THE MORMONS: THEIR TREK ACROSS IOWA
AND THEIR SETTLEMENT IN KANESVILLE

BY
ROY FRANKLIN LAWSON

A THESIS
Submitted to the Faculty of The Creighton University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of
History

OMAHA, 1936
1937
Thesis Approved

By

[Signature]

Major Adviser

[Signature]

Dean
THE MORMONS: THEIR TREK ACROSS IOWA
AND THEIR SETTLEMENT IN KANESVILLE
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outline</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter I The Mormons</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter II Trek Across Iowa</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter III Settlement in Kanesville</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This thesis is divided into three chapters, taking up three distinct phases of Mormon history, all closely connected and chronologically following one another. The first chapter is merely an introduction, little source material being used.

Chapter Two, dealing with the trek across Iowa, has been written chronologically telling a few interesting little details in their camp life. This chapter is an attempt to trace accurately their old trail across the State of Iowa and the establishment and background of many of our present villages. The source material used here, comes chiefly from the diaries of Orson Pratt and William Clayton, the Millennial Star, their official publications and the Historical Record.

The years from 1846 to 1852 at Kanesville are related in Chapter Three. Council Bluffs, as Kanesville is now named, is rich in historical background. The Mormons, their lives, and their effects on the community are thus set forth. Material for this chapter was gathered chiefly from the Histori-
ical Record, several pamphlets, the Annals of
Iowa and the Frontier Guardian, and the History of
the Church.

There has been no attempt made to go into
the doctrinal aspects of this group of Latter-Day
Saints, no attempt to discuss whether they were al­
ways the righteous men they professed to be or the
sinners many writers feel that they were. The histor­
ical value of the Mormons across and in Iowa has
been the aim of this thesis.
Preface

CHAPTER I

I. Beginning of Mormonism.
   A. Joseph Smith.
      1. Revelation.
      2. Plates.
         a. Three Witnesses.

II. Book of Mormon.
   A. Duties of Members.
   B. Authority.
   C. Creeds.

III. Early Church.
   A. Manchester, New York.
   B. Kirtland, Ohio.
      1. Success.
      2. Spread of Gospel Teachings.
         a. Missionaries to Missouri.
   C. In Missouri.
      1. Conflicts with Gentiles.
      2. Depart for Illinois.
   D. Failure of Bank at Kirtland.
      1. Smith and Rigdon leave.

IV. Settlement at Nauvoo.
   A. Organization of City.
   B. Building of Temple.
   C. Polygamy.
   D. Conflict between Mormons and Gentiles.
   E. Slaying of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.
      1. Departure for West.
CHAPTER II

I. Petition to Government of Iowa Territory for Permission.
   A. First Trek in Iowa.
      1. Missouri to Muscatine.
   B. Destination of Saints.
   C. Preparation for Departure.
      1. Sale of Belongings.

II. Cross the Mississippi.
   A. Difficulties.
   B. Weather Conditions.

III. Camps at Sugar Creek.
   A. Organization.
   B. Deplorable Conditions.
   C. Petition to Governor.
   D. Break Camp.

IV. Camp Near Farmington.
   A. Concerts.

V. Richardson's Point.
   A. Weather Conditions.
      1. Unfavorable for Travel.

VI. Chariton River Camp.
   A. Detained Due to Rains.
   B. Camped Two or Three Weeks.
      1. Camp Conditions Improved.
      2. Still Shortage of Grain.
   C. Wagons Sent To Missouri.
VII. Pleasant Point on Locust Creek.
   A. Blazed New Trail from Here.

VIII. Garden Grove.
   A. Permanent Camp.
      1. Planted Crops.
      2. Built Homes.
      3. Some Remained.

IX. Mount Pisgah.
   A. Second Permanent Camp.
      1. Modeled after Garden Grove.

X. Enter Indian Territory.
   A. Pottawattamie Indians.
   B. Blazed Trails.

XI. Reach the Missouri River.

CHAPTER III

I. Settlement at Miller's Hollow.
   A. Welcomed by Indians.

II. Forming of Mormon Battalion for Service Against Mexico.
   A. Arrival of Colonel Allen.
   B. Purpose.
   C. Conference at Council Bluffs.
      1. Prejudices.
   D. Raise Five Hundred Able-Bodied Men.
      1. Effect on Trek to West.
III. Negotiations with the Indians.
   A. Allowed to Camp on Pottawattamie Territory.
   B. Permission for Winter Quarters.
      1. Influence of Kane.

IV. Decision of Young to Establish Winter Quarters.
   A. West Bank of Missouri River.

V. Winter Quarters.
   A. Division of Town.
      1. Construction of Homes.
   B. Personal of Settlers.
   C. Trouble with Indians.
   D. Sickness.
   E. Young's Revelation.
      1. Organization of Men for Salt Lake City.
      2. Church Celebration.
         a. Orson Hyde Elected to Head Those Left at Kanesville.

VI. Population of Mormons.

VII. Young Elected President of the Church.

VIII. Winter of 1840-1850.
   A. Organization of Pottawattamie County.
   B. Post-Office.

IX. Importance of Frontier Guardian.
   A. Contents.
      1. Market Reports.
      2. Marriages and Deaths.
3. Health-Stories-Extracts.
4. Editorials.
   a. Morality.
   b. Church Doctrines.
5. Politics.
6. Education and Travel.

X. Interesting Historical Places.

XI. Influx of Gentiles.
    A. Other Mormons.
    B. Gold Rush.

  1. Effect on Kanesville.

XII. Other Settlements Near Kanesville.

XIII. Later Treks.
    A. Hand Cart Expedition.

XIV. Mormons Leave for Salt Lake City.

XV. Re-Organization of Mormons Remaining in Kanesville.
The Mormons

As the Mormons had quite a prominent part in the settlement of the western part of the State of Iowa, it may be interesting to go back and take a brief view of their history in order to understand more fully their reasons for crossing and settling Iowa. Therefore the first chapter in this thesis deals briefly with Joseph Smith and the early history of the Church of Latter-Day Saints, first, in order to understand the nature and religion of these people, which led to their trek across Iowa, and secondly, to give more unity to the thesis.

