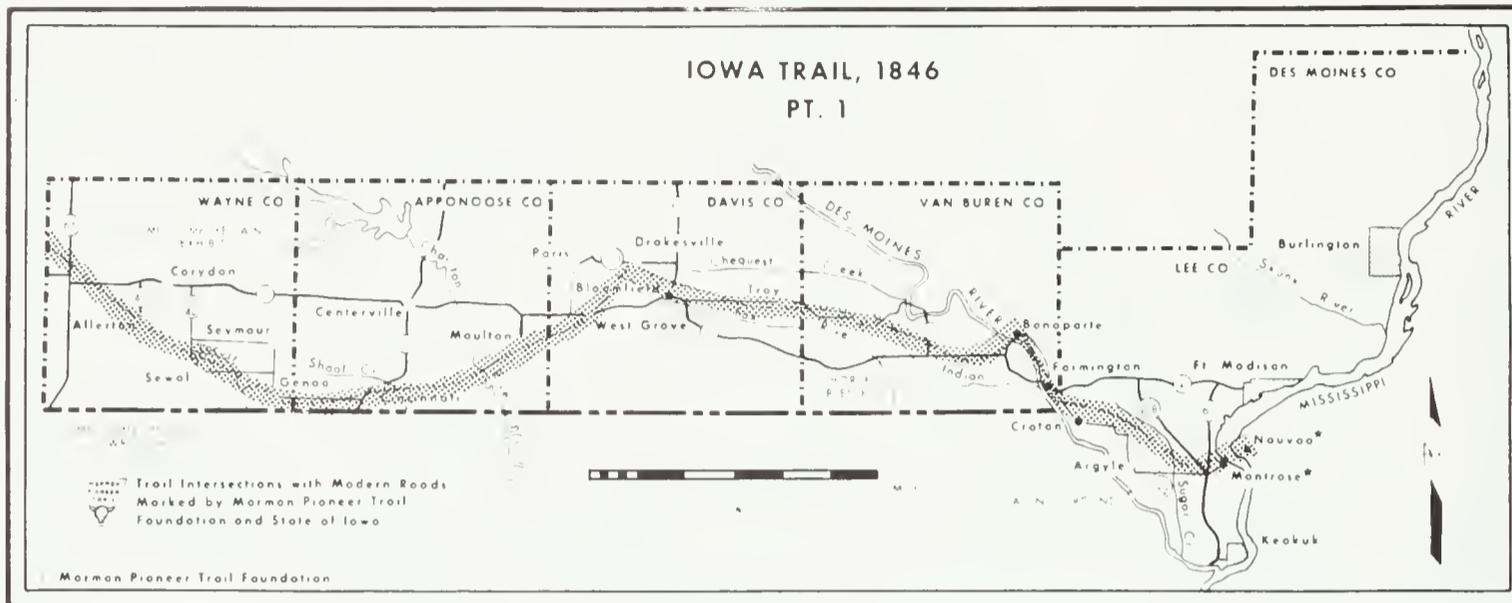
Major S.H. Long's 1823 Map of the Country Drained by The Mississippi

Source: Edwin James, *Account of An Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains 1819-1820* .



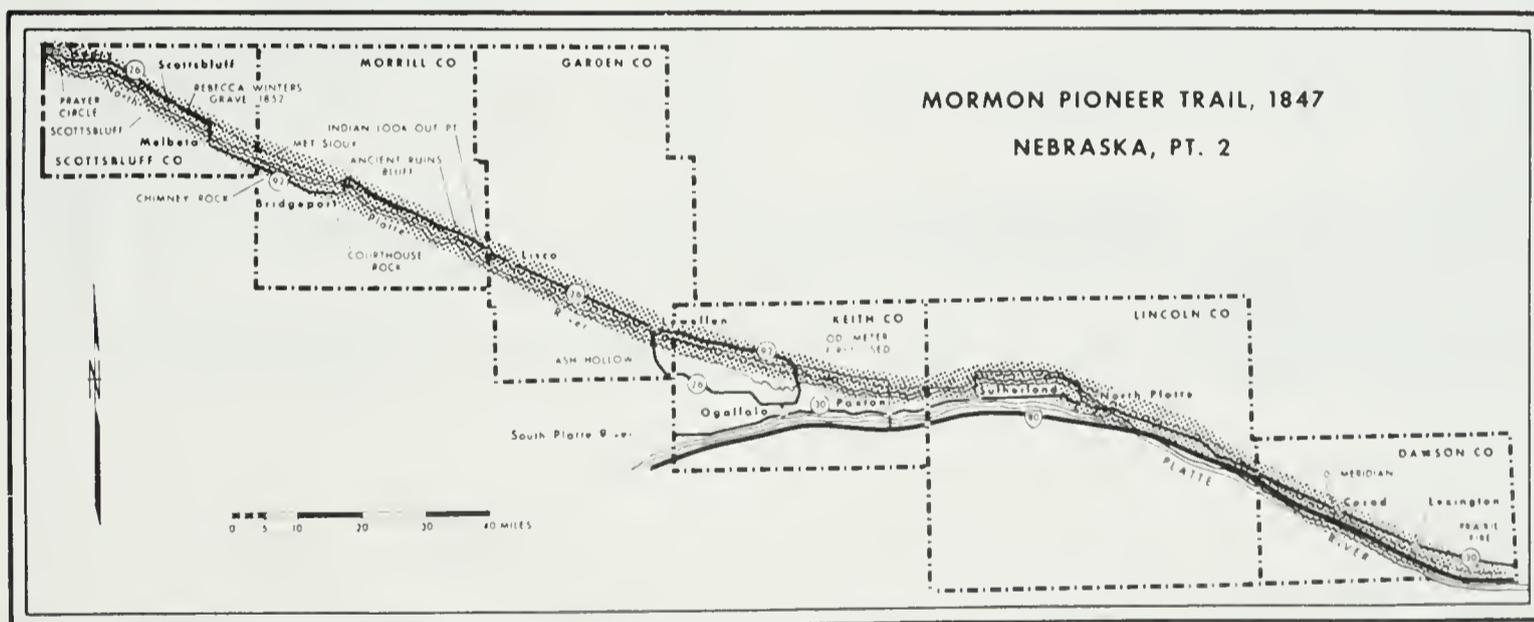
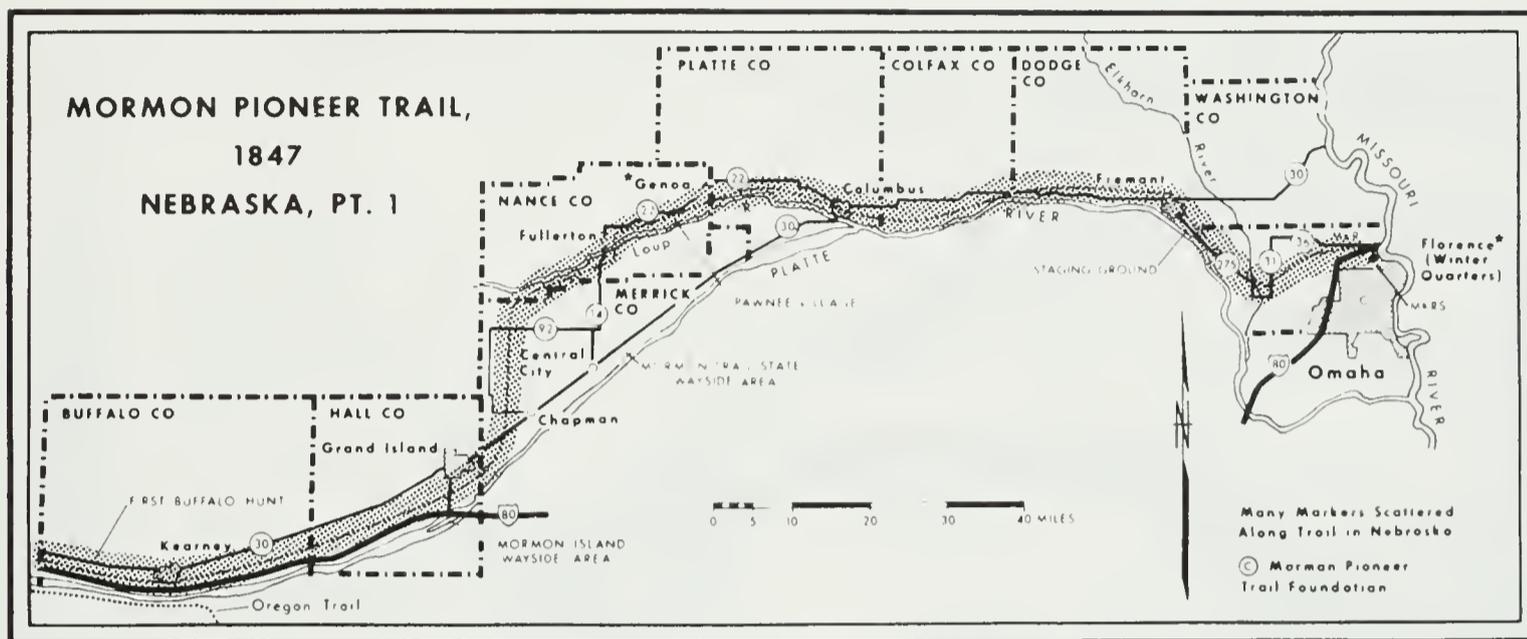
APPENDICES

MAP 6
The Mormon Trail Across Iowa, 1846



Source: Stanley B. Kimball, *Discovering Mormon Trails*.

MAP 7
Mormon Trail Across Nebraska, 1847

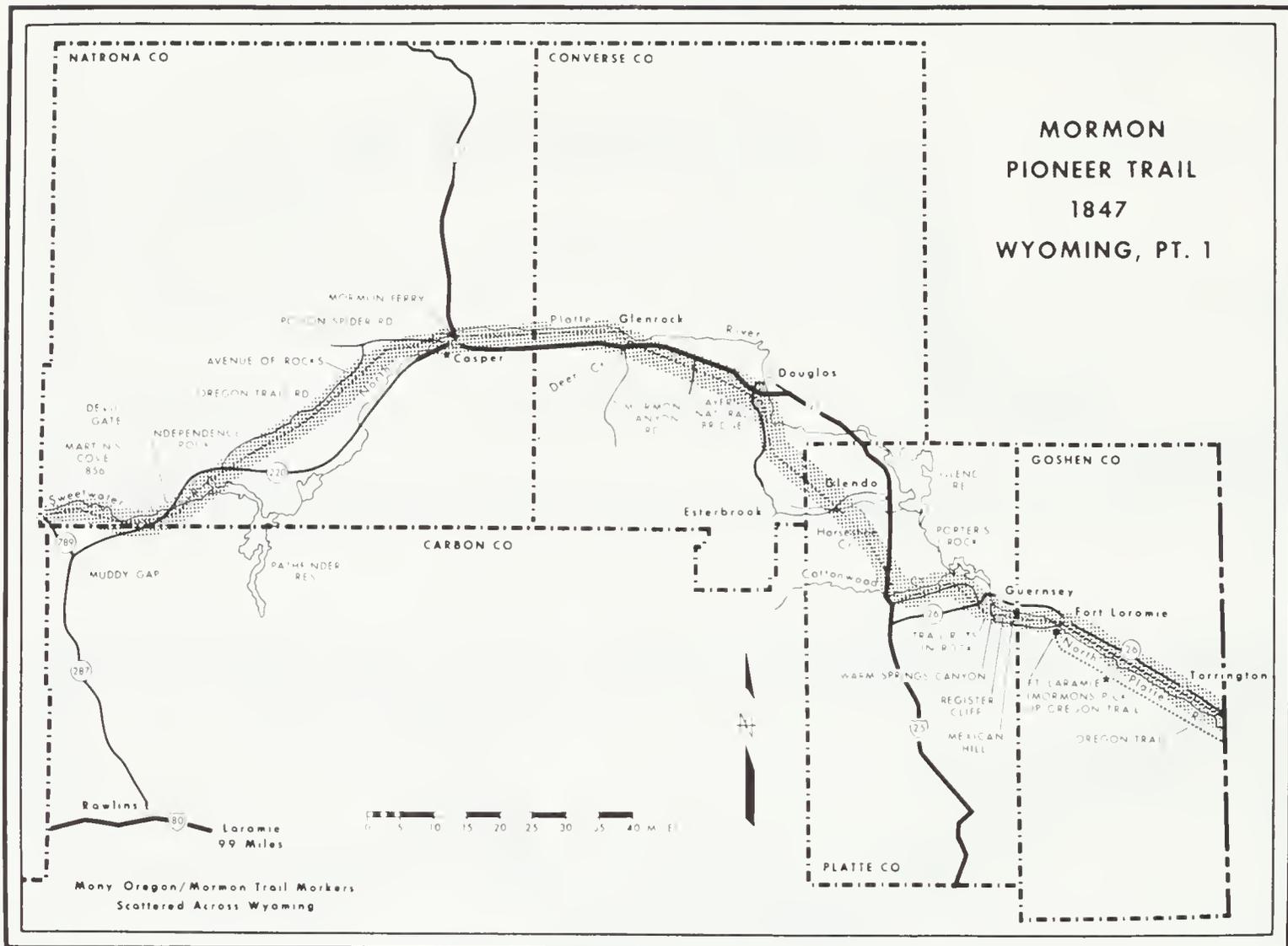


Source: Stanley B. Kimball, *Discovering Mormon Trails*.

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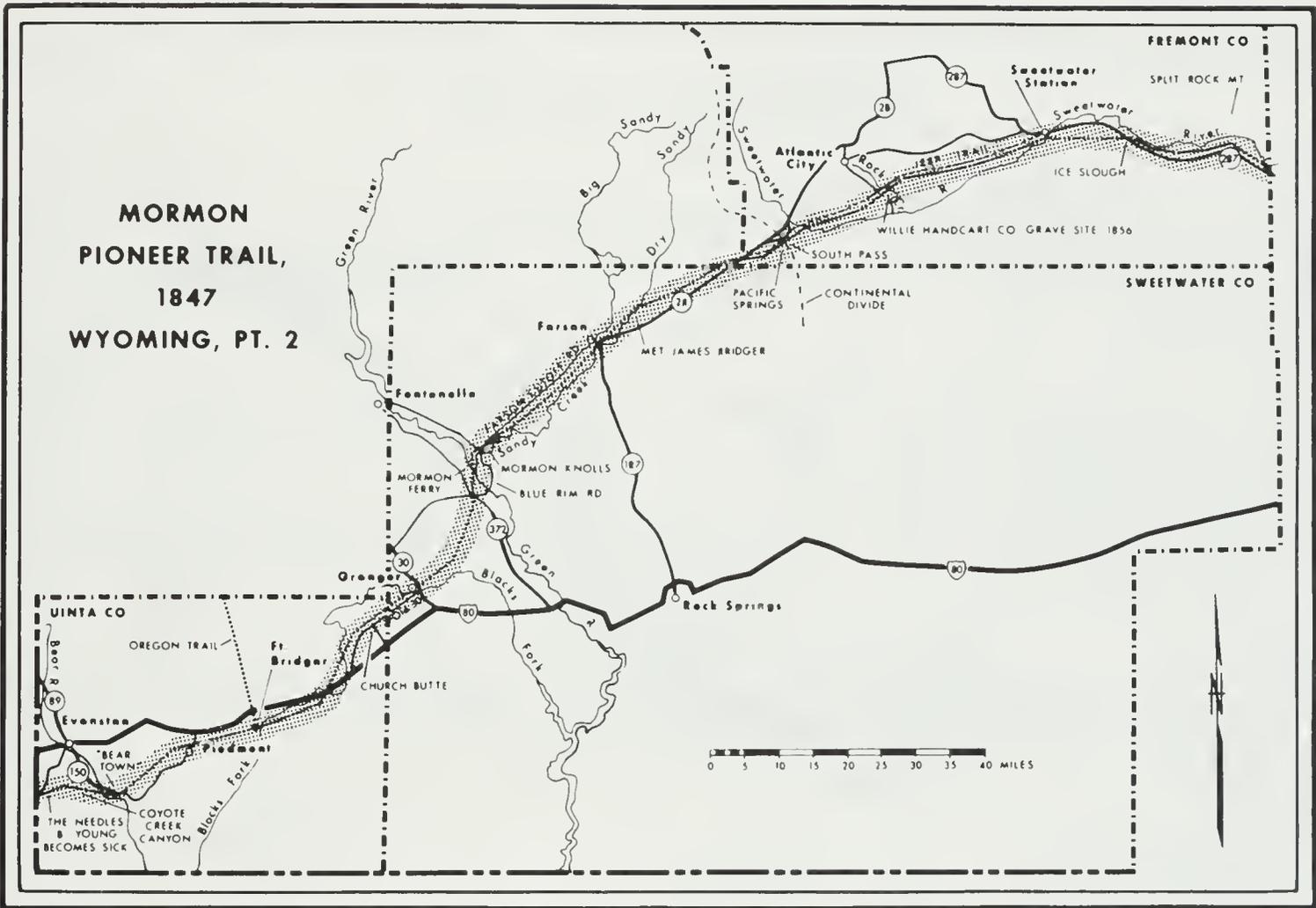
MAP 8

Mormon Trail Across Wyoming, 1847, pt. 1



Source: Stanley B. Kimball, *Discovering Mormon Trails*.