Joseph Smith, junior, was born on December 23, 1805, in Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont. When a boy of ten his family moved to a farm in New York. In this section there was much excitement over religion. Young Joseph was not satisfied in any belief and when about fifteen a vision fell upon him. Prophets and preachers of the various sects scoffed at his preachings, but three years later, on September 21, 1825, a voice was
heard saying, "I am Maroni, and am come to you, Joseph, as a message from God." The angel then told the youth

"That God had a work for me to do, and that my name should be had for good and evil, among all nations, kindsred, and tongues; and that it should be both good and evil spoken of among all people. He said there was a book deposited, written upon gold plates, giving an account of the former inhabitants of this continent, and the source from whence they sprang. He also said that the fullness of the everlasting-gospel was contained in it, as delivered by the Savior to the ancient inhabitants. Also that there were two stones in silver bows, and these stones fastened to a breastplate, constituted what is called the Urim and Thummim, deposited with the plates, and the possession and use of these stones was what constituted seers in ancient or former times, and that God had prepared them for the purpose of translating the book."¹

Joseph was forbidden to take the plates at that time. The vision, however, continued giving Old Testament Prophecies, of which his work was supposed to be the fulfilment. In the meantime, Joseph married Emma Hale a farmer's daughter, on January 18, 1829. Finally, on September 22, 1827, he gained possession of the plates.

Persecution increased when it became known that Smith had in his possession plates of gold.

¹ Times and Seasons, III, 755 (Published in Nauvoo, Ill. by John Taylor, Publisher and Editor)
In December Martin Harris became enraptured by the young prophet, and offered him fifty dollars to aid in the publication of the new bible. Smith then went to the home of his wife in Pennsylvania. Here he started copying the characters on the plate, Martin Harris coming to his assistance, and by means of the Urim and Thummim managed to translate some of them.

Early in 1829, Harris took a copy of some of the characters to New York City where he submitted them to examination. They were said to be Egyptian, Syriac, Chaldaican and Arabic hieroglyphics. This interpretation was later a source of controversy.

In April, 1829, Oliver Cowdery, a teacher, came to Smith. Joseph is told that Cowdery shall be given the same power to translate the book of Mormon, and that he also shall bear witness to the truth.

From these plates, with the aid of Urim and Thummim, Smith, sitting behind a blanket-screen to hide the plates from eyes profane, read the Book of Mormon to Oliver Cowdery, who wrote it down as Smith
read it. It was printed in 1830 in a volume of several hundred pages, appended to the narrative as a declaration signed by Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris in these words:

"We declare with words of solemnness, that an angel of God came down from heaven, and he brought and laid before our eyes, that we beheld and saw plates and the engravings thereon."

These the Mormons call the "Three Witnesses".

And now in a chamber of Whitmer's house Smith, Cowdery, and David Whitmer meet, and earnestly ask God to make good his promise, and confer on them the Melchisedec priesthood, which authorizes the laying-on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost. Their prayers are answered; for presently the word of the Lord comes to them, commanding that Joseph Smith, should ordain Oliver Cowdery to be an elder in the Church of Jesus Christ, and Oliver in like manner should so ordain Joseph, and the two should ordain others as from time to time

---

2 "Mormonism", Harper's Encyclopedia, 269
the will of the Lord should be made known to them. But this ordination must not take place until the baptized brethren assemble and give to this act their sanction, and accept the ordained as spiritual teachers, and then only after the blessing and partaking of bread and wine. It is next revealed that twelve shall be called to be the disciples of Christ, the twelve apostles of these last days, who shall go into the world preaching and baptizing. By the spirit of prophecy and revelation it is done. The rise of the Church of Jesus Christ in these last days is on the sixth of April, 1830, at which date the Church was organized under the provisions of the state of New York by Joseph Smith junior, Hyrum Smith, Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, Samuel H. Smith, and Peter Whitmer. Orson Pratt, who was the mathematician of Mormonism as well as the philosopher, calculated that April 6, 1830 was exactly 1800 years to the day after the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

The duty of the members is to walk in holiness before the Lord according to the scriptures, to bring their children to the elders, who

3 Bancroft, Herbert Howe, History of Utah, 64
4 Werner, M. B., Brigham Young, 65
will lay their hands on them and bless them in the name of Jesus Christ. The bible, that is to say, the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, is accepted wholly, save such corruptions as have crept in through the great and abominable church; the book of Mormon is a later revelation, supplementary thereto. Thus is organized the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, in accordance with special revelations and commandments, and after the manner set forth in the New Testament.

Cowdery, together with Parley Pratt, Ziba Petersen and Peter Whitmer junior, the last two being new converts, were directed to go west among the Indians, preaching the gospel. This was the genesis of the settlement of the Latter-Day Saints in the Mississippi Valley.

Carrying with them a copy of the revelation assigning to them this missionary work, these first selected missionaries journeyed and preached, instructed the Indians as to their ancestry, finally coming to Kirtland, Ohio. Here they met with success and remained for some time. About a thousand were gathered into this faith.

5 Bancroft, op. cit., 66
These same missionaries, together with Frederic G. Williams, continued their journey, arriving first at Sandusky, where they gave instructions to the Indians in regard to their forefathers, as they had done at Buffalo, and thence proceeded to Cincinnati and St. Louis. The winter was very severe, and after traveling in all fifteen hundred miles, most of the way on foot, preaching to tens of thousands by the way, and organizing hundreds into churches, they reached Independence, Missouri, in the early part of 1831. There Whitmer and Petersen went to work as tailors, while Pratt and Cowdery passed over the border, crossed the Kansas River, and began their work among the Lamanites, the Indians.

Before spring in 1831, the shifting drama of Mormonism moved westward. Joseph Smith and his party started for Missouri from Kirtland on June 19, going by wagon, canal-boat, and stage to Cincinnati by steamer to St. Louis and then by foot to Independence, arriving there near the middle of July.

Here also at Independence was established the Evening and Morning Star, an official publica-

---

6 Bancroft, op. cit., 78-79
7 Ibid. 85-86
tion of the Church. As some three or four hundred Saints had settled in Missouri, most of them on their own lands, it was thought best to give some attention to the establishment of schools. Orders were sent out from Kirtland for the building of Temples in this city of Zion in Missouri. Affairs became prosperous and immigrants poured into the country, now numbering up to one thousand. These had all purchased lands and paid for them, and most of them were improving in buildings and in cultivation.

"Peace and plenty had crowned their labors, and the wilderness became a fruitful field, and the solitary place began to bud and blossoms as the rose. They lived in peace and quiet, no lawsuits with each other or with the world; few or no debts were contracted; few promises broken; there were no thieves, robbers, or murderers; few or no idlers; all seemed to worship God with a ready heart. On Sundays the people assembled to preach, pray, sing, and receive the ordinances of God. Other days all seemed busy in the various pursuits of industry. In short, there has seldom, if ever, been a happier people upon the earth than the church as the Saints now were."

They were for the most part small farmers, tradesmen, and mechanics, and were not without shrewdness in the management of their secular affairs.

This peaceful and prosperous condition soon brought on trouble with their neighbors and

8 Bancroft, op. cit., 97
the gentiles. The rapidity with which the Mormons increased, and the fact that they were so organized, gave them power disproportionate to their number. The gentiles were determined to take things in their own hands, there being no law against the influx of Mormons.

In *Times and Seasons* 1, 18, accounts of tarring and feathering of Bishop Partridge and Elder Allen are given. The gentiles in this community demanded the discontinuation of the Star. Seeing no way to escape, the elders signed an agreement that one half of the Mormons should leave in January, and one half in April, 1834; also the publication of the paper be discontinued.

This did not end the trouble as those who did not sign the agreement stayed. Destruction of property and molesting of homes was prevalent. Appeals were made to the government of Missouri, and even the President of the United States.

On May 7, 1834, Smith organized a military company at Kirtland, consisting of one hundred-fifty brethren, to march to Missouri. In a conference three days before they started Sidney Rigdon proposed that they should call themselves the Church
of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, which proposal was adopted. This group never styled themselves Mormons, a name which they hated.

In the summer of 1836 the spirit of mobocracy again appeared. Boggs was now Governor of Missouri and soon after his election he did not hesitate to let it be known that any reports of misconduct, however exaggerated, would, if possible be accepted as reliable.

To add to these external troubles, a schism broke out in the Church. Among those who broke from Smith were many old friends, including Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer, the three witnesses to the book of Mormon, Orson Hyde, Thomas B. Marsh, and W. W. Heepe. The first three were accused of "counterfeiting coin" and defaming Smith's character; and others charged Smith with 'being accessory to several murders and of designing to rule that part of the state of Missouri, and eventually the whole republic'.

The trouble with the sentiles finally broke in 1838. Murder, raids, destruction of property

9 Bancroft, op. cit., 118
were common. Many attitudes are now taken on this trouble, many placing the blame on the Mormons, others on the gentiles. At this time the famous band of Danites, or Destroying Angels, were organized and told to go forth to spoil the gentiles. John Doyle, a Danite, in his book, The Mormon Menace, gives a very detailed account of the doings of this organization. Many present leaders of the Mormon Church deny the existence of any such band or society as a part of, or having anything to do with their religious organization.

Finally in January, 1839, the Mormons, being told to expect no redress at the hand of the legislature, decided to go back towards Kirtland. In the months of February and March over 130 families camped on the west bank of the Mississippi, floating ice preventing their crossing. They underwent many hardships; lack of food, cold weather and sickness. On reaching Quincy, Illinois, they were more than welcomed.

Although the Church was large and active in Missouri the main body was still at Kirtland. The temple was completed here in 1836. During its erection the Saints incurred heavy debts for material
and labor. They bought farms at high prices, making part payments, and afterward forfeiting them. They engaged in mercantile pursuits, buying merchandise in New York and elsewhere in excess of their ability to pay. They built a steam mill, which proved a source of loss, and started a bank but were unable to obtain a charter; they issued bills without a charter, however, in consequence of which they could not collect the money loaned, and after a brief struggle, and during a period of great apostasy, the bank failed. It was called the Kirtland Safety Society Bank, of which Rigdon was president and Smith cashier.

Smith and Elder Rigdon fled to Missouri after this failure, some critics claiming they were fleeing from justice; others from mob violence. Smith himself says of this flight:

"The bitterness of the spirit...continued to rage and grow hotter and hotter, until Elder Rigdon and Myself were obliged to flee from its deadly influence... The weather was cold, and we were obliged to secrete ourselves in our wagons, sometimes to evade the grasp of our pursuers, who continued their race more than two hundred miles from Kirtland, armed with pistols... seeking our lives..."11

10 Bancroft, op. cit., 112-113

Soon after the arrival of the Mormons at Quincy, Bishop Knight bought for the Church part of the town of Keokuk, Iowa, some land six miles above Keokuk and part of the village of Montrose. Opposite Montrose, on the east bank of the Mississippi, where there was a good landing, Knight purchased the deserted village of Commerce, and the land surrounding. "In April, 1840, this name was changed to Nauvoo, a word interpreted to mean 'a beautiful city'."

By the end of 1840 there were 15,000 Saints at Nauvoo, and many now believers from different parts of the United States, Canada, and Europe came to the city of their God, as Nauvoo was called.

To the Saints Nauvoo was indeed a place of refuge. It stood on rolling ground surrounded on three sides by rivers. The city was regularly laid out in streets along which were neat white-washed log cabin, frame, buck, and stone houses. It was incorporated by a charter and contained institutions of learning. The most noted of their projects, however, was the temple.

This temple was revealed to Joseph Smith

in a vision and a gentile architect was employed to build it. On April 6, 1841, the carven stone of this beautiful white limestone temple was laid. This million dollar temple was dedicated, then deserted. Thirty months later it was destroyed by fire.

Soon, for the Mormons at Nauvoo, prosperity was greater than ever before, and as in the case of other people, favored by prosperity, many soon forgot the old chastisements of the Lord. Not only economically, but politically, their position was better than in Missouri or the earlier settlement. They were looked upon by outsiders as industrious, thrifty citizens, whose votes were important to political parties.

The flame of opposition to the Mormons was kept burning by the Missourians and in due time the surrounding counties, became fearful of their prosperity and ever increasing political power, for the Mormons voted as one.

An important change in the Church now took place. Twenty years had passed since the plates had been revealed to Smith. Just how much the lead-

13 Harper's, op. cit., 270
ers of the church erred in practicing polygamy or whether they were sincere in interpreting the Old Testament views on plural marriages, comes down to us in the form of rumors, assertions and statements from many filled with hatred towards the Mormons. These conflicting facts with regard to polygamy are incontrovertible. First, it was discountenanced in all church books before 1852. Second, it was practiced in Nauvoo. It was expressly prohibited by the Book of Mormon, published in 1830.