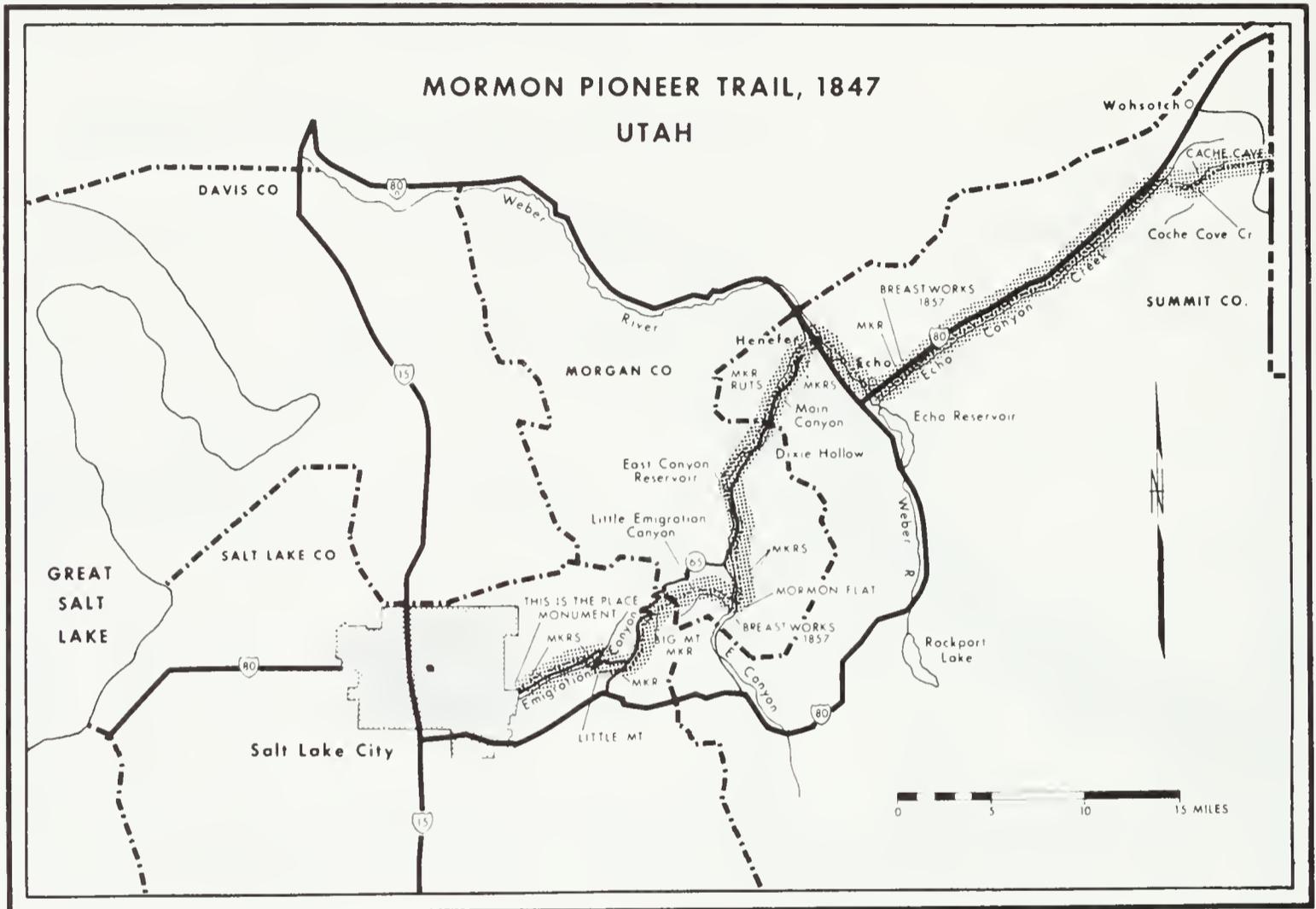
MAP 8a
Mormon Trail Across Wyoming, 1847, pt. 2



Source: Stanley B. Kimball, *Discovering Mormon Trails*.

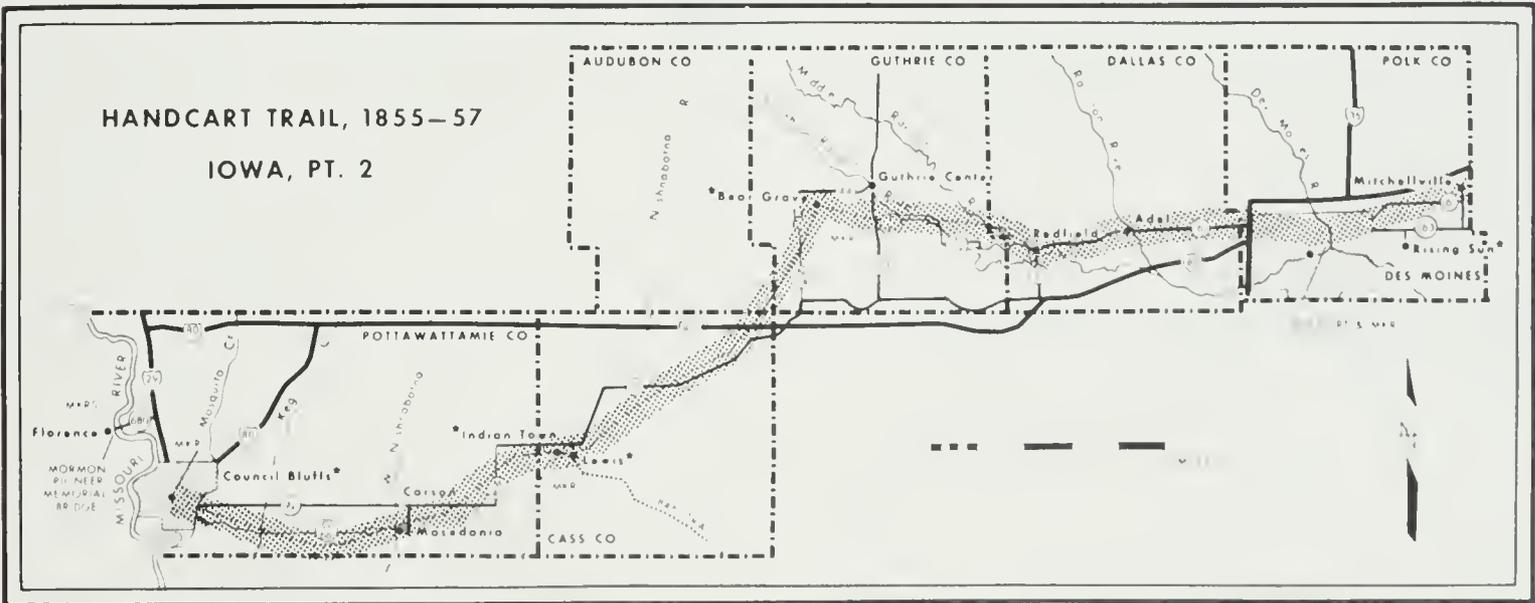
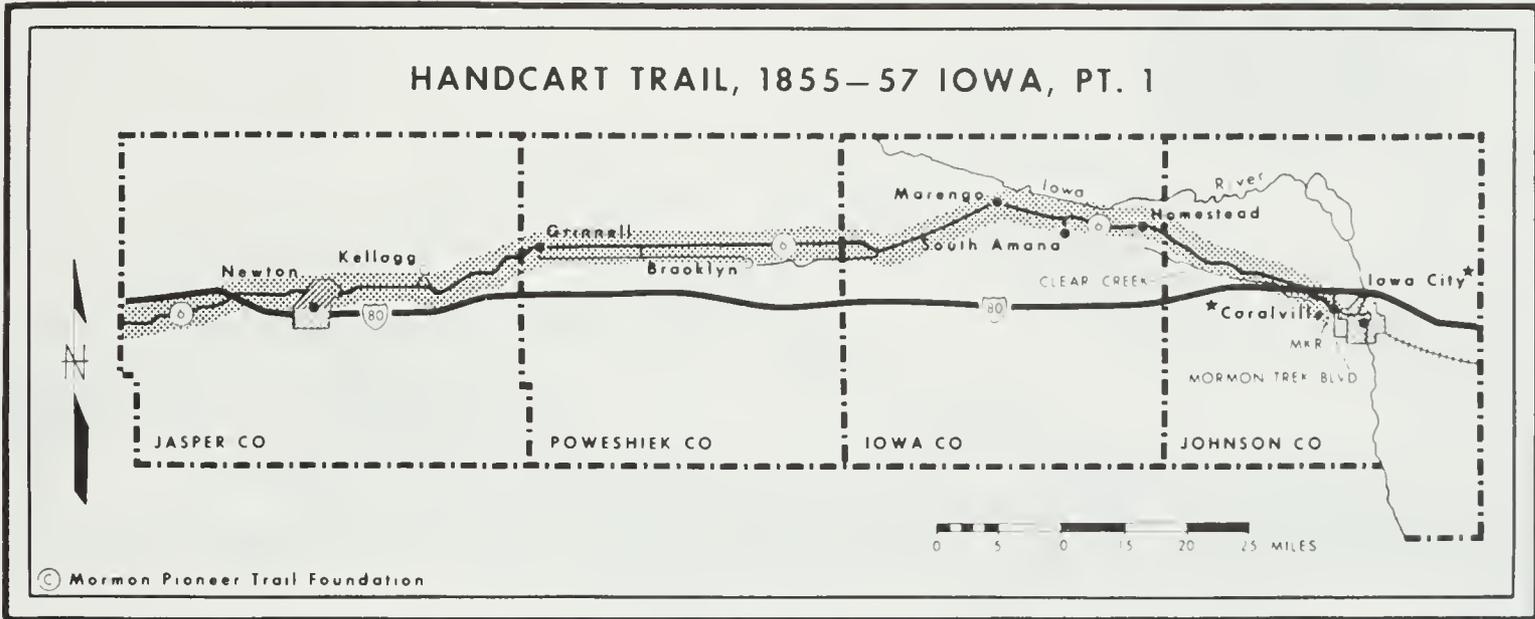
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MAP 9
Mormon Trail In Utah, 1847



Source: Stanley B. Kimball, *Discovering Mormon Trails*.

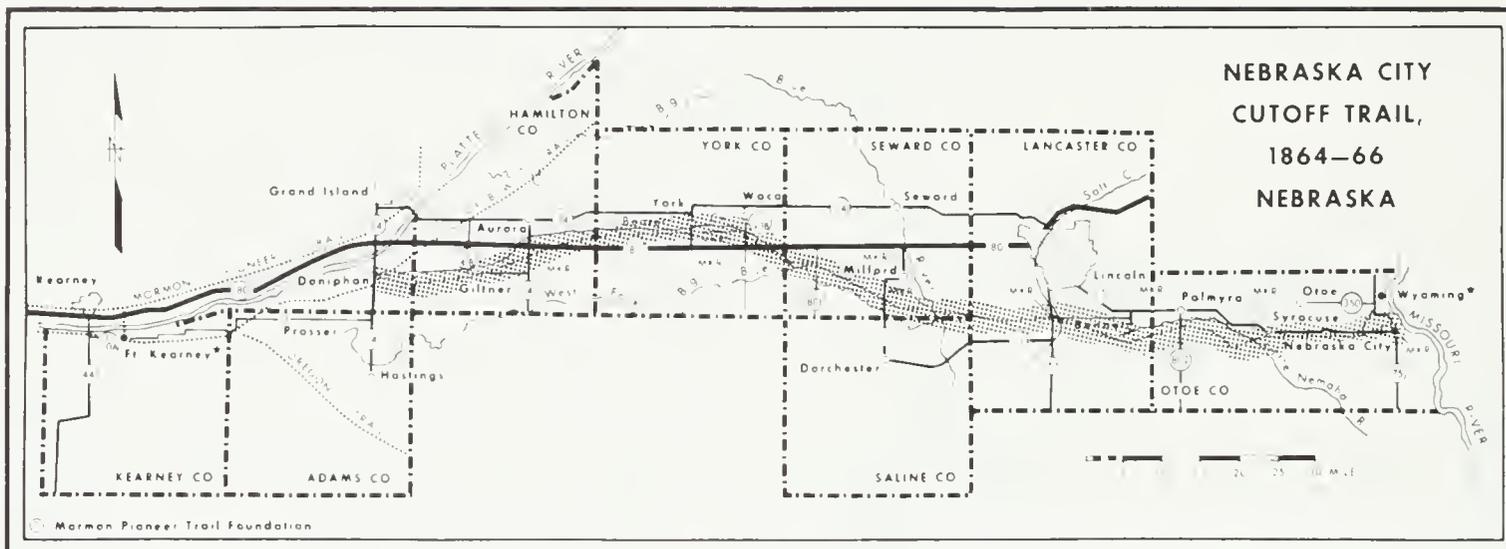
Map 10
The Handcart Trail Across Iowa, 1855-1857



Source: Stanley B. Kimball, *Discovering Mormon Trails*.

APPENDICES

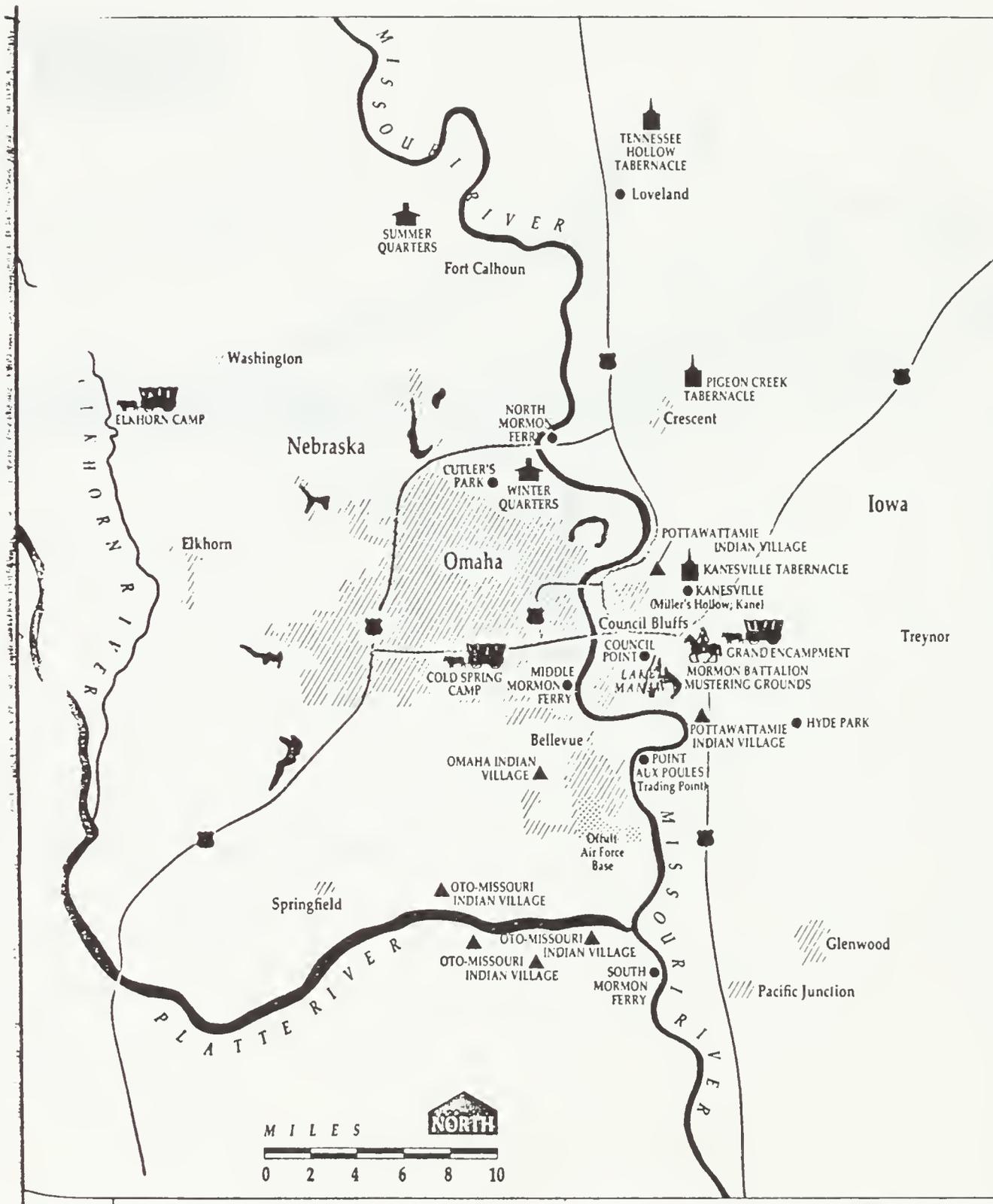
Map 11
The Nebraska City Cutoff Trail, 1864-1866



Source: Stanley B. Kimball, *Discovering Mormon Trails*.

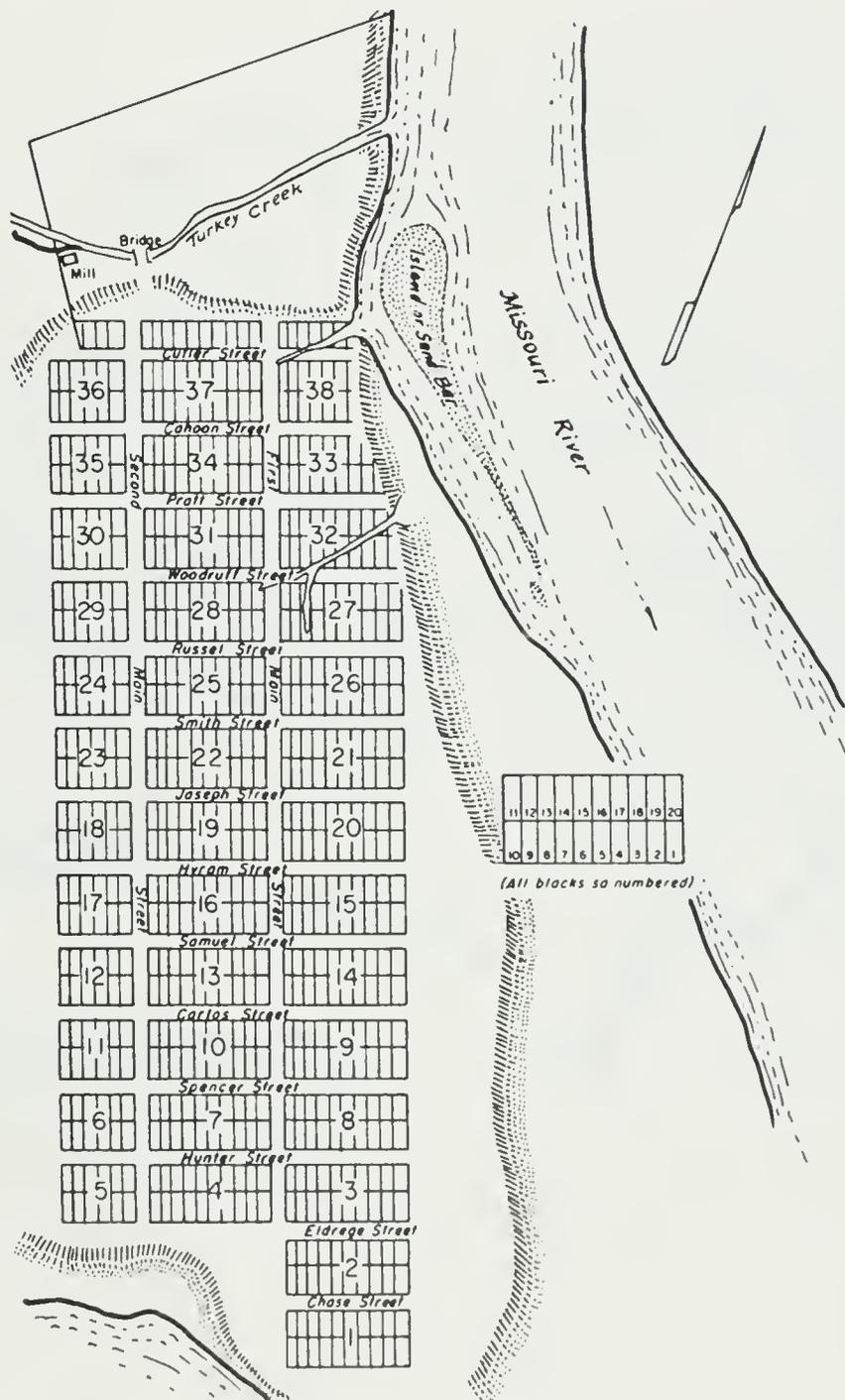
APPENDICES

MAP 13
Sketch Map of Council Bluffs-Winter Quarters Area, 1846-1853.