By polygamy the Mormons were placed outside the realm of respectability, and increased criticism from the gentiles came forth. It did, however, give them "a bond of strength by bringing them into closer relationship, cementing them as a sect, and making them dependent on each other and their leaders."

Early in June, 1844, Joseph Smith, as Mayor, ordered the destruction of the establishment which had published the Nauvoo Expositor, stirring up strife in the Church. This act enlarged the wrath of the gentiles, and as it grew

14 Bancroft, op. cit., 165
more demonstrative, the town prepared for defence, organizing the Nauvoo Legion, by instructions from Governor Ford.

On the twenty-fourth of June, Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and others on the council, were ordered to Carthage to stand charges of treason. While here in prison they were slain by a mob.

Public sentiment in Illinois soon set strongly against the Mormons. Armed mobs attacked the smaller settlements, and also Nauvoo, their city. At length a special "revelation" commanded their departure for the western wilderness; and in February, 1846, 1,600 men, women and children at various intervals, crossed the Mississippi River, mostly by ferry. The last group crossed the river on the ice, due to a sudden drop in temperature. They travelled with ox-teams and on foot, penetrated the Indian country, and rested at Council Bluffs, on the Missouri River. Other bands continued to emigrate; and finally, in September, 1846, the last lingering Mormons of Nauvoo were driven out at the point of the bayonet by 1,600 troops.

15 Harper's _op. cit._, 270
Public sentiment in Illinois soon set strongly against the Mormons. Armed mobs attacked the smaller settlements, and also Nauvoo, their city. At length a special "revelation" commanded their departure for the western wilderness; and in February, 1846, 1,600 men, women and children at various intervals, crossed the Mississippi River, mostly by ferry. The last group crossed the river on the ice, due to a sudden drop in temperature. They traveled with ox-teams and on foot, penetrated the Indian country, and rested at Council Bluffs on the Missouri River. Other bands continued to emigrate; and finally, in September, 1846, the last lingering Mormons of Nauvoo were driven out at the point of the bayonet by 1,600 troops.
The first trek in Iowa Territory of real importance was the one started in February of 1846, which continued all summer and even several years later. However, before 1840 there were settlements and small treks in Iowa, worthy of note.

The Mormons having been driven from two states, feared being driven from a third territory.

"To provide for this possible emerging, Isaac Galland, an elder in the Mormon Camp in February, 1839, wrote to Robert Lucas, its then Governor, inquiring whether their people would be permitted to purchase lands, and settle in the territory of Iowa." 16

His answer was well worthy an American citizen. He stated that he knew no authority that could constitutionally deprive them of that right; that they were citizens of the United States, and were entitled to the same political rights and legal protection as other citizens; and that their religious opinions had nothing to do with the political transactions. Galland interrupted these kindly sentiments of Governor Lucas as a strong condemnation of the way

---

the Mormons had been treated in Missouri. Thus encouraged, a few families of Mormon faith had settled in Iowa in 1839-1840. These settlements were in Nashville, and near there.

From original surveys of Iowa the first Mormon trek across Iowa was said to be in 1838, when refugees, fleeing from Missouri, came up through Appanoose and Davis counties, finally reaching the Mississippi at Muscatine.

Concerning this migration of 1846, we find conflicting statements as to their destination after leaving Nauvoo. Tucker says their point of destination was in the deserts of California, then in Mexico, now in the United States Territory Utah. Riegel says they had no "ultimate destination in view." Linn in The Story of the Mormons says these two things, which may be accepted as facts; first, that they would not have moved had they not been compelled to; second, that they did not know definitely where they were going to when they started.

On January 20, 1846, the High Council of the

The New York Times and Seasons, I, 40

Tucker, Pomeroy, Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism, 203

Riegel, Robert E., America Moves West, 323
Mormon Church published these instructions:

"Our pioneers are instructed to proceed west until they find a good place to make a crop, in some good valley in the neighborhood of the Rocky Mountains, where they will not infringe upon no one, and be not likely to be infringed upon. Here we will make a resting place, until we can determine a place for a permanent location."20

One might conclude from reading further in this article that they had Oregon in mind, for the instructions state,

"Should hostilities arise between the government of the United States and any other power in relation to the right of possessing the Territory of Oregon, we are on hand to sustain the claim of the United States government to that country."21

The preparation for this great exodus from Nauvoo demanded the immediate sale of their property and household goods. It was necessary that all their belongings be in such a form that they could carry them along. They then purchased such articles as clothing, food, grain, wagons, cattle and horses. There was much excitement in Nauvoo along with great heartaches and disappointments of leaving their lovely homes for the unknown. Old and young, men and women, sick and well were leaving the fruits

20 Smith, Joseph and Herman C., History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, III, 159

21 Ibid., 324
of years of hard labor to enter a wilderness and begin life anew. In spite of the discouraging situation the Mormons never lost their faith or their cheerfulness. One member wrote that the unknown prairies were much more welcome than the persecutions to which they had been subjected.

This was a season of snow and rain in Iowa Territory. Out of the hardships of the past, forever challenging men's souls, loomed the bitterness of that late and eventful winter which marked the birth of tillage in the future garden spot of the world. Over far stretches hordes of men and women traced the pioneer path from Keokuk to Council Bluffs, weaving a story of man's forces pitted against relentless nature in all its elementary severity.

Charles Shumway was the first Mormon refugee of this migration to cross the Mississippi. This was on February 4, 1846. On the sixth, George Miller and his family and six wagons were ferried across the river. A few days later the work of ferrying

22 Riegel, op. cit., 324
23 Historical Record, VIII 877
across the river was kept up day and night. There were a few accidents, such as the sinking of a ferry boat, but generally speaking, they were fortunate in getting safely across.

Brigham Young, with a number of other Mormons, left Nauvoo on February 15, and after joining those who had preceded him, encamped at Sugar Creek, a distance of five or six miles. The day of the journey to Sugar Creek was mild but later on in the day it turned cold. They encamped on the snow, the rain pouring down.

Here at Sugar Creek Young organized his group into companies and they waited for other followers to join them. While waiting here the weather grew so cold that the river froze, allowing the others to cross on the ice. The suffering was intense as the people were imperfectly clothed, lacking in wagons, covers and tents. It was also difficult to keep the cattle and horses, as it required a hundred bushels of grain daily to feed them, and there was little grain to be purchased in the surrounding territory. Eight hundred men reported themselves at Sugar Creek at this time. Here they encamped during the last two weeks of February.
"With commendable patience the great leader and dominant spirit on this movement, Brigham Young, took largely upon himself the cares and trials of his people. Now and always Brigham Young stood by the poor."24

Young found that his instructions about food and equipment had not been followed. Too many families ran out of food in the short stay at Sugar Creek, using up all that they had brought with them. He had hoped to make each family self-supporting for the trip; instead he had to organize a commissary department.

"Several jobs of cutting timber and husking corn, were taken, by which the Saints obtained some means by which to help them on their journey."25

From Orson Pratt's diary we find that on February 23, a petition was sent to the Governor of the Iowa Territory, asking for protection through Iowa. No doubt these Saints were glad to break camp at Sugar Creek for suffering from cold and exposure had been intense, especially for the women and children. On March 1, they broke camp and moved five

24 Roberts, Brigham H., "History of the Mormon Church," Americana, VII, Chapter LXI, 173

25 Historical Record, 378
miles to the northwest. Hundreds of wagons were started in squads of ten or fifty or one hundred. An insufficient number of wagons and oxen, together with the deep snows, impeded the advance, although the train travelled five miles the first day. After scraping snow, they pitched their camps on the frozen ground. Orson Pratt relates that

"after bowing before our great Creator, and offering up praise and thanksgiving to Him, and imploring His protection, we resigned ourselves to the slumber of the night."26

For their journey through this Iowa Territory most of the source material comes from the diaries of two refugees on this trek. William Clayton was appointed Clerk of the camp of Israel when they left Nauvoo, and when the Mormon pioneers left winter Quarters in April, 1847, he was appointed by Brigham Young one of the historians of the noted company. His journal of that memorable expedition over the plain is one of the most valuable diaries we have of that early period of western history. He kept careful account of the distance travelled each day. His language is simple. The other
diary is that of Orson Pratt, President of one of the groups. From Pratt's diary we find that he was with the advanced group, while Clayton seemed to remain behind with the main camp. In this way we have authentic information as to the daily routine of each camp.

On Monday, March 2, the camp moved on west, the roads being rough and bad. During the day the artillery company broke into the ranks several times and broke a number of wagon boxes. In the evening they encamped on the east bank of the Des Moines River, four miles below the little village of Farmington.

On Tuesday the third, at seven A. M., the temperature was 23 degrees. The camp moved on following the course of the river about eight miles. Here they camped near Bonapart. As it thawed during the day, the roads were muddy. William Clayton records that the band played at night.

On Wednesday the fourth, the thermometer stood at 43 degrees at eight o'clock. It was decided not

---

27 Clayton, William, William Clayton's Journal, 3
28 Historical Record, 378
to break camp until the next day as many of the wagons were broken, and the mechanics were busy all day repairing them. A number of citizens from Farmington came to the camp and invited the musicians from the camp to play. They played at the principal hotel and school-house in the late afternoon. That evening the hotel provided them with a good supper and also five dollars in money. John Kay sang a number of songs. Clayton records that they arrived back at camp that evening after being met by thirty of the guards. "The President (Young) felt uneasy at our staying so long and was sending them to protect us."

On Thursday, March 5, they proceeded on their journey after fording the river at Bonapart Mills. The roads were almost impassable due to the mud. Part of the camp were forced to stop on this account, and others went on twelve miles to Indian Creek where they stopped until the next day. By the altitude of the Polar Star the latitude at this place was 40 degrees, 42' 51". It was dark when they arrived and the camp was swampy. "The

29 Clayton, op. cit., 3
next morning some removed their wagons and tents to drier ground, a few yards distant while others continued their journey. Thus our camp began to be somewhat scattered."

On Saturday the seventh, Pratt, with some of the others, moved on twelve miles to the Fox River, the main group being three miles in the rear. Here they stopped for two or three days. Clayton says that their camp only made eight miles that day, and that President Young was behind them. That day he came upon them and proceeded a few miles farther.

On Sunday, Clayton received word at his camp that they should follow on to the camp ahead. They immediately started out, arriving at the main camp about five o'clock.

The next advance was made on the tenth, going ten miles over very bad roads. Pratt says that the advanced camp waited here about ten days for those behind to follow. While here many horses were exchanged for oxen as it was much easier for

30 Historical Record, 878
the oxen to endure the hardships. He states that many found odd jobs. This camp was called "Richardson's Point". Many concerts were given by the band in Keosauqua, a town nearby. Clayton records that the audience seemed highly pleased and gave loud applause. Twenty-five dollars was cleared on this trip. He also states that they gave a concert the next day, making twenty dollars, besides all expenses. On Tuesday a second concert was given at Keosauqua, clearing only seven dollars, but they were well received.

On Wednesday 18, Clayton states that

"it rained all last night, and this morning again, and we almost concluded to go to Fairfield, but finally determined to return to camp... Bought about eight bushels of beans and some articles for President Young."31

On the next day the camps started forward, traveling six or seven miles. Some of the teams gave out making it necessary for some of the camp to rest in a timber not far from the road.

The advanced group with Orson Pratt as one of them travelled about twenty miles to the west

31 Clayton, op. cit., 1
bank of the Chariton River on Saturday, March 21. He states that the main camp was behind and that the temperature stood at 10 degrees below zero. On Sunday this group moved on seven miles through unpleasant, rainy weather. On Monday the rain had caused deep mud ruts. They camped on the west branch of the Shoal Creek. By this time the camps were very much separated, as Clayton in his diary states they did not reach the Chariton bottoms until Sunday, the twenty-second. Pratt states that the advanced group were compelled to stay at this camp on the Shoal Creek for two or three weeks due to swollen rivers, during which time "our animals were fed upon the limbs and barks of trees, for the grass had not yet started." They were too far from any community to send for grain.

"Our camps were now more perfectly organized and captains were appointed over hundreds, over fifties, and over tens and over all these a President and Counsellors, together with other necessary officers. Game was now quite plentiful. Our hunters bring into camp more or less deer, wild turkey, and prairie hens every day." 32

32 Historical Record, 879
33 Ibid., 879
Pratt relates that Tuesday, March 31, was a pleasant day and their position observed at Shoal Creek was 40 degrees, 40' 7" Longitude, and by lunar distance 92 degrees, 59' 15" Latitude. Here a permanent camp was established. It was between the present towns of Numa and Livingston. One writer on this trip sent the following to the Hancock Eagle, the paper still being published in Nauvoo....