Source: Gail G. Holmes, "The LDS Legacy in Southwestern Iowa."

MAP 14
Sketch Map of Winter Quarters, 1846-1847.



Source: Richard E. Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri 1846-52*.

APPENDICES

MAP 15
National Trails System, 1990



Source: Report on America's National Scenic, National Historic, and National Recreation Trails, 1989-1990, January 1991, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.

APPENDIX B: DOCUMENTS



DOCUMENT 1
Bill of Particulars, 1845

BILL OF PARTICULARS

For the emigrants leaving this government next spring.

Each family consisting of five persons, to be provided with—

1 good strong wagon well covered with a light box.	1 good musket or rifle to each male over the age of twelve years.
2 or 3 good yoke of oxen between the age of 4 and 10 years.	1 lb. powder.
2 or more milch cows.	4 lbs. lead.
1 or more good beefs.	1 do. Tea. —————
3 sheep if they can be obtained.	5 do. coffee. —————
1000 lbs. of flour or other bread, or bread stuffs in good sacks.	100 do. sugar.
	1 do. cayenne pepper.
	2 do. black do.
½ lb. mustard.	1 good seine and hook for each company.
10 do. rice for each family.	2 sets of pulley blocks and ropes to each company for crossing rivers.
1 do. cinnamon.	From 25 to 100 lbs. of farming and mechanical tools.
½ do. cloves.	Cooking utensils to consist of bake kettle, frying pan, coffee pot, and tea kettle.
1 doz. nutmegs.	Tin cups, plates, knives, forks, spoons, and pans as few as will do.
25 lbs. salt.	A good tent and furniture to each 2 families.
5 lbs. saleratus.	Clothing and bedding to each family, not to exceed 500 pounds.
10 do. dried apples.	Ten extra teams for each company of 100 families.
1 bush. of beans.	
A few lbs. of dried beef or bacon.	
5 lbs. dried peaches.	
20 do. do. pumpkin.	
25 do. seed grain.	
1 gal. alcohol.	
20 lbs. of soap each family.	
4 or 5 fish hooks and lines.	
15 lbs. iron and steel.	
A few lbs. of wrought nails.	
One or more sets of saw or grist mill irons to company of 100 families.	

N. B.—In addition to the above list, horse and mule teams can be used as well as oxen. Many items of comfort and convenience will suggest themselves to a wise and provident people, and can be laid in in season; but none should start without filling the original bill.²³

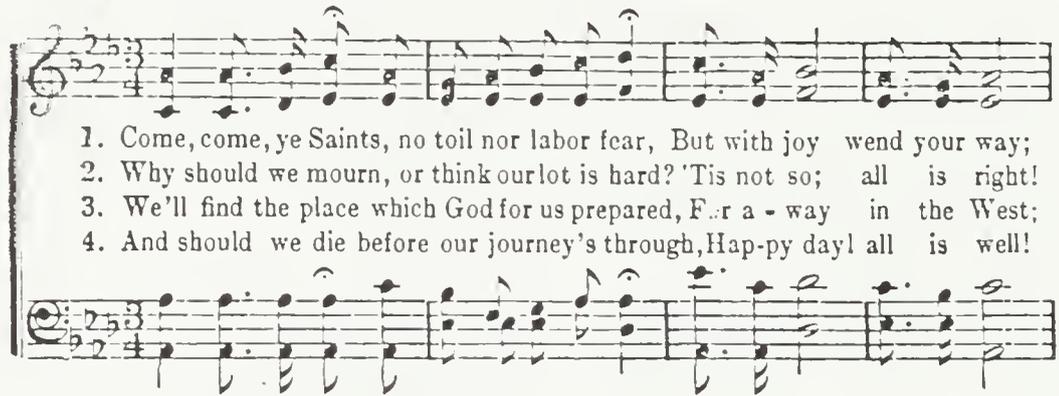
Source: *Nauvoo Neighbor*, October 29, 1845, as cited in B.H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, vol. 1, 539-540.

APPENDICES

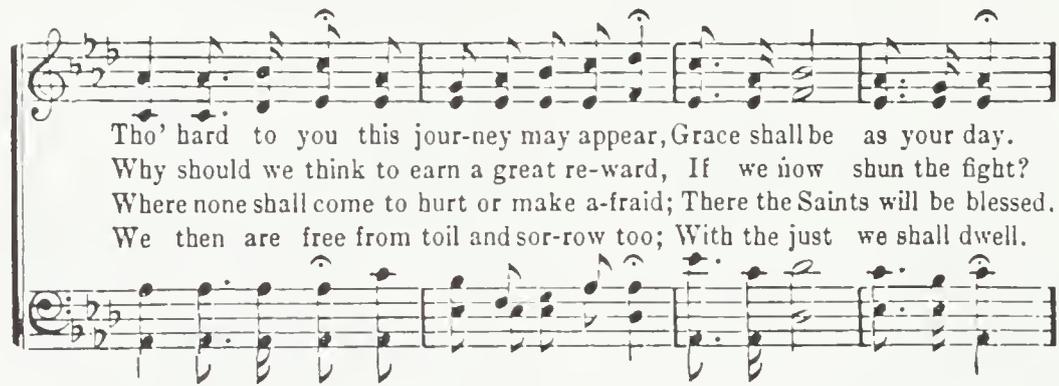
DOCUMENT 2

Mormon hymn "Come, Come Ye Saints"

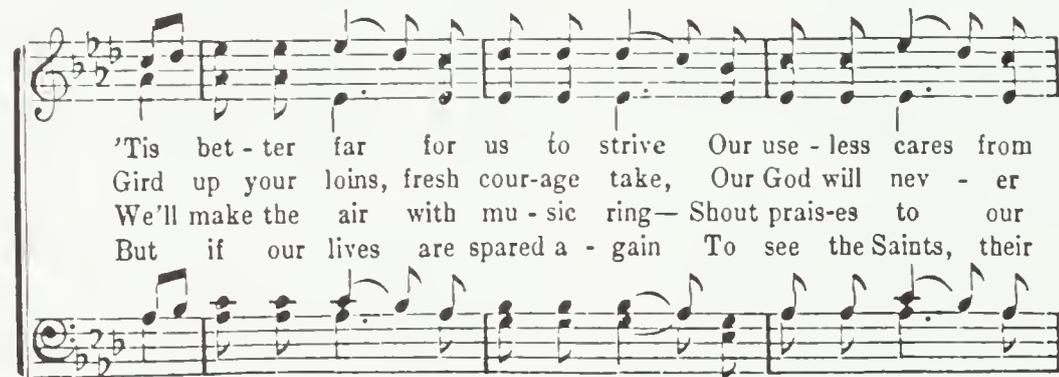
No. 16 Come, Come, Ye Saints
W. CLAYTON



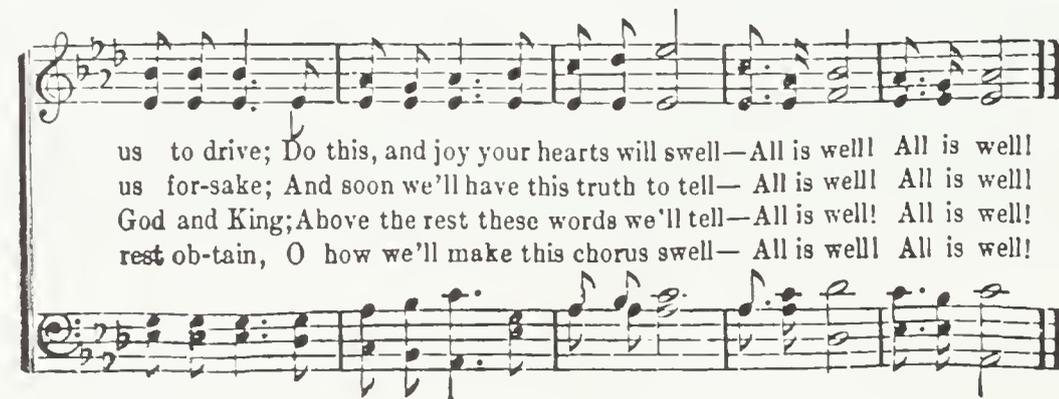
1. Come, come, ye Saints, no toil nor labor fear, But with joy wend your way;
2. Why should we mourn, or think our lot is hard? 'Tis not so; all is right!
3. We'll find the place which God for us prepared, Far a - way in the West;
4. And should we die before our journey's through, Hap - py day! all is well!



Tho' hard to you this jour - ney may appear, Grace shall be as your day.
Why should we think to earn a great re - ward, If we now shun the fight?
Where none shall come to hurt or make a - fraid; There the Saints will be blessed.
We then are free from toil and sor - row too; With the just we shall dwell.



'Tis bet - ter far for us to strive Our use - less cares from
Gird up your loins, fresh cour - age take, Our God will nev - er
We'll make the air with mu - sic ring— Shout prais - es to our
But if our lives are spared a - gain To see the Saints, their



us to drive; Do this, and joy your hearts will swell— All is well! All is well!
us for - sake; And soon we'll have this truth to tell— All is well! All is well!
God and King; Above the rest these words we'll tell— All is well! All is well!
rest ob - tain, O how we'll make this chorus swell— All is well! All is well!

Source: *Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.*

DOCUMENT 3

Roster of the Pioneer Camp, 1847

The personnel of the Pioneer band, was as follows. They are given as divided into companies of "Tens":

First Ten—Wilford Woodruff, captain; John S. Fowler, Jacob D. Burnham, Orson Pratt, Joseph Egbert, John M. Freeman, Marcus B. Thorpe, Geo. A. Smith, Geo. Wardle.

Second Ten—Ezra T. Benson, captain; Thomas B. Grover, Barbaras L. Adams, Roswell Stevens, Amasa M. Lyman, Starling G. Driggs, Albert Carrington, Thomas Bullock, George Brown, Willard Richards, Jesse C. Little.

Third Ten—Phineas H. Young, captain; John Y. Green, Thomas Tanner, Brigham Young, Addison Everett, Truman O. Angell, Lorenzo D. Young, Bryant Stringham, Joseph S. Scofield, Albert P. Rockwood.

Fourth Ten—Luke S. Johnson, captain; John Holman, Edmund Ellsworth, Alvarus Hanks, George R. Grant, Millen Atwood, Samuel B. Fox, Tunis Rappleyee, Harry Pierce, Wm. Kykes, Jacob Weiler.

Fifth Ten—Stephen H. Goddard, captain; Tarlton Lewis, Henry G. Sherwood, Zebedee Coltrin, Sylvester H. Earl, John Dixon, Samuel H. Marble, George Scholes, Wm. Henrie, Wm. A. Empey.

Sixth Ten—Charles Shumway, captain; Andrew Shumway, Thos. Woolsey, Chauncey Loveland, Erastus Snow, James Craig, Wm. Wordsworth, Wm. Vance, Simeon Howd, Seeley Owen.

Seventh Ten—James Case, captain; Artemas Johnson, Wm. C. A. Smoot, Franklin B. Dewey, Wm. Carter, Franklin G. Losee, Burr Frost, Datus Ensign, Franklin B. Stewart, Monroe Frink, Eric Glines, Ozro Eastman.

Eighth Ten—Seth Taft, captain; Horace Thorton, Stephen Kelsey, John S. Eldredge, Charles D. Barnum, Alma W. Williams, Rufus Allen, Robert T. Thomas, James W. Stewart, Elijah Newman, Levi N. Kendall, Francis Boggs, David Grant.

Ninth Ten—Howard Egan, captain; Heber C. Kimball, Wm. A. King, Thomas Cloward, Hosea Cushing, Robert Byard, George Billings, Edison Whipple, Philo Johnson, Wm. Clayton.

Tenth Ten—Appleton M. Harmon, captain; Carlos Murray, Horace K. Whitney, Orson K. Whitney, Orrin P. Rockwell, Nathaniel T. Brown, R. Jackson Redding, John Pack, Francis Pomeroy, Aaron Farr, Nathaniel Fairbanks.

Eleventh Ten—John S. Higbee, captain; John Wheeler, Solomon Chamberlain, Conrad Klineman, Joseph Rooker, Perry Fitzgerald, John H. Tippetts, James Davenport, Henson Walker, Benjamin Rolfe.

Twelfth Ten—Norton Jacobs, captain; Charles A. Harper, George Woodward, Stephen Markham, Lewis Barney, George Mills, Andrew Gibbons, Joseph Hancock, John W. Norton.

Thirteenth Ten—John Brown, captain; Shadrach Roundy, Levi Jackman, Lyman Curtis, Hans C. Hansen, Mathew Ivory, David Powers, Hark Lay (colored), Oscar Crosby (colored).

Fourteenth Ten—Joseph Mathews, captain; Gilbroid Summe, John Gleason, Charles Burke, Alexander P. Chessley, Rodney Badger, Norman Taylor, Green Flake (colored), Ellis Eames, who, it will be remembered, returned to Winter Quarters from the Pioneer camp on the 18th of April on account of sickness.

Besides the men, there were three women and two children in the camp.

Source: B.H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*.

DOCUMENT 4

"The Word and Will of The Lord" to Brigham Young, 1847

SECTION 136.

THE WORD AND WILL OF THE LORD, given through President Brigham Young, at the Winter Quarters of the Camp of Israel, Omaha Nation, West Bank of Missouri River, near Council Bluffs, Iowa, January 14, 1847. — Plan of organization for migration to the West—Admonitions to righteousness—The Lord to be praised both in times of joy and of sorrow—Needful that Joseph Smith the Prophet should have sealed his testimony with his blood.

1. The Word and Will of the Lord concerning the Camp of Israel in their journeyings to the West:

2. Let all the people of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and those who journey with them, be organized into companies, with a covenant and promise to keep all the commandments and statutes of the Lord our God.

3. Let the companies be organized with captains of hundreds, captains of fifties, and captains of tens, with a president and his two counselors at their head, under the direction of the Twelve Apostles.

4. And this shall be our covenant—that we will walk in all the ordinances of the Lord.

5. Let each company provide themselves with all the teams, wagons, provisions, clothing, and other necessaries for the journey, that they can.

6. When the companies are organized let them go to with their might, to prepare for those who are to tarry.

7. Let each company, with their captains and presidents, decide how many can go next spring; then choose out a sufficient number of able-bodied and expert men, to take teams, seeds, and farming utensils, to go as plo-

neers to prepare for putting in spring crops.

8. Let each company bear an equal proportion, according to the dividend of their property, in taking the poor, the widows, the fatherless, and the families of those who have gone into the army, that the cries of the widow and the fatherless come not up into the ears of the Lord against this people.

9. Let each company prepare houses, and fields for raising grain, for those who are to remain behind this season; and this is the will of the Lord concerning his people.

10. Let every man use all his influence and property to remove this people to the place where the Lord shall locate a stake of Zion.

11. And if ye do this with a pure heart, in all faithfulness, ye shall be blessed; you shall be blessed in your flocks, and in your herds, and in your fields, and in your houses, and in your families.

12. Let my servants Ezra T. Benson and Erastus Snow organize a company.

13. And let my servants Orson Pratt and Wilford Woodruff organize a company.

14. Also, let my servants Amasa Lyman and George A. Smith organize a company.

15. And appoint presidents, and

captains of hundreds, and of fifties, and of tens.

16. And let my servants that have been appointed go and teach this, my will, to the saints, that they may be ready to go to a land of peace.

17. Go thy way and do as I have told you, and fear not thine enemies; for they shall not have power to stop my work.

18. Zion shall be redeemed in mine own due time.

19. And if any man shall seek to build up himself, and seeketh not my counsel, he shall have no power, and his folly shall be made manifest.

20. Seek ye; and keep all your pledges one with another; and covet not that which is thy brother's.

21. Keep yourselves from evil to take the name of the Lord in vain, for I am the Lord your God, even the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob.

22. I am he who led the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; and my arm is stretched out in the last days, to save my people Israel.

23. Cease to contend one with another; cease to speak evil one of another.

24. Cease drunkenness; and let your words tend to edifying one another.

25. If thou borrowest of thy neighbor, thou shalt restore that which thou hast borrowed; and if thou canst not repay then go straightway and tell thy neighbor, lest he condemn thee.

26. If thou shalt find that which thy neighbor has lost, thou shalt make diligent search till thou shalt deliver it to him again.

27. Thou shalt be diligent in preserving what thou hast, that thou mayest be a wise steward; for it is the free gift of the Lord thy God, and thou art his steward.

28. If thou art merry, praise the Lord with singing, with music, with dancing, and with a prayer of praise and thanksgiving.

29. If thou art sorrowful, call on the Lord thy God with supplication, that your souls may be joyful.

30. Fear not thine enemies, for they are in mine hands and I will do my pleasure with them.

31. My people must be tried in all things, that they may be prepared to receive the glory that I have for them, even the glory of Zion; and he that will not bear chastisement is not worthy of my kingdom.

32. Let him that is ignorant learn wisdom by humbling himself and calling upon the Lord his God, that his eyes may be opened that he may see, and his ears opened that he may hear;

33. For my Spirit is sent forth into the world to enlighten the humble and contrite, and to the condemnation of the ungodly.

34. Thy brethren have rejected you and your testimony, even the nation that has driven you out;

35. And now cometh the day of their calamity, even the days of sorrow, like a woman that is taken in travail; and their sorrow shall be great unless they speedily repent, yea, very speedily.

36. For they killed the prophets, and them that were sent unto them; and they have shed innocent blood, which crieth from the ground against them.

a, see d, sec. 1. b, Ex. 18:21-27. c, 107:24. d, 98:24-27. 42:30. e, see g, sec. 87; and e, sec. 82. f, see h, sec. 103. g, 63:61-64. h, 3 Ne. 11:29, 30. i, 20:54. 88:124. j, see o, sec. 42. k, 90:36, 97:26. l, 58:53. 63:28-31. Rev. 18:24. 19:2. m, 11:13, 22:14. n, 2 Ne. 5:16. Morm. 8:27, 40, 41. Eth. 8:22-24.