"Everything has gone on well that this party is in good health, and the grand caravan moved slowly, but peacefully. Their progress had been motionally retarded by the want of fodder for their live stock; the grass not having fairly started, reduced them to necessity of labouring for the farmers on the route, to supply the deficiency. They travelled in detached companies from five to ten miles apart, and, in point of order, resembled a military expedition." 34

Bancroft describes the conditions of the country through which these Saints passed. He says it was well-wooded, the land was fertile. Provisions were cheap, wheat twenty-five to thirty cents per bushel, corn twelve cents, and beef two cents a pound.

From Clayton's journal, his group of followers must have reached the main camp on Friday, April 3,

34 Millennial Star, VII, 175
35 Bancroft, op. cit., 221
for he writes that they travelled in heavy rain and bad roads, arriving then at Bishop Miller's camp. A portion of the camp met for prayer on Sunday the fifth. "Bishop Miller and myself break bread, administer in the holy ordinance of the Lord's Supper." At six o'clock in the evening the counsellors met and arranged to send ten or twelve miles to settlements for corn for the animals. Clayton says that they held their conference at Elder Kimball's camp.

The next day a celebration was observed as it was the sixteenth anniversary of the organization of the Church. It rained heavily during the night and all day. Most of the tents in the camps were blown down and the rain beat through the wagon covers and drenched the families. It was the most severe storm they had experienced. Although outside it was raining and storming the camp itself seemed cheerful and happy. The Creek rose very high. That morning nine or ten wagons with four yoke of oxen each started for Missouri for corn.

In Clayton's journal he states that the seventh was a fair day but cold and windy. Pratt

36 Clayton, op. cit., 12
37 Historical Record, 879
says that in the morning the thermometer reading was 29 degrees above zero. Many of the tents were still lying flat, and the camp showed the effects of a very severe storm. People were very short of provisions. In the evening the band played some.

On Wednesday, April 8, the ground was hard again but the weather threatened rain. The camp moved west about a quarter of a mile taking all day to move as it was almost impassable through the deep mud. About five o'clock the teams returned from Missouri with fifty-seven bushels of corn. Egan, the man sent on this mission, states that he paid 21 cents a bushel for nearly all of the corn. Another group returned a little later with no corn at all.

The next morning the camp started out about seven o'clock moving very slowly. Pratt started out ahead of the others with his company. He states that it rained in torrents, and after going six miles they were stuck fast in the mud. "We were obliged to cut brush and limbs of trees and throw them upon the ground in our camp to keep our beds from sinking in mire." The animals were turned loose.
to look out for themselves. Clayton said that it rained heavily until night, and that they could not make a fire and had little for supper. "This is the most severe time we have had, but yet the camp seems in good spirits."

On Friday the tenth, the weather was still wet and gloomy. At seven o'clock a wind storm struck the camp, blowing over many tents. Later the wind "moved to the west and grew very cold."

Once again on April 11, the mud being frozen hard, the wagons were sent to Missouri for aid and this time met with much better success. Many people were nearly destitute for food and the suffering among the women and children was most severe. However, they were willing to endure hardships to cruelty and oppression. All this they cheerfully underwent in order to have a home of their own.

President Young called a council meeting for ten o'clock on Sunday the twelfth. It was decided to take a more northern route going through the

---

39 Clayton, op. cit., 16
40 Ibid., 17
41 Historical Record, 879
Grand River, and there

"enclose a space of land about two miles square and put up some twenty log houses for a resting place for the company. A company, amongst whom are the President, Heber and others of the Twelve, started out in a day or two to seek out a location. A company will also be sent west to Judge Miller's to go to work for feed, etc... The day has been fine but cold."

The next morning the wagons returned from Missouri. The half famished cattle and horses were fed and they prepared to resume their journey. It was a cold day, being three degrees below zero. The teams were very weak so they advanced only about six miles. On Tuesday 14, an advance of one mile was made and scanty food began to appear in this prairie land.

"Thus far the exiles had been laboring through the sparsely settled counties of the territory over more or less well defined roadways, however bad. Wayne County was the jumping off place: henceforth the Mormons were going into unknown, unpopulated, trackless wilderness, the domain of wild animals and Pottawattamie Indians. Bidding farewell to Iowa's western frontier line of settlements, they journeyed northwestward and entered Decatur County, then but recently surveyed and established. In this newly opened region stretch-

---

42 Clayton, op. cit., 17-18
ing to the Missouri River it became necessary to appoint a small party of pioneers to go in advance of the main body, to explore the route, blaze the trail, seek suitable camping sites, and make fords and bridges for progress became very slow."43

"By the treaty of 1842, with the Sac and Fox Indians, the western boundary of the white settlements, at that time, was about on a line with the present western boundary of Appanoose and Monroe counties; beyond this boundary it was one vast wilderness; no thoroughfare, except Indian trails, and no white man had been there except occasionally a traveler, government troops and Indian traders."44

On Thursday the sixteenth, the main camp advanced a few miles to a place called Pleasant Point. Clayton states that he and several others stayed behind to gather up what remained of the camp, but by six o'clock they were in sight of the main camp having travelled about seven miles.

"The camp was formed on a beautiful prairie President Young's camp being on a little eminence. President Kimball's about three quarters of a mile north of his and ours about a quarter of a mile east. There is some little grass for our cattle here, but little. We sent those of our company about a mile southeast and had a guard over them through the night."45

Some of the camp moved on the next day and

43 Vander Zee, Jacob, The Mormon Trails in Iowa, 8-9

44 Negus, Charles, The Mormon's First Settlement of the West Coast of Iowa, (The early history of Iowa from Annals of Iowa, 8-9, Series I) 578

45 Clayton, op. cit., 20
on Sunday 19, they rested and held a meeting. Clayton records that on that day he received a letter from one of his wives detained in Nauvoo, that she had given birth to a son. That evening he went to council and read many letters, writing one to Elder Hyde.