DOCUMENT 4, continued

37. Therefore, marvel not at these things, for ye are not yet pure; ye can not yet bear my glory; but ye shall behold it if ye are faithful in keeping all my words that I have given you, from the days of Adam to Abraham, from Abraham to Moses, from Moses to Jesus and his apostles, and from Jesus and his apostles to Joseph Smith, whom I did call upon by mine angels, my ministering servants, and by mine own voice out of the heavens, to bring forth my work;

38. Which foundation he did lay, and was faithful; and I took him to myself.

39. Many have marveled because of his death; but it was needful that he should "seal his testimony with his blood, that he might be honored and the wicked might be condemned.

40. Have I not delivered you from your enemies, only in that I have left a witness of my name?

41. Now, therefore, hearken, O ye people of my church; and ye elders listen together; you have received my kingdom.

42. Be diligent in keeping all my commandments, lest judgments come upon you, and your faith fail you, and your enemies triumph over you. So no more at present. Amen and Amen.

m. sec. 135.

APPENDICES

DOCUMENT 5

Andrew Jenson's Tabulation of the Number of Mormon Emigrants by Year

**EMIGRATION CROSSING THE PLAINS
FROM 1847 TO 1869**

(Andrew Jenson's Compilation)

1847	About 2,000
1848	About 4,000
1849	About 3,000
1850	About 5,000
1851	About 5,000
1852	About 10,000
1853	About 2,603 (foreign)
1854	About 3,167
1855	About 4,684
1856	About 3,756
1857	About 1,994
1858	About 179
1859	About 809
1860	About 1,409
1861	About 1,959
1862	About 3,599

Source: "Church Emigration Book," Mormon Church Archives

DOCUMENT 5, continued

1863	About 3,646
1864	About 2,697
1865	About 1,301
1866	About 3,333
1867	About 660
1868	About <u>3,232</u>
Total	68,028

APPENDICES

DOCUMENT 6

Pioneer Companies That Crossed the Plains, 1847-1868

PIONEER COMPANIES WHICH CROSSED THE PLAINS 1847-1868

Outfitting Post	Date of Departure	Captain of Company and Company No.	Number Leaving		Date Arrived	Roster	(J.H. = Journal History of the Church) **Partial Roster
			People	Wagons			
	1847						
Winter Quarters, Nebraska (Omaha)	14 Apr (last date in 1847 that Brigham Young left Winter Quar-	Brigham Young (Original)	148	72	21-24 Jul 1847 (Brigham Young entered 24th)	Church Emigration Book, (CEB) D U.P. lesson for Apr, 1959, and Andrew Jensen's <i>Biographical Encyclopedia</i> , vol. 4, p. 693-725.	
Winter Quarters, Neb	17 Jun	<i>Daniel Spencer</i> Capt. 1st Hundred					
(Left camp on Elkhorn River—abt. 27 mi. west of Winter Quarters	18 Jun	Peregrine Sessions Capt. 1st Fifty (1)	185	75	24-25 Sep 1847	J.H. 21 Jun 1847, p. 6-11.	
Elkhorn River)	17 Jun	Ira Eldredge Capt. 2nd Fifty (2) [Also known as Parley P. Pratt Co.]	177	76 (or 174)	19-22 Sep 1847	J.H. 21 Jun 1847, p. 11-16.	
Winter Quarters, Neb	abt 17 Jun	<i>Edward Hunter</i> Capt. 2nd Hundred					
Elkhorn River	17 Jun	Joseph Horne Capt. 1st Fifty (3) [also known as John Taylor Co.]	197	72	29 Sep 1847	J.H. 21 Jun 1847, p. 17-22	
Elkhorn River	19 Jun	Jacob Foutz (4) Capt. 2nd Fifty	155	59	abt 1 Oct 1847	J.H. 21 Jun 1847, p. 23-27	
Winter Quarters, Neb	abt. 17 Jun	<i>Jedediah M. Grant</i> Capt. 3rd Hundred			29 Sep 1847		
Elkhorn River	17 Jun	Joseph B. Noble Capt. 1st Fifty (5)	171		abt 2 Oct 1847 (and during week)	J.H. 21 Jun 1847, p. 28-32	

Source: *Deseret News 1976 Church Almanac.*

DOCUMENT 6, continued

PIONEER COMPANIES WHICH CROSSED THE PLAINS 1847-1868 (continued)

Outfitting Post	Date of Departure	Captain of Company and Company No.	Number Leaving Outfitting Post		Date Arrived	Roster	(J H = Journal History of the Church) * - Partial Roster
			People	Wagons			
Elkhorn River	19 Jun	Willard Snow Capt. 2nd Fifty (6)	160		abt 4 Oct 1847 (and during week)	J H 21 Jun 1847, p 33-37	
Winter Quarters, Neb	abt. 17 Jun	Abraham O. Smoot Capt. 4th Hundred					
Elkhorn River	18 Jun	George B. Wallace Capt. 1st Fifty (7)	223		25, 26, 29 Sep 1847	J H 21 Jun 1847, p 38-44	
Elkhorn River	17 Jun?	Samuel Russell Capt. 2nd Fifty (8)	95		25 Sep 1847	J H 21 Jun 1847, p. 44-47	
Winter Quarters, Neb Elkhorn River	21 Jun	Charles C. Rich (9) 1847, p 48-51	126		2 Oct 1847	J H 21 Jun	
1848							
Winter Quarters, Neb	abt. 6 Jun	Brigham Young Capt. 1st Division	1220		20-24 Sep 1848	J H Supp after 31 Dec 1848, p 1-10	
Winter Quarters, Neb	29 May	Heber C. Kimball Capt. 2nd Division	662		24 Sep and later	J.H. Supp. after 31 Dec 1848, p 11-16	
Winter Quarters, Neb	3 Jul Richard's Section; 30 or 31 Jun Lyman Section	Willard Richards Capt. 3rd Division (Amasa Lyman part of co.)	526		Richard's 12, 17, 19 Oct; Lyman 10 Oct	J H. Supp after 31 Dec 1848, p 17-20.	
1849							
Kanesville, Iowa (present day Council Bluffs)	Abt 6 Jun	Orson Spencer and Samuel Gully (1)		100	22 Sep 1849	J.H. Supp after 31 Dec 1849, p. 1-2. *	
Kanesville, Iowa	abt 12 Jul	Allen Taylor (2)	abt. 500	100	abt 10 Oct 1849	J H Supp after 31 Dec 1849, p 3-4 *	
Kanesville, Iowa Elkhorn River	10 Jul	Silas Richards (3)	abt. 100		abt. 27 Oct 1849	J H Supp after 31 Dec 1849, p 5A-5I *	
Kanesville, Iowa	4 Jul	George A. Smith (4) [Included Capt Dan Jones' Welsh Company]	370 or 447	120	27 and 28 Oct 1849	J H Supp after 31 Dec 1849, p 6-8G	
Kanesville, Iowa	4 Jul	Ezra T. Benson (5)			abt 28 Oct	J H Supp after 31 Dec 1849, p 9-12H *	
Pottawattamie Co., Iowa	18 Apr	Howard Egan (Independent Company)	57	22	7 Aug	J H Supp after 31 Dec 1849, p 13-14 also CEB, 1849)	

APPENDICES

DOCUMENT 6, continued

PIONEER COMPANIES WHICH CROSSED THE PLAINS 1847-1868 (continued)

Outfitting Post	Date of Departure	Captain of Company and Company No.	Number Leaving		Date Arrived	Roster	(J.H. = Journal History of the Church) * - Partial Roster
			People	Wagons			
	1850						
Kanesville, Iowa	3 Jun	Milo Andrus (1)	20	206	51	30 Aug	J.H. Supp after 31 Dec 1850, p 1 *
Kanesville, Iowa	Before 7 Jun	Benjamin Hawkins (2)			150	9 Sep 1850	J.H. Supp after 31 Dec 1850, p 2-3 *
Kanesville, Iowa	Before 12 Jun	Aaron Johnson (3)			100	12 Sep 1850	J.H. Supp after 31 Dec 1850, p 3-5 *
Kanesville, Iowa	Before 7 Jun	James Pace (4)			100	abt 20 Sep 1850	J.H. Supp after 31 Dec 1850 p 5-6 *
Kanesville, Iowa (organized at 12-mile Creek near Missouri River)	4 Jul	Edward Hunter (5) [1st Perpetual Emigration Fund Company]	261		67	13 Oct 1850	J.H. Supp after 31 Dec 1850, p 7-12 *
Kanesville, Iowa (organized near Missouri River)	15 Jun	Joseph Young (6)			42	1 Oct 1850 after 31 Dec 1850, p. 13-14 *	J.H. Supp
Kanesville, Iowa	15 Jun (organized 12 Jun)	Warren Foote (7)	abt 540		104	17 Sep 1850	J.H. Supp after 31 Dec 1850, p 15-16 [heads of families in Church Emigration Book, CEB 1850]
Kanesville, Iowa	organized camp 20 Jun	Willford Woodruff (8)	abt. 209		abt 44	14 Oct 1850	J.H. Supp after 31 Dec 1850, p 17-18. *
Kanesville, Iowa	abt 20 Jun	Stephen Markham (9)			50	1 Oct 1850	J.H. Supp after 31 Dec 1850, p 19 *
Kanesville, Iowa	abt. middle Jun, 1850	David Evans (10)			54	15 Sep 1850	J.H. Supp. after 31 Dec 1850, p 20, also J.H. Supp after 31 Dec 1850, p 21-25, for emigrants not in above 10 companies. *
	1851						
Kanesville, Iowa	abt 1 May	John G. Smith (1)			150	some 23 Sep 1851	J.H. Supp after 31 Dec 1851, p 1 *
Kanesville, Iowa	abt 10 Jun; turned back due in Indian trouble, left again 29 Jun	Easton Kelsey, Luman A. Shurtlett, Capt 1st Fifty; Isaac Allred, Capt. 2nd Fifty (3)			100	Shurtlett's group, 23 Sep, after 31 Dec 1851 Allred's group, 2 Oct 1851	J.H. Supp. 1851, p. 4-5 *

DOCUMENT 6, continued

PIONEER COMPANIES WHICH CROSSED THE PLAINS 1847-1868 (continued)

Outfitting Post	Date of Departure	Captain of Company and Company No.	Number Leaving		Date Arrived	Roster	(J H = Journal History of the Church) * - Partial Roster
			People	Wagons			
Kanesville, Iowa	21 Jun	James W Cummings (2)	abt 150	100	some 5 Oct 1851	J H Supp after 31 Dec 1851, p 2-3 * See CEB 1851.	
Kanesville, Iowa	7 Jul	John Brown [a P E F. Company] (4)		50	28 Sep 1851	J H. Supp. after 31 Dec 1851, P 6A-6G *	
Kanesville, Iowa	Left Garden Grove, Iowa, 17 May;	Garden Grove Co Harry Walton, Capt.	21 Families from Garden Grove plus others	60	24 Sep 1851	J H Supp after 31 Dec. 1851, p 7-9, also CEB 1851 under Garden Grove Co.	
Kanesville, Iowa		George W Oman			1 Sep 1851	Some names in J H Supp after 31 Dec 1851, p 10-12 may be from this company.	
Kanesville, Iowa	before 7 Jul	Morris Phelps			abt 28 Sep 1851	J.H. Supp. after 31 Dec 1851, p. 10-12.	
Kanesville, Iowa ?	before 12 Aug	Wilkins Freight (Train includes Scottish emigrants)		10	abt 28 Sep 1851	J H Supp after 31 Dec 1851, p. 10-12	
		Ben Holliday's Freight Train			10 Aug 1851	J H Supp. after 31 Dec 1851, p 10-12.	
Kanesville, Iowa	3 Aug	Thomas A Williams' Freight Train			25 Aug 1851	J H Supp after 31 Dec 1851, p. 10-12	
		Livingston and Kincade's Freight Company				J H Supp after 31 Dec 1851, p 10-12.	
1852							
Kanesville, Iowa	30 May	James W Bay (1)	abt 190		abt 13 Aug 1852	J H Supp * after 31 Dec 1852, p 1-6.	
Kanesville, Iowa	abt 29 May	James J Jepson (2)	abt 220	abt 32	some arrived 10 Sep	J H. Supp. * after 31 Dec 1852, p 7-11.	
Kanesville, Iowa	7 Jun	Thomas C D. Howell (3)	293 plus 10 families	abt 65	27 Sep 1852	J H Supp * after 31 Dec 1852, p 12-18	
Kanesville, Iowa	abt. 10 Jun	Joseph Outhouse	230	50	6 Sep 1852	J H Supp * after 31 Dec 1852, p 19-24	
Kanesville, Iowa	early June	John Tidwell (5)	abt 340	abt 54	15 Sep 1852	J H Supp * after 31 Dec 1852, p 25-33	

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APPENDICES

DOCUMENT 6, continuea

PIONEER COMPANIES WHICH CROSSED THE PLAINS 1847-1868 (continued)

Outfitting Post	Date of Departure	Captain of Company and Company No.	Number Leaving		Date Arrived	Roster	(J.H. = Journal History of the Church) * - Partial Roster
			People	Wagons			
Kanesville, Iowa		David Wood (6)	abt. 268	abt. 58	1 Oct 1852	J.H. Supp.* after 31 Dec 1852, p. 34-40	
Kanesville, Iowa	early Jun	Henry Bryant manning Jolly (7)	abt. 340	abt. 64	15 Sep 1852	J.H. Supp.* after 31 Dec 1852, p. 41-49	
(8th Company) No report							
Kanesville, Iowa	Jun	Isaac M. Stewart (9)	abt. 245	53	28 Aug 1852	J.H. Supp.* after 31 Dec 1852, p. 55-61.	
Kanesville, Iowa	May	Benjamin Gardner (10)	241	45	24 and 27 Sep 1852	J.H. Supp.* after 31 Dec 1852, p. 61B; J.H. Supp. 24 and 27 Sep 1852.	
Kanesville, Iowa	Jun	James McGaw (11)	239	54	20 Sep 1852	J.H. Supp.* after 31 Dec 1852, p. 67-73.	
Kanesville, Iowa	Jun	Harmon Cutler (12)	262	63	Sep	J.H. Supp.* after 31 Dec 1852, p. 79-84	
(13th Company) No report							
Kanesville, Iowa	5 Jul	John B. Walker (14)	abt. 258		3 Oct 1852	J.H. Supp.* after 31 Dec 1852, p. 89-95	
Kanesville, Iowa	Beginning of Jul	Robert Weimer (15)	230	130?	15 Sep 1852	J.H. Supp.* after 31 Dec 1852, p. 96-100.	
Kanesville, Iowa	shortly after 24 Jun	Uriah Curtis (16)	abt. 365	51	1 Oct 1852	J.H. Supp.* after 31 Dec 1852, p. 101-107	
Kanesville, Iowa		Isaac Bullock (17)	abt. 175		21 Sep 1852	J.H. Supp.* after 31 Dec 1852, p. 108-111.	
Kanesville, Iowa	middle of June	James C. Snow (18)	250	abt. 55	9 Oct 1852	J.H. Supp.* after 31 Dec 1852, p. 112-117.	
Kanesville, Iowa	early July	Eli B. Kelsey (19) [includes first 28 saints from Scandinavia.]	abt. 100		16 Oct 1852	J.H. Supp.* after 31 Dec 1852, p. 120-122.	
Kanesville, Iowa		Henry W. Miller (20)	abt. 229	63	abt. 21 Sep 1852	J.H. Supp.* after 31 Dec 1852, p. 123-128	

DOCUMENT 6, continued

PIONEER COMPANIES WHICH CROSSED THE PLAINS 1847-1868 (continued)

Outfitting Post	Date of Departure	Captain of Company and Company No.	Number Leaving		Date Arrived	Roster	(J.H. = Journal History of the Church) * - Partial Roster
			People	Wagons			
Kanesville, Iowa	July	Allan Weeks (21)	abt 226		12 Oct 1852	J.H. Supp * after 31 Dec 1852, p 129-136	
Organized in St Louis	4 Jun (left Independence Mo)	Thomas Marsden (22nd Company)		10	2 Sep 1852	J.H. Supp * after 31 Dec 1852, p 144	
	1 Jun (left Kansas City Mo)	Abraham O Smoot [first company to cross by P.E.F.]	abt 250	33	3 Sep 1852	J.H. Supp * after 31 Dec 1852, p 137-143	
1853							
Six-Mile Grove, Iowa or Neb (6 miles from Winter Quarters)	1 Jun	David Wilkin (1)	122	28	abt. 9 Sep 1853	J.H. 15 Jul 1853, p 2-5.	
Six-Mile Grove, Iowa or Neb	9 Jun	Daniel A. Miller and John W. Cooley (2)	282	70	some 9 Sep 1853	J.H. 9 Sep 1853, p 2-24. See also J.H. 9 Aug 1853, p 2-20.	
Keokuk, Iowa	18 May (left Kanesville, Iowa, 1 Jul)	Jesse W. Crosby (3)	79	12	abt. 10 Sep 1853	J.H. 19 Aug 1853, p. 2	
Keokuk, Iowa (organized at Kanesville)	16 May (left Kanesville, 29 Jun)	Moses Clawson (4) [St. Louis Company]	295	56	abt. 15 Sep 1853	J.H. 19 Aug 1853, p 3-7. See also J.H. 7 Aug 1853, p 4-5	
Keokuk, Iowa	abt. 3 Jun	Jacob Gates (5) (5th Company)	262	33	26 Sep 1853	J.H. 9 Sep 1853, p. 25-28	
Keokuk, Iowa	21 May	John E. Forsgren (6)	294	34	30 Sep 1853	J.H. 30 Sep 1853, p. 3-7.*	
See Andrew Jenson's <i>History of the Scandinavian Mission</i> and "Manuscript History of the Forsgren Company"							
Keokuk, Iowa	1 Jul (left Missouri River)	Henry Ettleman (7)	40	11	abt. 1 Oct 1853	J.H. 19 Aug 1853, p 18.	
Kanesville, Iowa	13 Jul (crossed Missouri River at Council Bluffs)	Vincent Shurtleff (8) [merchandise wagons and a few emigrants]			abt. 30 Sep 1853	no roster See J.H. 17 Jul 1853, and 31 Aug 1853 for mention	
Keokuk, Iowa	3 Jun (crossed Missouri River 11 Jul)	Joseph W. Young (9)	402	abt. 54	10 Oct 1853	J.H. 22 Sep 1853, p 18-9	
Keokuk, Iowa	3 Jun (crossed Missouri River 11 Jul)	Cyrus H. Wheelock (10) [included a California company]	abt. 400	52	16 Oct 1853	J.H. 19 Sep 1853, p 2-7	