The main body of the camp moved on westward on Tuesday 21, Pratt relating that his group made an advance of eight miles on Wednesday, April 22. In their stop over night many of their animals were bitten by rattle-snakes but that they managed to cure most of them. Clayton and his group passed Orson Pratt's camp about three o'clock on the afternoon of the twenty-second. Pratt told Clayton that all the grass had been eaten up for several miles around. Clayton and his group decided to go beyond the timber and find grass for their team. They travelled on about a mile and a half before they found much of it. He states that this camp ground was one of the best they had had for some time. He also reports having seen many rattlesnakes and that the weather was fine.

Orson Pratt and his group made an advance of eight miles on Thursday 23. The day was very

---

46 Clayton, op. cit., 22
stormy with much hail, and wind and rain. The grass was now beginning to look quite green and the cattle had plenty to feed upon. Clayton records that a number of his horses were bitten by rattle-snakes. His camp finally stopped in the late afternoon, but before they were settled "a thunder storm came on with heavy rain but it was soon over and the evening afterwards was fine."

Pratt and his group travelled eight miles to their destination of Garden Grove, now in Decatur County.

"At this point we determined to form a small settlement and open farms for the benefit of the poor and such as were unable at present to pursue their journey further, and also for the benefit of the poor who were yet behind."48

This settlement they named Garden Grove, a name which it still holds, although the original Mormon town of Garden Grove is a pasture now; old wheel tracks rutted deep in the grass, perhaps show where the ox teams pulled the heavy wagons long ago. One broken headstone lies flat where the grave

47 Clayton, op. cit., 23

48 Millennial Star, XII, 2, (Also Historical Record, 880)
The following is recorded in William Clayton's journal for Friday, the twenty-fourth.

"This morning the President's company made a bridge over a creek and started again on their journey. Four of my horses were missing and I sent men to hunt them and went myself. They were found about ten o'clock. We tarried until about twelve to rest and then started. We went about two miles and stayed until four o'clock to graze our teams and then went on again and about six o'clock got to timber... We soon arrived at the main body of the camp... The ground here is rich, timber good, and the prospects good for heavy crops. Here we calculated to tarry awhile, fence in a piece of land and those who are not prepared to go through to tarry and raise crops. Wild onions grow in abundance. The weather has been fine today. In the evening those of the band who are here went to Bishop Miller's tent and played for the President and a Mr. Bryant who lives about thirty miles from here."  

Several of the earlier camps were called permanent camps also, but from all records, and due to the short time they encamped in the former camps this one at Garden Grove appears to be the largest and most permanently established. They were also called "Stakes of Zion.”

49 Murphy, Donald R., "The Mormon Trek Across Iowa", Midland Schools, XLVI, No. 6

50 Clayton, op. cit., 24

51 Babbitt, Charles H., Early Days at Council Bluffs, 78
At the sound of the bugle on the morning of April 27, the men were all called together to be organized for work. Some had orders to cut trees, others to split rails, make fences, build log-houses, bridges, dig wells, prepare wood for the plows and watch the flocks. In exchange for houses, featherbeds, and other property a small party were sent on an expedition into Missouri to exchange property for cows, provisions and other necessities. The remaining members were directed to plant and sow the crops that later comers should reap. Pratt, in his account says that it started to rain that day, but on April 29, the skies cleared for a short time.

Clayton records in his diary for Sunday, May 3, the morning was fair, windy, and cloudy with a southeast wind.

"At ten o'clock went to a meeting. O. Spencer talked awhile and was followed by President Young who exhorted the camp to diligence in getting in crops, for that will be our salvation next winter. He said no company should start from here until the south field was made and some houses built. It commenced raining as the meeting closed and about three o'clock a thunder storm came on which lasted nearly to five o'clock. I spent the afternoon reading. Soon after five it cleared off some and the sun shone again."
While at supper President Young called and stated that he wished that I should go to council with him. I started and the council met opposite his tent. It was decided that his fifty build the bridge tomorrow and all the rest to make rails and also that Sherwood and Orson Pratt go about twenty-five or thirty miles southwest to seek out another section."

On Tuesday, the fifth, the weather was reported to have been fine but on the next day a bad wind storm with a great amount of thunder, lightning, rain and hail struck the camp blowing over many tents.

Young, in preparing to leave Garden Grove, had sent men ahead to find another settlement. He left this advice with the saints before leaving Garden Grove.

"We have set out to find a land and a resting place where we can serve the Lord in peace. We will leave some here because they cannot go further at present. They can stay here and reprove, and by and by pack up and come on, while we go a little further and lengthen out the course and build a few more stakes; and so continue on until we can gather all the saints and plant them in a place where we can build the house of the Lord in the tops of the mountains... I know that if his people will be united and will hearken to counsel the Lord will give them every desire of their

52 Clayton, op. cit., 27-28
hearts.... He intends that the saints shall possess it as soon as they are able to bear prosperity."53

On May 10, Pratt records this in his account:

"A large amount of labor has been done since arriving in this grove; indeed, the whole camp is very industrious. Many farms fenced, and houses have been built, wells dug, extensive farms fenced, and the whole place assumes the appearance of having been occupied for years, and clearly shows what can be accomplished by union, industry, and perseverance."

As has been stated this camp at Garden Grove was regarded as a recruiting station for those exiles who were to follow. Three sections of lands were fenced in and a log church 22x72 feet erected. Idleness was a thing that had no place in this camp. George O'Connon says "The camp was like a hive of bees, everyone was busy and withal the people felt well and happy."54

Good organization was one big factor in this success of this trek through Iowa. By this time the whole camp was well organized into hundreds, fifties and tens. There numbered here 359 laboring men besides the trading commissaries and herdsmen.

For those who remained behind at Garden Grove,

53 Historical Record, 886
54 Roberts, op. cit., 187
raising crops and aiding others in their trip across the plains, a full church organization, with Samuel Bent as President and Aaron Johnson, and David Pullinar as Counsellors, was established.

The leaders voted that each man who remained should have land left him in proportion to his family. Brigham Young gave advise that the land be withdrawn if the member did not till it. The president of Garden Grove, Samuel Bent, was left with instructions to carry out these suggestions and to see that the crops were cared for, and that the people be taught the law of tithing.

Brigham Young left May 11, and some of the pioneers had again taken up their journey westward from Garden Grove, leaving behind those who were tending the crops for later refugees.