APPENDICES

DOCUMENT 6, continued

PIONEER COMPANIES WHICH CROSSED THE PLAINS 1847-1868 (continued)

Outfitting Post	Date of Departure	Captain of Company and Company No.	Number Leaving		Date Arrived	Roster	(J.H. = Journal History of the Church) Partial Roster
			People	Wagons			
Keokuk, Iowa or Kanesville, Iowa	3 Jun (crossed Missouri River)	Claudius V. Spencer (11)	abt 250	40	abt 24 Sep 1853	J.H. 17 Sep 1853, p 1B-4	
Keokuk, Iowa or Kanesville, Iowa	14 Jul (crossed Missouri River)	Appleton M. Harmon (12)	abt 200	abt 22	18 Oct 1853	no roster	
Keokuk, Iowa	1 Jul	John Brown (13)	abt 303		17 Oct 1853	no roster, see roster for ship Campillus in "Ms History of British Mission" 6 Apr 1853	
1854							
Westport, Mo. (Kansas City area)	15 Jun	Hans Peter Olsen (1)	abt 550	69	5 Oct 1854	no roster, see J.H. 5 Oct 1854, p 1-6	
Westport, Mo.	abt 17 Jun	James Brown (2)	abt 300	42	3 Oct 1854	no roster	
Westport, Mo.	abt 17 Jun	Darwin Richardson (3)	abt 300	40	30 Sep 1854	no roster	
Westport, Mo.	16 Jun	Job Smith (4) [independent company] (IC)	217	45	23 Sep 1854	no roster	
Westport, Mo.	2 Jul	Daniel Garn (5) [many members crossed ocean on ship Windermere]	477	abt 40	1 Oct 1854	no roster, see Ms History of British Mission, 22 Feb 1854	
Westport, Mo.	14 Jul	Robert L. Campbell (6th Company)	397		28 Oct 1854	no roster, see J.H. 28 Oct 1854, p 2-34	
	left Missouri River late in Jul	Initially, Orson Pratt and Horace S. Eldredge. Subsequently, Ezra T. Benson and Ira Eldredge (7)			3 Oct 1854 [Pratt and Eldredge 27 Aug]	no roster, see J.H. 8 Aug 1854, p 2-5	
Westport, Mo.	abt 15 Jul	William Empey (8)		43	24 Oct 1854	no roster	
1855							
Mormon Grove, Kan (Near Atchison)	7 Jun	John Hindley (1) (IC)	206	46	3 Sep 1855	J.H. 12 Sep 1855, and 3 Sep 1855, p 2-12	
Mormon Grove, Kan	13 Jun	Jacob F. Secrist (died 2 Jul) subsequently, Noah T. Guyman (2)	368	58	7 Sep 1855	J.H. 12 Sep 1855, and 7 Sep 1855, p 1-11	
Mormon Grove, Kan	15 Jun	Seth M. Blair (Blair became ill, succeeded on 22 Jun by Edward Stevenson) (3) (IC)	89	38	11 Sep 1855	no roster	

DOCUMENT 6, continued

PIONEER COMPANIES WHICH CROSSED THE PLAINS 1847-1868 (continued)

Outfitting Post	Date of Departure	Captain of Company and Company No.	Number Leaving Outfitting Post		Date Arrived	Roster	(J H = Journal History of the Church) * Partial Roster
			People	Wagons			
Mormon Grove, Kan	1 Jul	Richard Ballantyne (4)	402	45	25 Sep 1855	J H 12 Sep 1855	
Mormon Grove, Kan	4 Jul	Moses F. Thurston (5)	148	33	28 Sep 1855	J H 12 Sep 1855	
Mormon Grove, Kan	24 Jul returned left again 28 Jul	Charles A. Harper (6) [P E F]	305	39	29 Oct 1855	J H 12 Sep 1855	
Mormon Grove, Kan	31 Jul	Isaac Allred (7) [merchandise train]	81	34-38	some 2 Nov others 13 Nov 1855	J H 12 Sep 1855	
Mormon Grove, Kan	4 Aug	Milo Andrus (8) [P E F]	461		24 Oct 1855	J H 24 Oct 1855, p 1-13	
1856							
Iowa City, Iowa	9 Jun	Edmund Ellsworth (1st Handcart Co.)	275	52 hand-carts; (hc) a few wagons	26 Sep 1856	J H 9 Jun 1856, p 1, 26 Sep 1856, p 23-30	
LeRoy Hafen's <i>Handcarts to Zion</i> (Glendale, Calif.: A. H. Clark, 1960) for rosters on all of the handcart companies.							
Iowa City, Iowa	11 Jun	Daniel D. McArthur (2nd Handcart Co.)	222	46 (hc) 4 wagons	26 Sep 1856	J H 11 Jun 26 Sep 1856, p 31-36	
Iowa City, Iowa	23 Jun (left Florence, Nebraska, 30 Jul)	Edward Bunker (3rd Handcart Co.)	abt 300	60 (hc) 5 wagons	2 Oct 1856	J H 2 Oct 1856, p 6-12, 15 Oct 1856, p 1	
Iowa City, Iowa	15 Jul	James G. Willie (4th Handcart Co.)	abt 500	120 (hc) 5 wagons	9 Nov 1856	J H 9 Nov 18-30, J H 15 Oct 1856, p 2	
Iowa City, Iowa	28 Jul	Edward Martin (5th Handcart Co.)	575	146 (hc) 30 hand-carts, 7 wagons	30 Nov 1856	J H 30 Nov 1856, p 7-8, 60-76, 15 Oct 1856, p 2	
Florence, Neb	5 Jun	Philemon C. Merrill (1st Wagon Company)	200	50	13-18 Aug 1856	J H 5 Jun 1856, p 1	
Florence, Neb (Now Omaha)	abt 10 Jun	Canute Peterson (2)	abt 320	abt 60	20 Sep 1856	J H 20 Sep 1856, p 1-8, 15 Oct 1856, p 12-13	
Florence, Neb	Middle of June	John Banks (3) [St. Louis Company]	300	abt 60	1-2 Oct 1856	J H 3 Oct 1856, p 2-9, 15 Oct 1856, p 3	
Iowa City, Iowa	30 Jul	William B. Hodgetts (4)	abt 150	33	10 Dec 1856 (some later)	J H 15 Oct 1856, p 3, 15 Dec 1856, p 1-6	

APPENDICES

DOCUMENT 6, continued

PIONEER COMPANIES WHICH CROSSED THE PLAINS 1847-1868 (continued)

Outfitting Post	Date of Departure	Captain of Company and Company No.	Number Leaving Outfitting Post		Date Arrived	Roster
			People	Wagons		(J.H. = Journal History of the Church) * Partial Roster
Iowa City, Iowa	1 Aug	Dan Jones (then John A. Hunt) (5)	abl. 300	58	10-15 Dec 1856	J.H. 15 Dec 1856, p. 7-15, 15 Oct 1856, p. 2
Mormon Grove, Kan	10 Aug	Abraham O. Smool [mostly merchandise]	abl. 97	abl. 34	9 Nov 1856	some names end of 1856
1857						
Iowa City, Iowa	abl. 22 May	Israel Evans (6th Handcart Co.)	149	28 h.c.	11-12 Sep 1857	
Iowa City, Iowa	abl. 15 Jun	Christian Christiansen (7th Handcart Co.) [first headed by James Park, David Dille and George Thurston]	abl. 330	68 h.c. 3 wagons	13 Sep 1857	J.H. 13 Sep 1856, p. 12-26
Florence, Nebraska (Omaha)	13 Jun	William Walker's Freight Train	86	28	4 Sep 1857 (others a few days later)	no roster
Iowa City, Iowa	early Jun	Jesse B. Martin (1st Wagon Co.)	192	34	12 Sep 1857	no roster
Iowa City, Iowa	abl. 15 June	Matthias Cowley(2) [Scandinavian Co.]	198	31	13 Sep 1857	no roster.
Iowa City, Iowa	early Jun	Jacob Hoffheins(3) [New York Co later the St. Louis Co.]	abl. 204	41	21 Sep 1857	no roster
From Texas	Jul	Homer Duncan (returning from a mission)			14 and 20 Sep 1857	no roster
Iowa City, Iowa	Jun	William G. Young	abl. 55	19	26 Sep 1857	no roster
1858						
[Very few emigrants crossed the plains in 1858 due to the approaching U.S. Army which was sent to suppress a supposed rebellion in Utah]						
Iowa City, Iowa	left Loupe Fork 8 Jun	Horace S. Eldredge (1st Wagon Company) men	39	13	9 Jul 1858	C.E.B. 1858 *
Iowa City, Iowa	Middle of Jun	Iver N. Iversen(2)	abl. 50	8	20 Sep 1858	J.H. 13 Jul 1858, p. 1
Iowa City, Iowa	19 Jun	Russell K. Homer(3) [from ship "John Bright"]	abl. 60		6 Oct 1858	no roster, see Ms. History of Scandinavian Mission 21 Feb 1858, p. 3-5.
1859						
Florence, Neb (Omaha)	9 Jun	George Rowley (8th Handcart Company)	235	60 h.c. 8 wagons	4 Sep 1859	J.H. 12 Jun 1859, p. 4 Halen's Handcarts to Zion

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DOCUMENT 6, continued

PIONEER COMPANIES WHICH CROSSED THE PLAINS 1847-1868 (continued)

Outfitting Post	Date of Departure	Captain of Company and Company No.	Number Leaving Outfitting Post		Date Arrived	Roster	(J H = Journal History of the Church) * Partial Roster
			People	Wagons			
Florence, Neb	13 Jun	James Brown, III (1st Wagon Company)	353	59	29 Aug 1859	J H 12 Jun 1859, p 4	
Florence, Neb	June	Horton O Haight(2) [Merchandise Train]	154	71	1 Sep 1859	J H 12 Jun 1859, p 4	
Florence, Neb	26 or 28 Jun	Robert F. Nesien (3)	380	58	15 Sep 1859	J H 12 Jun 1859, p 4	
Florence, Neb	26 Jun	Edward Stevenson (4)	285	54	16 Sep 1859	no roster	
Geona, Neb		A S Beckwith	22		1 Aug 1859	J H 1 Aug 1859	
<i>Desert News</i> for 14 Sep 1859 notes that several small companies arrived in Salt Lake City after 1 Aug 1859. These Saints may have traveled with P. H. Buzzard's, D. Davis', J. H. Lemon's, F. Little's, and Redfield and Smith's freight trains.							
1860							
Florence, Neb	6 Jun	Daniel Robinson (9th Handcart Co.)	233	43 (hc) 6 wagons	27 Aug 1860	J H 31 Dec 1860 Supp., p 13-18	
Florence, Neb	6 Jul	Oscar O. Stoddard (10th and last Handcart Co.)	126	22 hc 6 wagons	24 Sep 1860	J H Supp after 31 Dec 1860, p 34-37	
Florence, Neb	30 May	Warren Walling (1st Wagon Co.)	172	30	9 Aug 1860	J H Supp after 31 Dec 1860, p 7-12	
Florence, Neb	17 Jun	James D. Ross (2)	249	36	3 Sep 1860	J H Supp after 31 Dec 1860, p 19-25	
Florence, Neb	19 Jun	Jesse Murphy (3)	279	38	30 Aug 1860	J H Supp after 31 Dec 1860, p 26-33	
Florence, Neb	abt. 15 Jun	John Smith (Patriarch of of Church)(4)	359	39	1 Sep 1860	J H Supp after 31 Dec 1860, p 38-46	
Florence, Neb	20 Jul	William Budge (5)	400	55	5 Oct 1860	J H Supp after 31 Dec 1860, p 47-57	
Florence, Neb	3 Jul	John Taylor ["Iowa" Company]	123		17 Sep 1860	J H Supp after 31, 1860 p 58-62	
Florence, Neb	23 Jul	Joseph W. Young [merchandise]	abt 100	50	3 Oct 1860	no roster	
Florence, Neb	latter part June	Franklin Brown [ind co.]	60	14	27 Aug 1860	no roster	
Florence, Neb		Brigham H. Young [freight train]			14 Sep 1860	no roster	

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APPENDICES

DOCUMENT 6, continued

PIONEER COMPANIES WHICH CROSSED THE PLAINS 1847-1868 (continued)

Outfitting Post	Date of Departure	Captain of Company and Company No.	Number Leaving		Date Arrived	Roster	(J H = Journal History of the Church) * - Partial Roster
			People	Wagons			
	1861						
Florence, Neb. (Omaha)	29 May	David H. Cannon (1st Church Train)	225	57	16 Aug 1861	no roster	
Florence, Neb.	7 Jun	Job Pingree [Independent Co.]		33	24 Aug 1861	J H 24 Aug 1861	
Florence, Neb.	abt 20 Jun	Peter Ranck [ind co.]		abt 20	8 Sep 1861	no roster	
Florence, Neb.	25 Jun	Homer Duncan (4)	264	47	13 Sep 1861	J H 13 Sep 1861, p 2-5, Duncan's CEB 1861	
Florence, Neb.	30 Jun	Ira Eldredge [2nd Church Train]		70	15 Sep 1861	no roster	
Florence, Neb.	July	Milo Andrus	620	38	12 Sep 1861	no roster	
Florence, Neb.	July	Thomas Woolley	abt 150	30	Sep 1861	no roster	
Florence, Neb.	9 Jul	Joseph Horne [3rd Church Train]		62	13 Sep 1861	no roster	
Florence, Neb.	13 Jul	Samuel Woolley	338	61	22 Sep 1861	J H 22 Sep 1861, p 2-11	
Florence, Neb.	13 Jul	Joseph Porter [originally part Samuel Woolley Co.]			22 Sep 1861 Woolley Co.	roster for	
Florence, Neb.	July	John R. Murdock [4th Church Train] [mostly Scandinavian Saints from ship "Monarch of the Sea"]			12 Sep 1861	no roster, see See Ms. History of British Mission, 16 May 1861	
Florence, Neb.	11 Jul	Joseph W. Young and later Heber P. Kimball [5th Church Train] (Merchandise)		90	23 Sep 1861	no roster	
Florence, Neb.	11 Jul	Ansel P. Harmon [Began as Joseph W. Young Co. Harmon organized 27 Jul]		40	23 Sep 1861	no roster	
Florence, Neb.	16 Jul	Sixtus E. Johnson	abt 200	52	27 Sep 1861	no roster	
[In addition to the companies mentioned, several freight trains left Florence, Neb. during the months of July and Aug.]							
	1862						
Florence, Neb.	17 Jun	Lewis Brunson (Ind. co.)	212	48	29 Aug 1862	See <i>Deseret News</i> for 1861, vol 12, p 78. Also J H 20 Aug 1862, p 2-7 *	

DOCUMENT 6, continued

PIONEER COMPANIES WHICH CROSSED THE PLAINS 1847-1868 (continued)

Outfitting Post	Date of Departure	Captain of Company and Company No.	Number Leaving Outfitting Post		Date Arrived	Roster
			People	Wagons		(J. H. = Journal History of the Church) *Partial Roster
Florence, Neb	14 Jul	Ola N. Lilienquist (an ind. Scandinavian Co.)	abt 250	40	23 Sep 1862	no roster
See Ms. History of Scandinavian Mission for Apr. 1862, for rosters of people that left Hamburg, Germany. Lilienquist was leader of company on ship "Athania"						
Florence, Neb	abt. 1st week in July	James Wareham (ind. co.)	250	48	26 Sep 1862	<i>Deseret News</i> for 1862, vol 12, p. 93 Also J. H. 16 Sep 1862, p. 1
Florence, Neb.	22 Jul	Homer Duncan (1st Church Train)	abt 500		24 Sep 1862	J. H. 16 Sep 1862, p. 1. <i>Desert News</i> vol. 12, p. 93
Florence, Neb	14 Jul	Christian A. Mad- sen (independ- ent Scandinavian Company)	abt 264	40	23 Sep 1862	no roster, see Ms. History of Scandinavian Mission, Apr 1862, for ros- ter of ship "Franklin".
Florence, Neb	24 Jul	John R. Murdock (2nd Church Train)	700	65	27 Sep 1862	<i>Deseret News</i> 1862, vol 12, p. 93, J. H. 16 Sep 1862, p. 2
Florence, Neb.	28 Jul	James S. Brown (ind. co.)	200	46	2 Oct 1862	Partial roster See <i>Deseret News</i> 1862, vol 12, p. 113 Also J. H. 2 Oct 1862, p. 1
Florence, Neb	29 Jul	Joseph Horne (3rd Church Train)	570	52	1 Oct 1862	<i>Deseret News</i> 1862, vol 12, p. 98 Also J. H. 24 Sep 1862, p. 1
Florence Neb	abt. 30 Jul	Isaac A. Canfield (ind. co.)	abt 120		16 Oct 1862	<i>Deseret News</i> 1862, vol 12, p. 93 Also J. H. 16 Sep 1862, p. 3, and 16 Oct 1862 p 1-14
Florence, Neb.	early Aug	Ansel P. Harmon (4th Church Train)	abt 500		5 Oct 1862	J. H. 24 Sep 1862, p. 2 Also <i>Deseret News</i> 1862, vol 12, p. 98
Florence, Neb	8 Aug	Henry W. Miller (5th Church Train)	665	60	17 Oct 1862	<i>Deseret News</i> 1862, vol 12, p. 92
Florence, Neb	early Aug	Horton D. Haight (6th Church Train)	650		19 Oct 1862	J. H. 24 Sep 1862, p. 2, Also <i>Deseret News</i> 1862, vol 12, p. 98

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APPENDICES

DOCUMENT 6, continued

PIONEER COMPANIES WHICH CROSSED THE PLAINS 1847-1868 (continued)

Outfitting Post	Date of Departure	Captain of Company and Company No.	Number Leaving		Date Arrived	Roster	(J H = Journal History of the Church) Partial Roster
			People	Wagons			
Florence, Neb	14 Aug	William H. Dame (7th Church Train)	150	50	29 Oct 1862	J H 24 Sep 1862, p 3 <i>Deseret News</i> 1862, vol 12, p 98	
In addition to these companies, a large number of freight trains brought small companies of L. O. S. emigrants							
Florence, Neb	1863 29 Jun	John R. Murdock (1st Church Train)	275 or 375	55	29 Aug 1863	no roster, but mentioned in J H 14 Jul, 21, 29 Aug 1863 and <i>Deseret News</i> 1863, vol. 13, p 57	
Florence, Neb.	6 Jul	John F. Sanders (2nd Church Train)			5 Sep 1863	no roster, but J H 5 Sep 1863 and <i>Deseret News</i> 1863 vol. 13, p 57	
Florence, Neb	30 Jun	Alvus H. Petterson (ind. co.)	abt. 200	50	4 Sep 1863	J H 4 Sep 1863, p 1-3	
Florence, Neb.	6 Jul	John R. Young (ind. co.)			12 Sep 1863	no roster, J H 12 Sep 1863, p 2-9, for camp history.	
Florence, Neb.	9 Jul	William B. Preston (3rd Church Train)	abt. 300	55	10 Sep 1863	no roster, J H 5, 16, 24 Aug 1863, and <i>Deseret News</i> , vol. 13, p 64	
Florence, Neb.	25 Jul	Peter Nebeker (4th Church Train)	abt. 500	70	25 Sep 1863	no roster.	
Florence, Neb	6 Aug	Daniel D. McArthur (5th Church Train)	abt. 500	75	3 Oct 1863	no roster.	
Florence, Neb.	8 Aug	Horton D. Haight (6th Church Train)	abt. 200 (freight)		4 Oct 1863	no roster.	
Florence, Neb.	9 Aug	John W. Woolley (7th Church Train)	abt. 200		4 Oct 1863	no roster.	
Florence, Neb.	10 Aug	Thomas E. Ricks (8th Church Train)	abt. 400		4 Oct 1863	no roster.	
Florence, Neb.	11 Aug	Rosel Hyde (9th Church Train)	abt. 300		13 Oct 1863	no roster.	
Florence, Neb.	14 Aug	Samuel D. White (10th Church Train)	abt. 300 (freight)		15 Oct 1863	no roster	

Freight Trains under the charge of Captains Cantfield, Jakeman, Shurtliff, and others also left Florence, Nebraska, for Salt Lake City

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DOCUMENT 6, continued

PIONEER COMPANIES WHICH CROSSED THE PLAINS 1847-1868 (continued)

Outfitting Post	Date of Departure	Captain of Company and Company No.	Number Leaving		Date Arrived	Roster	(J H = Journal History of the Church) * Partial Roster
			People	Wagons			
	1864						
Wyoming, Neb (west bank of Missouri River about 40 miles south of Omaha)	25 Jun	John D Chase (ind co)	85	28	abt 20 Sep 1864	J H 20 Sep 1864, p 2	
Wyoming, Neb	29 Jun	John R Murdock (1st Church Train) (large amount of freight)	78		28 Aug 1864	J H 26 Aug 1864.	
Wyoming, Neb.	8 Jul	William B Preston (2nd Church Train)	abt 400	50	15 Sep 1864	<i>Deseret News</i> 17 Aug 1864, p 369; J H 8 Jul, 14 Sep, 19 Oct 1864	
Wyoming, Neb.	15 Jul	Joseph S Rawlins (3rd Church Train)	abt 400	abt. 50	20 Sep 1864	<i>Deseret News</i> 17 Aug 1864, p 369	
Wyoming, Neb.	19 or 22 Jul	William S Warren (4th Church Train)	abt 329	abt. 65	4 Oct 1863	<i>Deseret News</i> 17 Aug 1864, p 369	
Wyoming, Neb	27 Jul	Isaac A. Canfield (5th Church Train)	abt. 211	abt. 50	5 Oct 1864	<i>Deseret News</i> 17 Aug 1864, p 369 *	
Wyoming, Neb.	July	John Smith (Presiding Patri- arch) [ind co]	abt 150	20	1 Oct 1864	no roster.	
Wyoming, Neb.	9 Aug	William Hyde (6th Church Train)	abt 350	62	26 Oct 1864	<i>Deseret News</i> 19 Oct 1864, p. 18 *	
Wyoming, Neb.	middle Aug	Warren S Snow	abt 400		2 Nov 1864	no roster	
	1865						
Wyoming, Neb	31 Jul	Miner G Atwood	abt 400	45	8 Nov 1865	<i>Deseret News</i> 1865, vol. 14 p 403; J H 8 Nov 1865	
Wyoming, Neb.	12 Aug	Henson Walker	abt 200	abt. 50	9 Nov 1865	J. H 9 Nov 1865, <i>Deseret News</i> 1865, vol. 14, p 403	
Wyoming, Neb.	12, 15 Aug	William S S Willis	abt. 200	abt 50	11 Nov 1865 others 29 Nov 1865	J H 29 Nov 1865, <i>Deseret News</i> 1865, vol 14 p 204	
	1866						
Wyoming, Neb.	6 Jul	Thomas E. Ricks (1st Church Train)	251	46	4 Sep 1866	<i>Deseret News</i> 16 Aug 1866 Also J H. 4 Sep 1866	
Wyoming, Neb.	7 Jul	Samuel D White (2nd Church Train)	230	46	5 Sep 1866	<i>Deseret News</i> 16 Aug 1866	

APPENDICES

DOCUMENT 6, continued

PIONEER COMPANIES WHICH CROSSED THE PLAINS 1847-1868 (continued)

Outfitting Post	Date of Departure	Captain of Company and Company No.	Number Leaving		Date Arrived	Roster	(J. H. = Journal History of the Church) * - Partial Roster
			People	Wagons			
Wyoming, Neb.	13 Jul	William Henry Chipman (3rd Church Train)	375	abt 60	15 Sep 1866	J. H. 15 Sep 1866, p. 3-4	
Wyoming, Neb.	19 Jul	John D. Holladay (4th Church Train)	350	69	25 Sep 1866	J. H. 25 Sep 1866*	
Wyoming, Neb.	4 Aug	Peter Nebeker (5th Church Train)	400	62	29 Sep 1866	J. H. 25 Sep 1866*	
Wyoming, Neb.	25 Jul	Daniel Thompson (6th Church Train)	abt. 500	85	29 Sep 1866	Those born and died in J. H. 29 Sep 1866.*	
Wyoming, Neb.	2 Aug	Joseph S. Rawlins (7th Church Train)	over 400	65	1 Oct 1866	J. H. 1 Oct 1866.	
Wyoming, Neb.	8 Aug	Andrew H. Scott (8th Church Train)	abt. 300	49	8 Oct 1866	no roster, Ms. Hist. of Wyoming, Nebraska	
Wyoming, Neb.	early Aug	Horton B. Haight (9th Church Train) [included 500 miles of wire for Deseret Telegraph Line]	4 families	65	15 Oct 1866	no roster.	
Wyoming, Neb.	8 Aug	Abner Lowery (10th Church Train)	300		22 Oct 1866	J. H. 22 Oct 1866.	
1867							
North Platte, Neb.	middle Aug	Leonard G. Rice [Western Terminus of the Union Pacific Railroad]	abt 500	abt 50	5 Oct 1867	no roster.	
1868							
Laramie, Wyo.	25 Jul	Chester Loveland	abt 400	40	20 Aug 1868	J. H. 25 Jul 1868, p. 2	
Laramie, Wyo.	25 Jul	Joseph S. Rawlins	nearly 300	31	20 Aug 1868	no roster.	
Laramie, Wyo.	27 Jul	John R. Murdock	abt 600	50	19 Aug 1868	no roster.	
Laramie, Wyo.	27 Jul	Horton D. Haight	275	abt. 30	24 Aug 1868	no roster.	
Laramie, Wyo.	1 Aug	William S. Seeley	272	39	29 Aug 1868	J. H. 1 Aug 1868, p. 1	
Benton, Wyo.	13 Aug	Simpson A. Molen	300	61	2 Sep 1868	no roster.	
Benton, Wyo.	14 Aug	Daniel D. McArthur	411	51	2 Sep 1868	no roster.	
Benton, Wyo.	24 Aug	John Gillespie	abt. 500	50	15 Sep 1868	no roster.	
Benton, Wyo.	31 Aug	John G. Holman	abt. 650	62	25 Sep 1868	J. H. 25 Sep 1868	
Benton, Wyo.	1 Sep	Edward T. Mumford	250	28	24 Sep 1868	J. H. 24 Sep 1868, p. 1.	

1869

With the arrival of Holman's and Mumford's trains, travel across the plains with ox or mule teams was terminated. The construction of the Transcontinental Railroad from the Missouri River to San Francisco, California was completed 10 May 1869 with the driving of the last spike at Promontory Point, Utah.

APPENDIX C: BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH 1

ELIZA ROXCY SNOW, 1804-1887: Mormon poetess, prophetess, priestess, "presidentess," and famous pioneer.

Eliza was a spinster who became a "spiritual wife" of Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, and the most important early Mormon female. She later became a plural wife of Brigham Young and crossed Iowa in 1846 in his company. She kept an important journal of her trail experience. She was a member of the second pioneer company of 1847 and dominated female society in Utah until her death.

Source: Vicky Burgess-Olson, *Sister Saints*.

APPENDICES

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH 2

PATTY BARTLETT SESSIONS, 1795-1892: Well-known Mormon Pioneer midwife.

Patty's legendary 3,977 deliveries earned her the title of "Mother of Mormon Midwifery." She and her husband joined the Mormons in 1834 and moved first to Kirtland, Ohio, and then to Nauvoo, Illinois. "Mother Sessions" was a member of the original pioneer group that quit Nauvoo in February 1846. Her journal, recounting the trails of women crossing Iowa and in Winter Quarters, makes sad reading, for her services were constantly in demand. Her husband entered into polygamy and their marriage was severely tested because of the second wife.

She was a member of the second company of 1847, arriving in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake on September 24th, where she continued midwifing until 1872.

Source: Vicky Burgess-Olson, *Sister Saints*.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH 3

BRIGHAM YOUNG, 1801-1877: Mormon apostle, pioneer, colonizer, second president of the Mormon Church.

Young was born in Windham County, Vermont, June 1, 1801. He later moved to Cayuga County, New York, where he married and worked as a carpenter and painter. He joined the Mormon Church April 14, 1832, and became a missionary. He followed Joseph Smith to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1833, became a member of Zion's Camp in 1834 and a member of the first Quorum of 12 Apostles in 1835.

Thereafter he went on several missions for the church, including one to England in 1840. He followed Smith to Missouri and to Nauvoo, Illinois, where he eventually became the President of the Quorum of the 12 Apostles. After the murder of Smith in June 1844, Young became the presiding authority in the church by virtue of being the senior apostle.

In this capacity he prepared the Mormons for their exodus to the west, which commenced in February 1846. After he led the pioneers into the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, he was sustained on December 5, 1847, at Winter Quarters (present Nebraska) and Council Bluffs (present Iowa) as second president of the Mormon Church.

On May 26, 1848, he left the Missouri River settlements for good, leading the 1848 migration to what is now Utah. Thereafter he lived and worked in Utah until his death in 1877. He is generally considered to have been the greatest colonizer in the old west.

Source: Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses*.

APPENDICES

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH 4

HEBER CHASE KIMBALL 1801-1868: Apostle, pioneer, first counselor to Brigham Young.

Kimball was born June 14, 1801, in Franklin County, Vermont. He later moved to Ontario County, New York, where he married and worked as a potter and blacksmith. He joined the Mormon Church there in 1832. He did missionary work and eventually followed Joseph Smith to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1832. He was a member of Zion's Camp in 1834 and became a member of the first Quorum of 12 Apostles. He filled several missions, including two to England in 1837 and 1840.

He followed Smith to Missouri and to Nauvoo, Illinois. After the murder of Smith in June 1844, Kimball became the *de facto* first counselor to Young and leader of the Mormon Church, and in this capacity helped prepare the Mormons for their eventual exodus to the west.

From February 1846 through September 1848, he was second only to Young as a leader of emigrants west. After he arrived for the last time in Salt Lake City in 1848 he remained first counselor to Young until his death in 1868.

Source: Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer*.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH 5

PARLEY PARKER PRATT, 1807-1857: Missionary, apostle, pioneer.

Pratt was born in Otsego County, New York; later lived in Ohio; joined the Mormons in 1830 and went on several missions including to England once in 1840 and again in 1846. He followed Smith to Missouri and Illinois. In 1835 he became a member of the first Quorum of Twelve Apostles, in which capacity he helped ready the Mormons for their exodus across Iowa in 1846. After his 1846 mission to England he led a large 1847 company of Saints to Utah.

Source: Parley Parker Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt*.

APPENDICES

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH 6

PETER HAWS: Little is known of Peter Haws except that he was a captain of 50 pioneers across Iowa in 1846. In Winter Quarters he considered himself equal to Young in leading the Mormons west. At Winter Quarters he was chastised by Young and the High Council of the church for selling liquor to the Indians. He was not one of the pioneers of Utah.

Source: Varia, bits and pieces here and there, for example, Roberts, *A Comprehensive History*, vol. 3, 53.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH 7

JOHN TAYLOR, 1808-1887: Apostle, pioneer and third president of the Mormon Church.

Taylor was born November 1, 1808, in Westmorland County, England. He moved to Toronto, Canada, in 1828, where he joined the Mormon Church in 1836. He followed Smith to Kirtland, Ohio, where he became an apostle in 1838. He filled several missions, including two to England in 1838 and 1846.

He followed Smith to Nauvoo, Illinois. After Smith's death in 1844 Taylor, as an apostle, assisted Young in the direction of the church; and helped lead the pioneers across Iowa in 1846. After he returned from his 1846 mission to England he had charge of a large 1847 company of pioneers going to Utah. He became president of the Mormon Church in 1880, following the death of Young.

Source: B. H. Roberts, *The Life of John Taylor*.

APPENDICES

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH 8

GEORGE MILLER, 1794-?, after 1848: Second Bishop of the Mormon Church, Pioneer of 1846.

Miller was born November 25, 1794, in Orange County, Virginia. Little is known of Miller. He joined the Mormon Church, became the Second Bishop in the Church in Nauvoo in 1844 and became, as captain of a group of 50, one of the leaders of the exodus across Iowa in 1846. In Winter Quarters he argued against settling in the Great Basin and for such "insubordination" was released from his calling as a bishop in 1847. He went to Texas in 1847 and was disfellowshipped in 1848. He did not follow Young west.

Source: Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH 9

WILLIAM CLAYTON, 1814-1879: Pioneer, hymnist, clerk of the 1846 and 1847 camp of pioneers, author of famous guidebook.

Clayton was born July 17, 1814, in Lancashire, England, joined the Mormons there in 1837, immigrated to Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1840, and became a clerk to Joseph Smith. He was prominent in the 1846 Camp Of Israel, being the Company Clerk. It was while crossing Iowa that he wrote the words to the now famous Mormon hymn, "Come, Come, Ye Saints." In 1847 he was again the Camp Clerk for the pioneers. In 1848 in St. Louis he published his famous *The Latter-Day Saints' Emigrants' Guide...From Council Bluffs to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake*.

Source: William Clayton, *William Clayton's Journal*.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH 10

ORSON PRATT, 1811-1881: Mormon apostle, mathematician, pioneer.

Born in Hartford, New York, joined the Mormon Church in 1830; he went on many missions for his new faith. He became an apostle in 1835 and in Nauvoo, Illinois, he conducted a school for mathematics.

He crossed the plains with the pioneers of 1847, acting as the scientific member of that body. He was the first Mormon to enter the Valley of the Great Salt Lake.

Source: Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopaedia*.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH 11

WILFORD WOODRUFF, 1807-1898: Apostle, pioneer, fourth president of the Mormon Church.

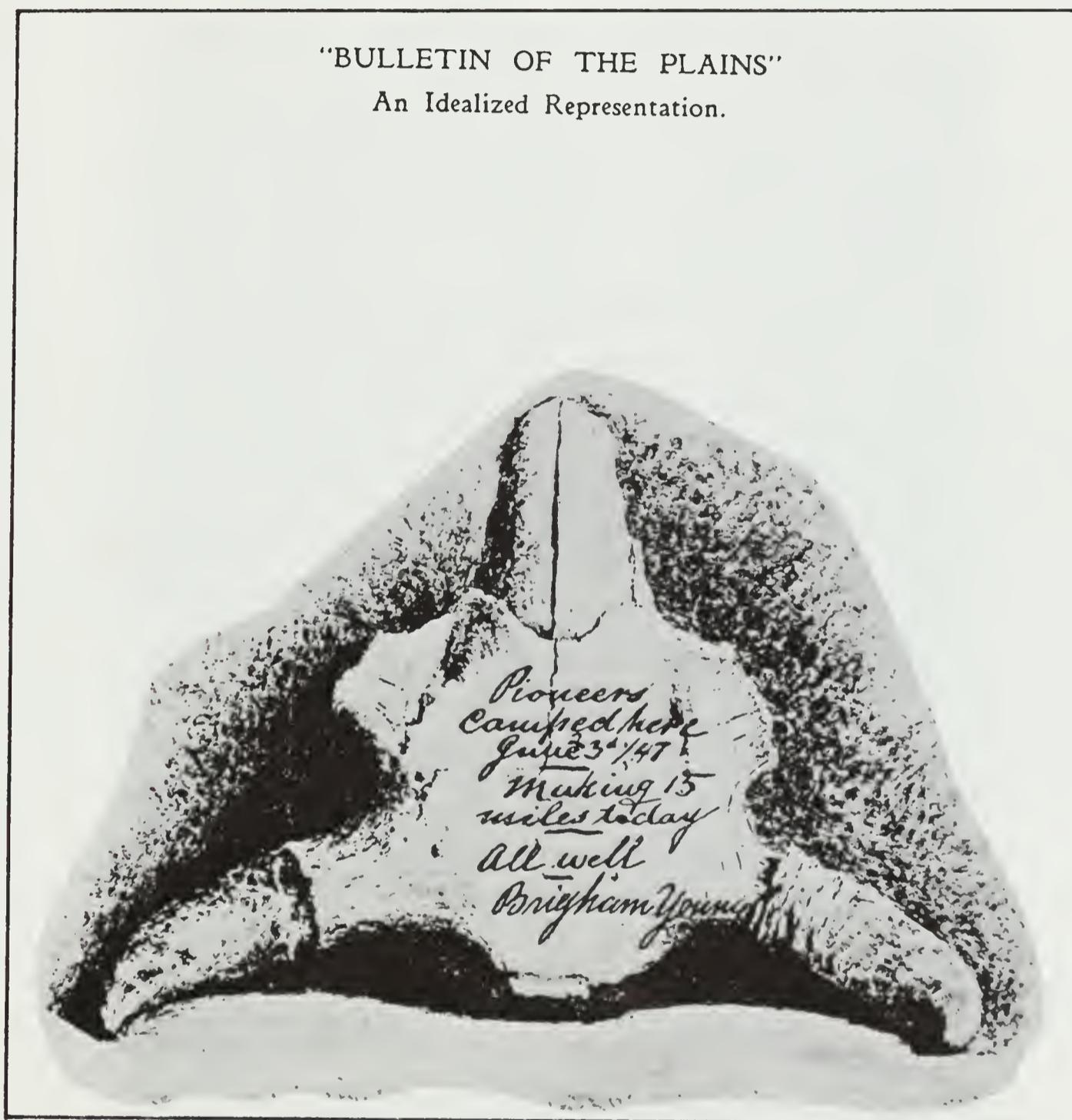
Woodruff was born March 1, 1807, in Hartford County, Connecticut. He later moved to New York where he farmed and joined the Mormons in 1833. He followed Smith to Kirtland, Ohio, where he became a member of Zion's Camp in 1834. He became an apostle in 1839 and went on several missions, including two to England in 1839 and 1844. He moved to Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1841. After the death of Smith in 1844, he assisted Young in church administration until he returned to England that same year. He participated in the 1846 exodus from Illinois and became a member of the pioneer group of 1847. It was in Woodruff's wagon that the sick Young entered The Valley July 14, 1847, and it was Woodruff who, in 1897, recounted the story about Young having seen The Valley of the Great Salt Lake in a vision and saying on July 14, 1847, "This is the place, drive on."

Source: Matthias F. Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff, Fourth President of the Church*.

APPENDIX D: ILLUSTRATIONS

ILLUSTRATION 1

An example of "bone mail."



Source: B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*.

APPENDICES

ILLUSTRATION 2

Eliza Roxcy Snow



Source: Vicky Burgess-Olson, *Sister Saints*.

ILLUSTRATION 3

Patty Bartlett Sessions



Source: Vicky Burgess-Olson, *Sister Saints*.

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ILLUSTRATION 4

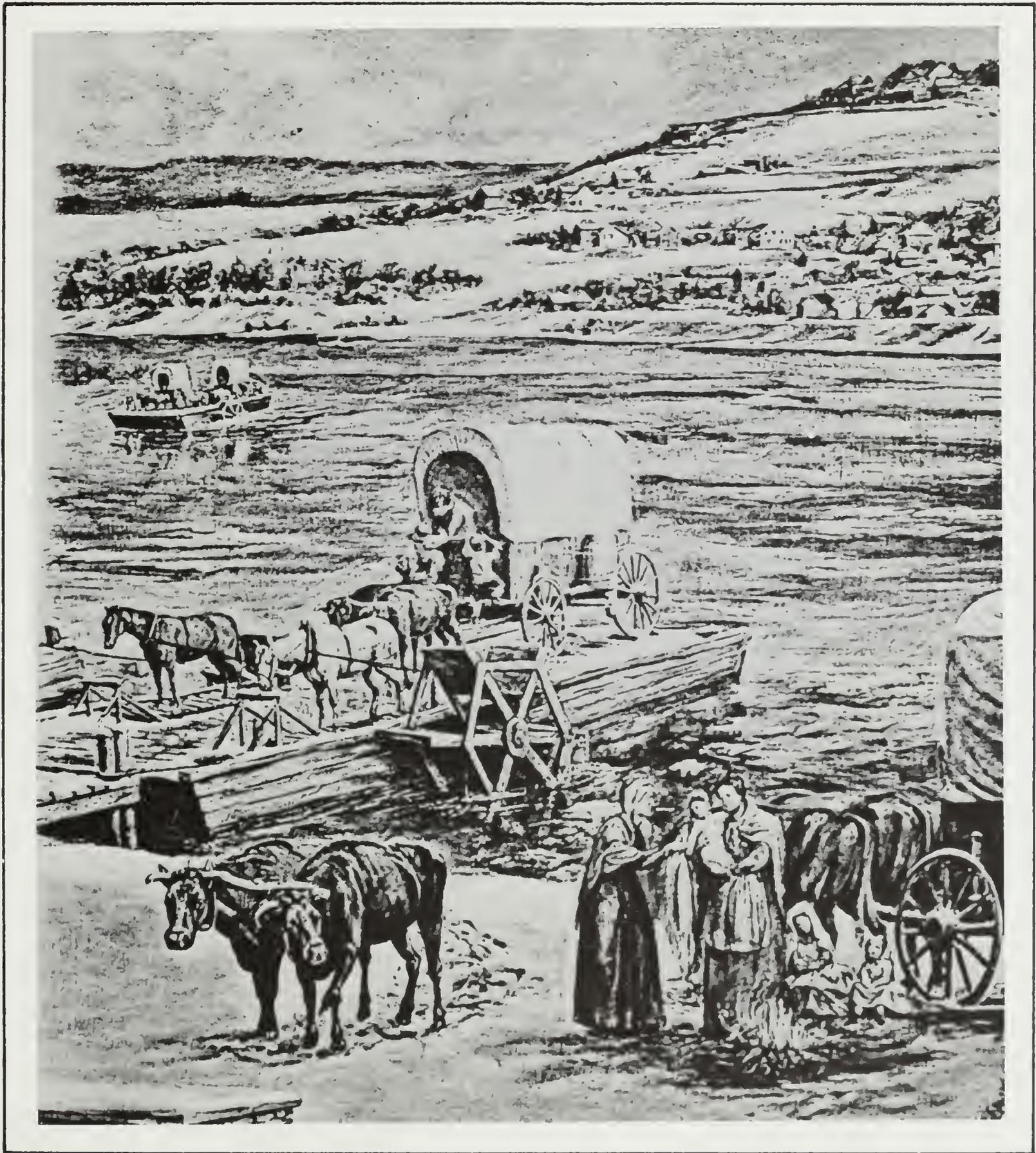
Brigham Young, 1853



Source: Piercy portrait, Frederick H. Piercy, *Route From Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*.

ILLUSTRATION 5

1846 Exodus From Nauvoo

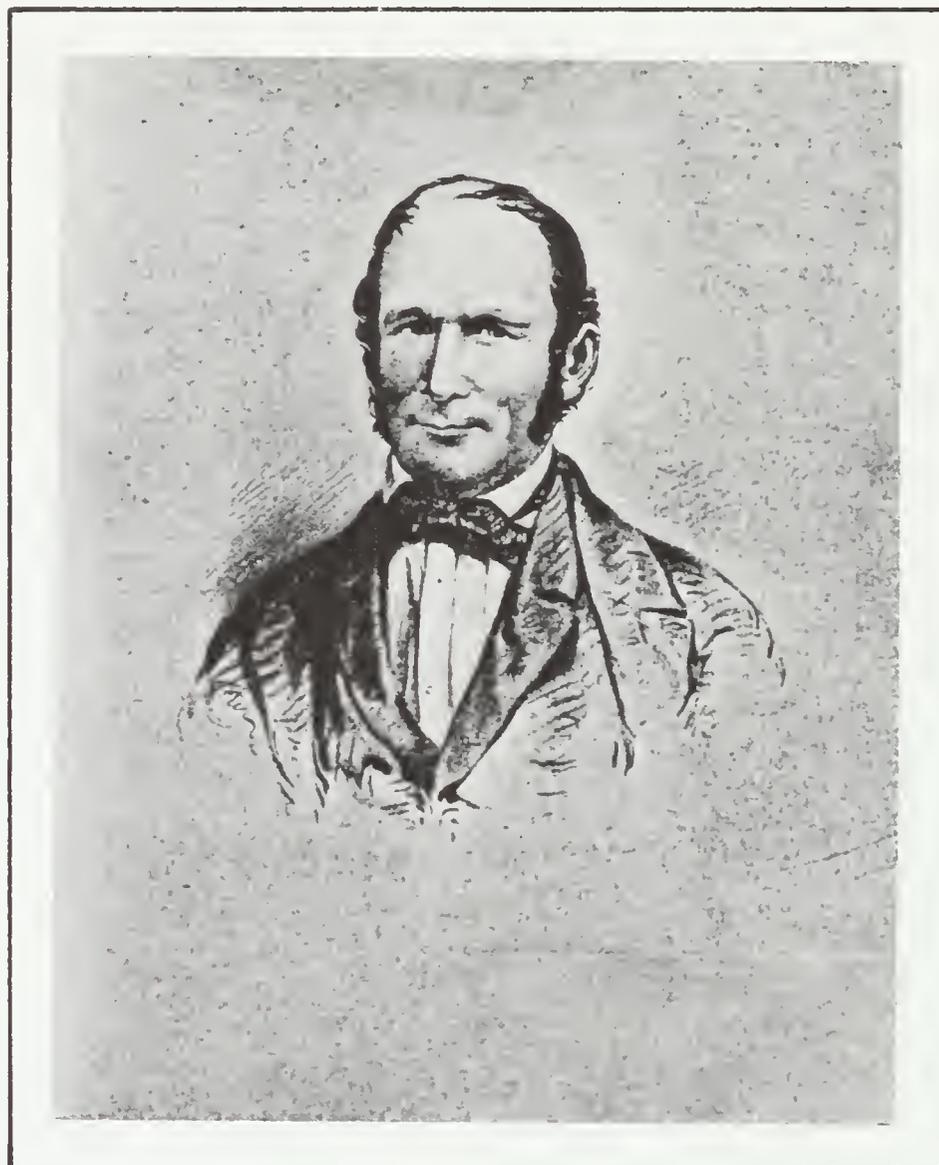


Source: Lynn Fausett mural, William E. Berrett, *The Restored Church*.

APPENDICES

ILLUSTRATION 6

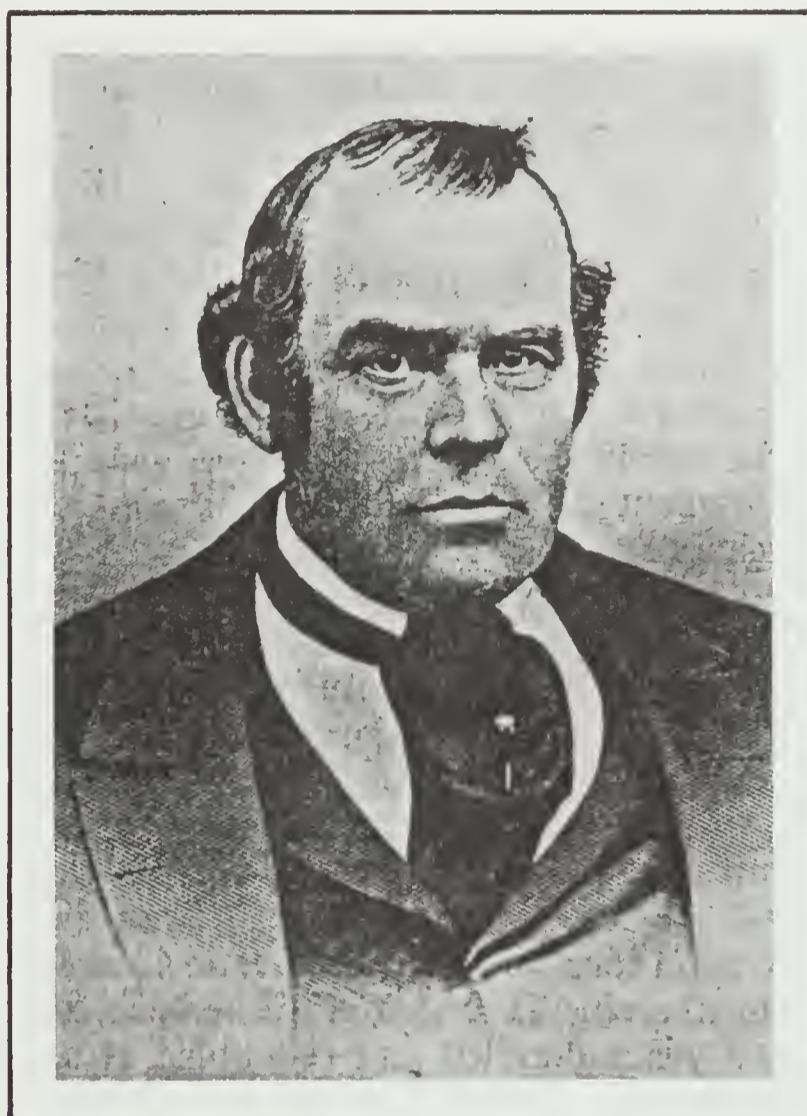
Heber C. Kimball, 1853



Source: Piercy portrait, Frederick H. Piercy, *Route From Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*.

ILLUSTRATION 7

Parley Parker Pratt

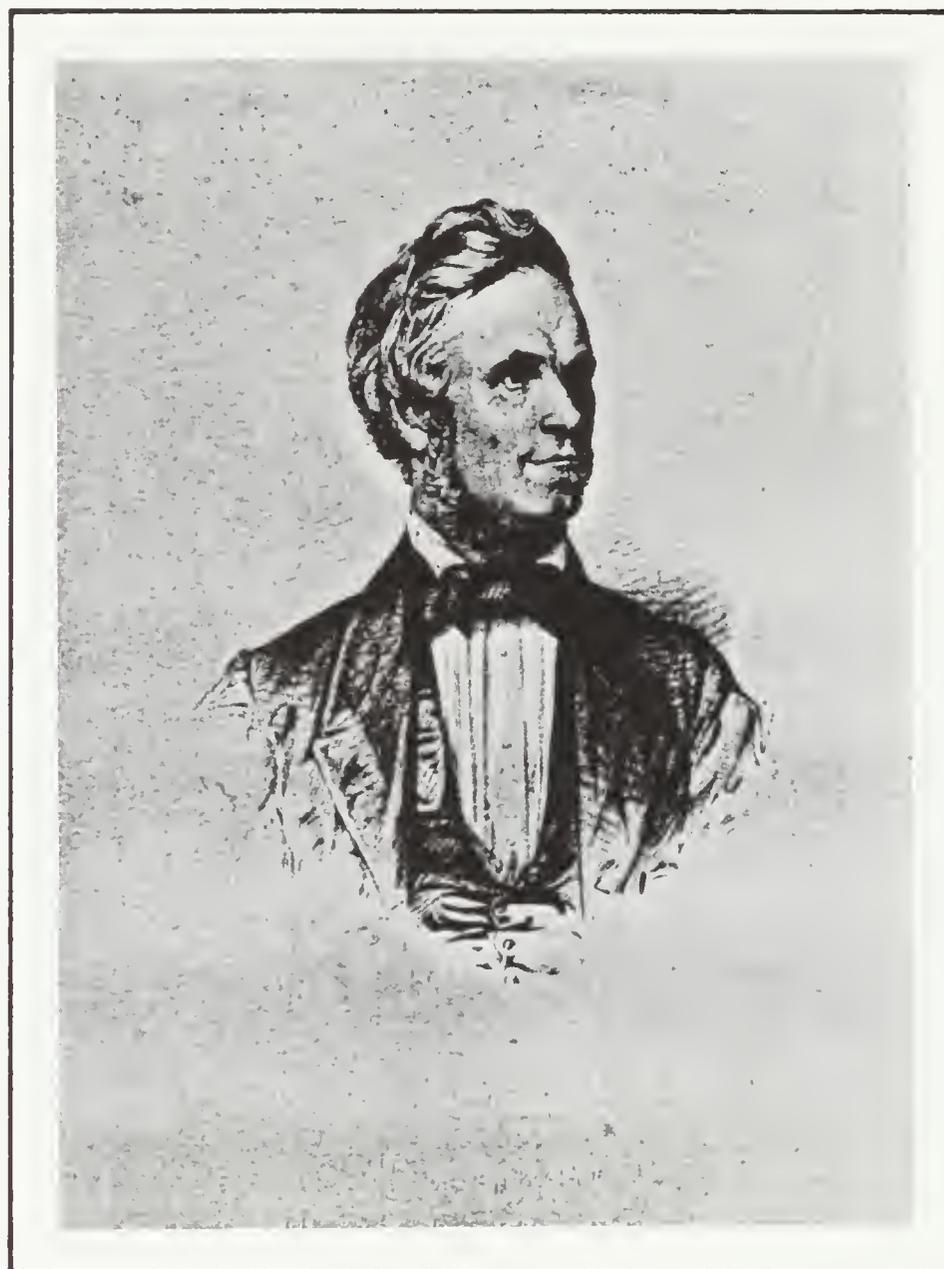


Source: William E. Berrett, *The Restored Church*.

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ILLUSTRATION 8

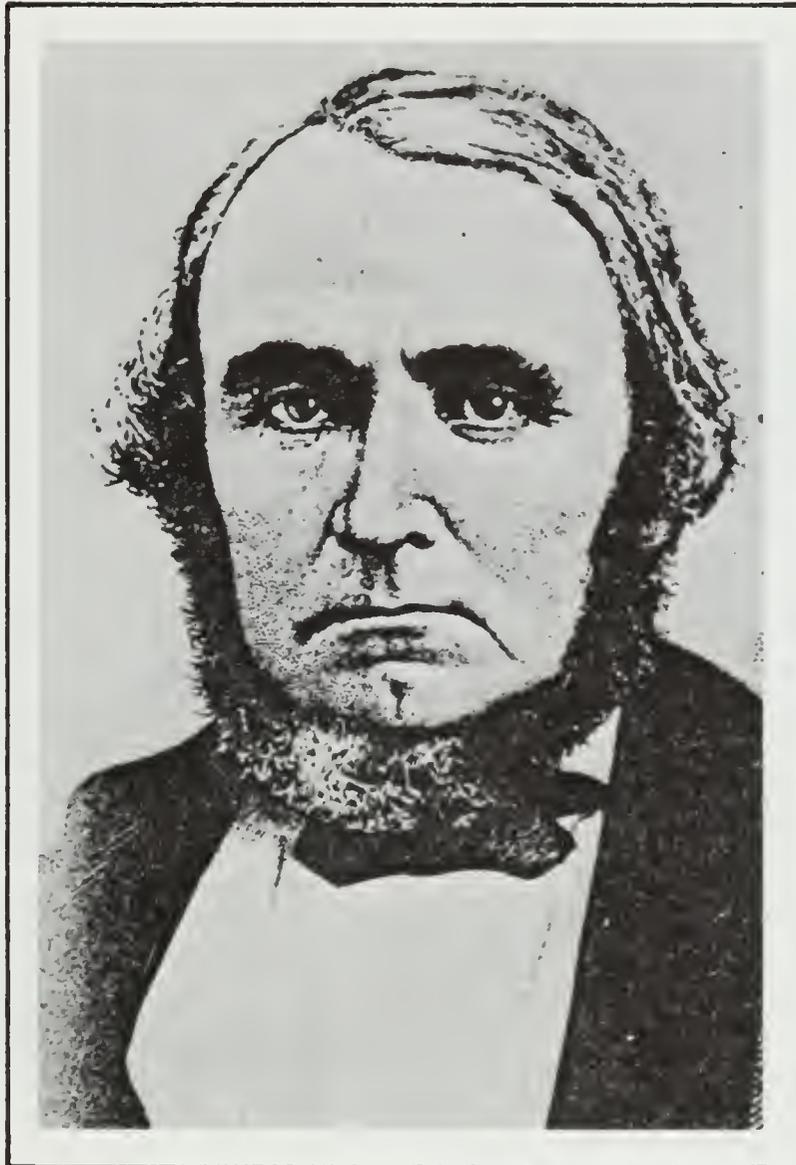
John Taylor, 1853



Source: Piercy portrait, Frederick H. Piercy, *Route From Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*.

ILLUSTRATION 9

William Clayton



Source: William E. Berrett, *The Restored Church*.

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ILLUSTRATION 10

Garden Grove, Iowa



Source: Author's photo, 1974.

ILLUSTRATION 11

Peter Hansen drawing of Mt. Pisgah, Iowa, 1846.



Source: Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer*.

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ILLUSTRATION 12

Mormon Trail ruts, Adair County, Iowa



Source: Author's photo, 1985

ILLUSTRATION 13

View of Council Bluffs, Iowa, 1853



Source: Piercy drawing, Frederick H. Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*.

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ILLUSTRATION 14

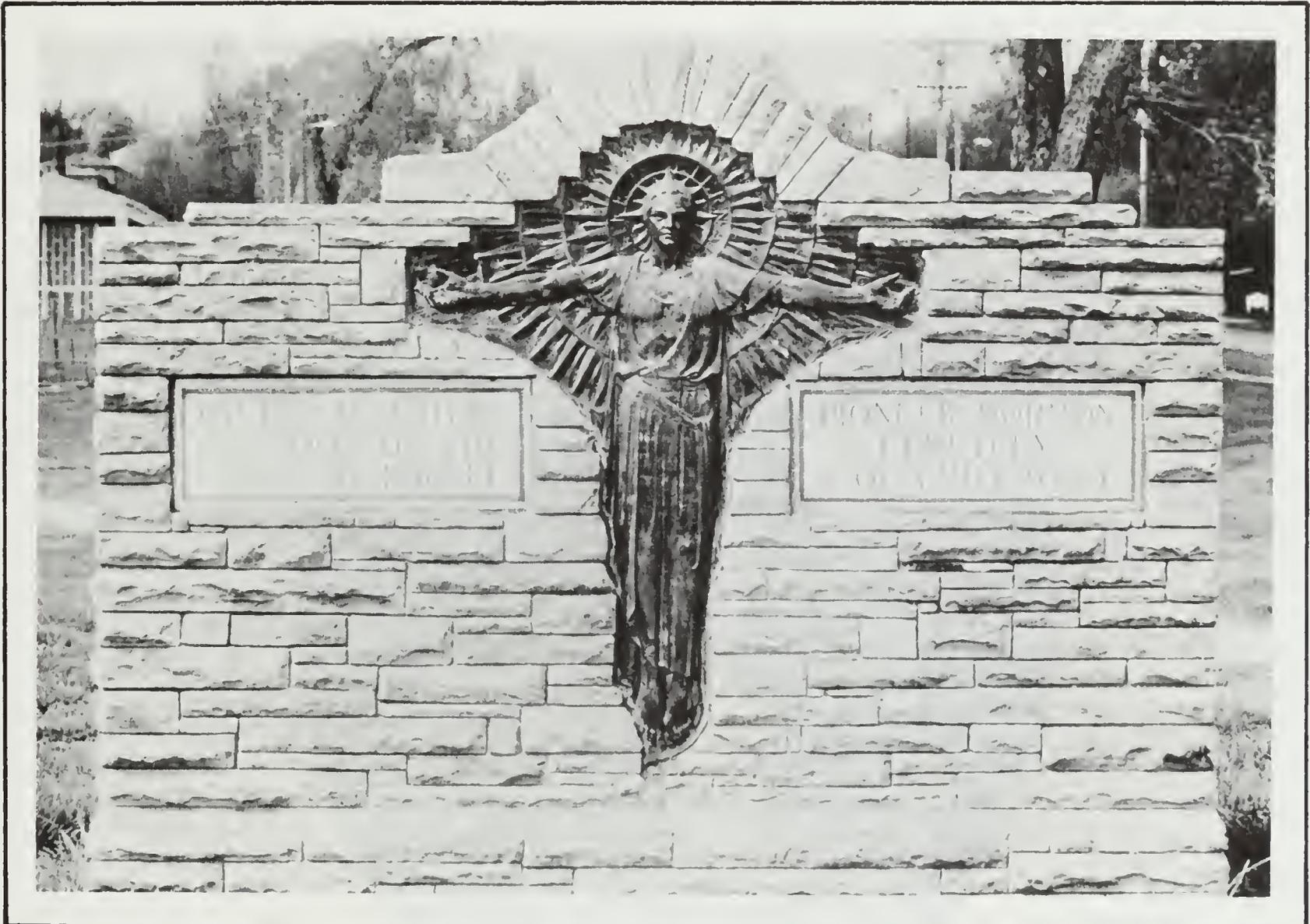
Peter Hansen drawing of Cutler's Park, Nebraska, 1846



Source: Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball, Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer*.

ILLUSTRATION 15

Winter Quarters' Cemetery, Nebraska



Source: Author's photo, 1974.

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ILLUSTRATION 16

Orson Pratt

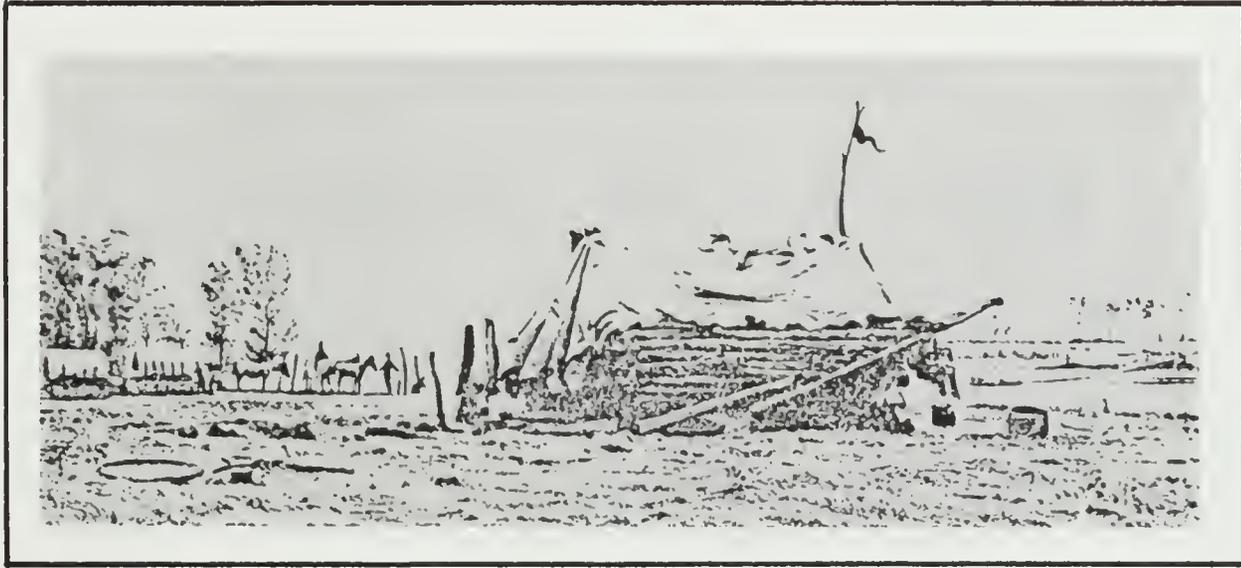
Pioneer of the Pioneers and the First to Stand Upon
the Site of Salt Lake City. July 21, 1847.



Source: B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*.

ILLUSTRATION 17

Loup River, 1853



Source: Frederick H. Piercy, *Route From Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*.

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ILLUSTRATION 18

Wm. Clayton's *Emigrants' Guide*, 1848

THE
LATTER-DAY SAINTS'
EMIGRANTS' GUIDE:
BEING A
TABLE OF DISTANCES,
SHOWING ALL THE
SPRINGS, CREEKS, RIVERS, HILLS, MOUNTAINS,
CAMPING PLACES, AND ALL OTHER NOTABLE PLACES,
FROM COUNCIL BLUFFS,
TO THE
VALLEY OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE.
ALSO, THE
LATITUDES, LONGITUDES AND ALTITUDES
OF THE PROMINENT POINTS ON THE ROUTE.
TOGETHER WITH REMARKS ON THE NATURE OF THE LAND,
TIMBER, GRASS, &c.
THE WHOLE ROUTE HAVING BEEN CAREFULLY MEASURED BY A ROADME-
TER, AND THE DISTANCE FROM POINT TO POINT, IN
ENGLISH MILES, ACCURATELY SHOWN.

BY W. CLAYTON.

ST. LOUIS:
MO. REPUBLICAN STEAM POWER PRESS—CHAMBERS & KNAPP.
1848.

Source: W. Clayton, *The Latter-Day Saints' Emigrants' Guide*...

ILLUSTRATION 19

Sand Hill Trail Ruts, Nebraska. Platte River at upper right.

Source: Author's photo, 1975.



ILLUSTRATION 20

Ancient Ruins Bluffs, Nebraska. Platte River in distance, marked by Cottonwoods.



Source: Author's photo, 1974.

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ILLUSTRATION 21

Rebecca Winter's Grave, Nebraska. Dedication 1925.



Source: Photograph by Paul Henderson, 1925, in possession of author.

ILLUSTRATION 22

Laramie's Peak, Wyoming



Source: Frederick H. Piercy, *Route From Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*.

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ILLUSTRATION 23

Mexican Hill, Wyoming



Source: Author's photo, 1980.

ILLUSTRATION 24

Guernsey Ruts, Wyoming, author standing in ruts



Source: Author's photo, 1979.

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ILLUSTRATION 25

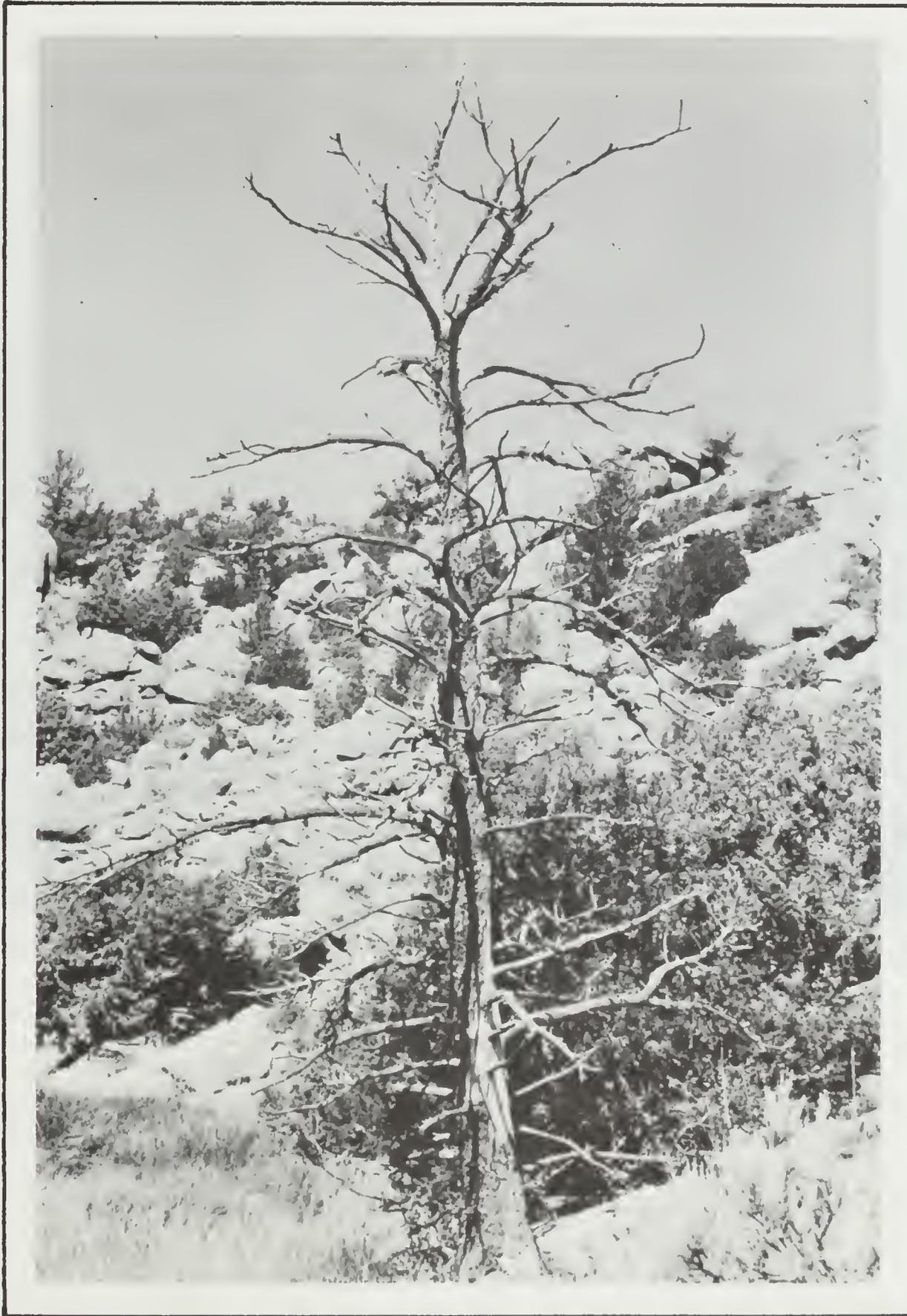
Devil's Gate, Wyoming



Source: Author's photo, 1974.

ILLUSTRATION 26

Martin's Cove Handcart Site, Wyoming



Source: Author's photo, 1979.

APPENDICES

ILLUSTRATION 27

Split Rock Ruts, Wyoming



Source: Author's photo, 1984.

ILLUSTRATION 28

Willie's Handcart site



Source: Author's photo, 1974

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ILLUSTRATION 29

Church Butte, Wyoming



Source: Author's photo, 1979.

ILLUSTRATION 30

Fort Bridger, Wyoming



Source: Clarence S. Jackson, *Picture Maker of the Old West: William H. Jackson*.

APPENDICES

ILLUSTRATION 31

Cache Cave, Utah



Source: Author's photo, 1980.

ILLUSTRATION 32

Mormon emigrants in Echo Canyon, Utah, 1860



Source: Courtesy Union Pacific Archives.

APPENDICES

ILLUSTRATION 33

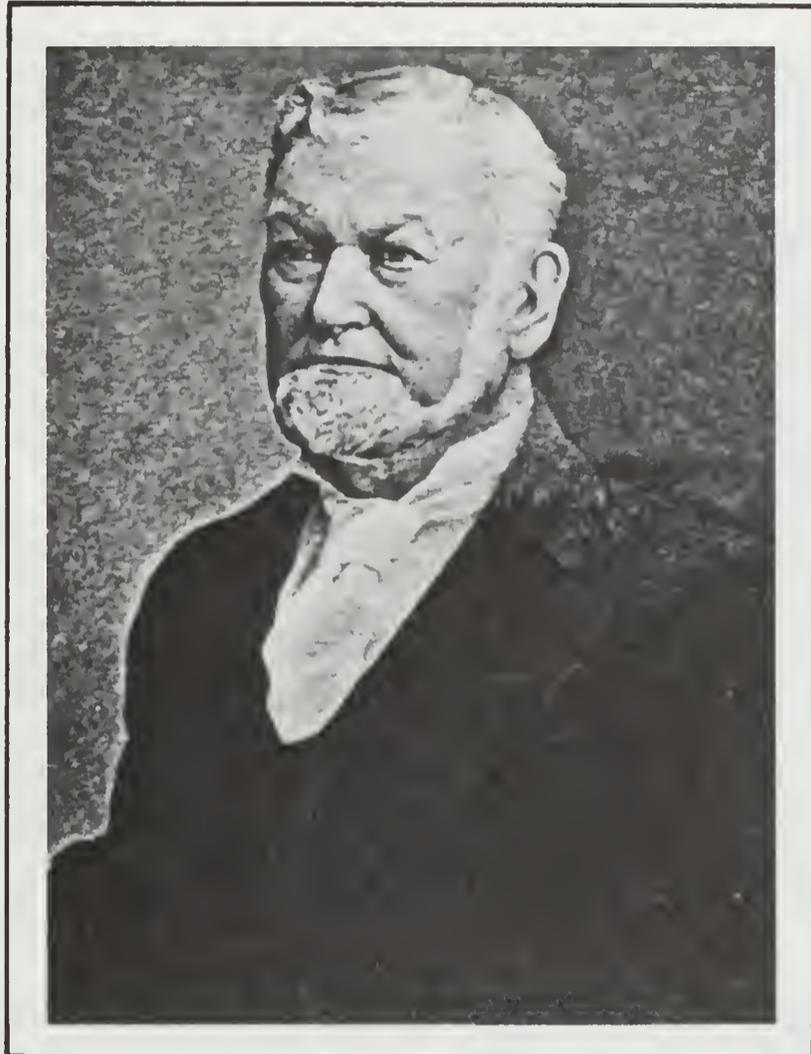
Mormon emigrant company, Echo Canyon, Utah, 1867.



Source: Mormon Church Archives.

ILLUSTRATION 34

Wilford Woodruff



Source: Rulon S. Howles, *The Mormon Story: A Pictorial Account*.

APPENDICES

ILLUSTRATION 35

Handcart family



Source: Mormon Church Archives.

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NOTE: Most of the research for this historic resource study is based on twenty-six years of fieldwork on the Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail and research in the Mormon archives. The notes and bibliography are mainly to guide readers to further information.

Furthermore, since between Fort Laramie and Fort Bridger in present Wyoming (a distance of about 397 miles), the Mormon, Oregon, California, and Pony Express trails are nearly identical, some selected studies of the Oregon, California, and Pony Express trails are listed in this bibliography. A few studies of the Santa Fe Trail, used by the Mormon Battalion, are also listed.

This bibliography lists but a few of the more than 3,000 printed and unprinted contemporary Mormon Trail accounts. For access to these Mormon and also the more than 2,000 non-Mormon Trail chronicles, see the works by Bitton, Mattes, Mintz, and Townley in this bibliography. This bibliography is largely restricted to the Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail, the route of the pioneers of 1846-1847 between Nauvoo, Illinois, and Salt Lake City, Utah, for the period 1846-1869. Mormons used many other trails not covered, or only briefly treated, in this bibliography.

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See also "Trail Guides" and "Government Publications." Almost all states publish historical atlases.

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