Clayton records that on May 13, he started loading his wagons and prepared to move. It commenced raining again that evening and rained nearly all night. By the fifteenth he was able to start. He borrowed two yoke of oxen and finally got the wagons over the river and on the bluff about a mile away.

55 Roberts, op. cit., 188
By May 14, Young and his group crossed what is today Decatur and Clarke Counties until they reached the middle fork of the Grand River in Union County. On May 18, they reached Pratt and his advanced group at what Pratt had called Mount Pisgah. In the list of abandoned towns of Iowa we find that this settlement was deserted four years later and that it was located in Section 8, Jones Township, in Union County, about one mile northeast of the present railway village of Talmage. Pratt, coming upon this spot of ground with such lovely scenery and seeing the gray granets, named it Mount Pisgah. Pratt records,

"I cried out 'This is Mount Pisgah!' I returned to my camp...and we soon moved on and encamped under the shade of these beautiful groves. It was now late in May, and we halted here to wait the arrival of the President and Council. In a few days they arrived and formed a general encampment here, and finally formed a settlement, and surveyed and enclosed another farm of several thousand acres. This became a town and resting place for the Saints for years."

Brigham Young, began his organization of another permanent station carrying out the same methods as the camp at Garden Grove. The camp was about three miles square. The cemetery located in the center of this

---

56 List of Abandoned Towns in Iowa, (Article in Annals of Iowa) 18, 128

57 Autobiography of Parley Pratt, (Americana, VIII) 380-381
plot of ground is now owned by the Church of the Latter-Day Saints. In this cemetery is the grave of William Huntington who died August 19, 1846.

Pratt relates in his journal that Young called together a meeting of the twelve apostles. The apostles, Bishop Whitmer and the church records and other church property should proceed on their journey westward.

On May 19, he records the following:

"Concluded to form another settlement for the benefit of the poor, and such as were unable for want of teams to proceed further. The ground being more hilly and elevated than the prairie over which we had passed, we concluded to call the place Mount Pisgah. Towards the end of May, the most of the twelve, with large companies, proceeded on in a westerly direction. I remained at Pisgah until the seventh of June. During my stay, many large companies arrived from Nauvoo, the most of whom passed on, a few stopping at the settlement."

Clayton records that he arrived at Mount Pisgah Tuesday, the twenty-sixth, after traveling thirteen miles that day. He says of Mount Pisgah....

"is a very beautiful situation, a prairie rolling and rich, skirted with beautiful groves of timber on the main fork of the Grand River." The next day

58 Historical Record, 837
59 Millennial Star, op. cit., 3
60 Clayton, op. cit., 39
President Young informed him he wanted him to take the church property and go on to Council Bluffs.

Brigham Young left Mount Pisgah on June 2, going now into the territory of the Pottawattamie Indians. By this time the spring rains had stopped and the traveling was much more pleasant. The country was more elevated, and although new roads had to be blazed they travelled on with ease. Several bridges were built over small streams.

In the branch church, organized at Mount Pisgah, William Huntington was chosen as president with Ezra Benson and Charles C. Rich as counsellors for those who remained.

When Young left Mount Pisgah on June 2, his next goal was Sarpy's station of the American Fur Company on the Missouri River. There is some controversy over just what trail this group of Mormons took from Mount Pisgah to the river. Vander Zee says they took a northern route crossing through the present town of Greenfield into Cass County, arriving at an Indian village on east Nishnabotna, a few miles north of the present town of Griswold. They then

61 Historical Record, 888
62 Ibid., 887-888
turned southwest into Pottawattamie County, through the townships of Wright, Waveland, Macedonia, Key Creek, Lewis and Kane. This brought them to Indian Creek, which they followed, forming a camp in the form of a hollow square called Miller's Hollow on the Missouri River on June 14. It was decided the next day to move back from the river to the Bluffs.

Clayton records that his group reached the river on Tuesday, June 16, and that the reason for moving back from the river was in order to get spring water.

The trail that Harlan, Curator of the Iowa State Historical Department, has the Mormons follow from Mount Pisgah to the river is somewhat south of that of Vander Zee. Harlan says,

"In order that better precision may be had in ascertaining the actual place the travel passed along at the time the land surveys were being made and which the surveyors characterized as the Mormon Trail, there is hereafter set out in ordinary language the locations found in inspecting the route with the authentic plats and field notes in hand in July, 1911. Starting eastward from near the southeast corner of the city of Council Bluffs in Pottawattamie County.

63 Historical Record, 888

64 Clayton, op. cit., 47
We pass through Lewis Township into Key Creek township, into Silver Creek Township on through Pottawattamie County, the same as Vander Zee's Trail."65

In Cass County they went through the town of Lewis into Bear Grove Township through Noble Township, southeast through the village of Lymen, into Edna Township, southwestwardly to the middle of section 19, Victoria Township then northeastwardly into Adair County, across Washington Township and Richland Townships, across the Nodaway River eastward into Orient Township to where the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad occupies the course, the remainder of the way into Union County.

No doubt both are Mormon trails as there were many Saints crossing them all the time. One writer suggests that perhaps the advance group took the northern trail while those following used that named by Harlan.

Pratt relates in his diary for June 7:

"We left Pisgah, and after about ten days we succeeded in overtaking the main camp, not far from the northeast bank of the Missouri River near Council Bluffs. Thus we had been upwards of four months in passing from Nauvoo to the place, at a season of the year the

---

65 Harlan, Edgar R., The Location and Name of the Mormon Trail, 4
66 Ibid., 14
most difficult for traveling, on account of the deep mud and rains. During this journey many suffered extremely with exposure and the want of necessary food. Some whose constitutions being feeble, died under their accumulated sufferings; but their blood will be required at the hands of the nation who have looked on coldly, and seen them driven out without stretching out a friendly arm for their protection. The greater portion of the country over which we passed is without inhabitants, consequently, we have had our own roads and bridges to make. We were now on the lands owned by the Pottawattamie Indians, whom we found very friendly. We were visited by the great chief of the tribe; he was an educated man and spoke English fluently. He said we were welcome among them, and kindly offered us the use of the timber that grew upon their lands for fuel, or any other needful purpose; the whole tribe seemed very honourable; and treated us with the greatest of friendship.67

George O'Connor writes in the Juvenile Instructor,

"No one not familiar with the circumstances which surrounded the people before and after leaving Nauvoo, can conceive of the difficulties which President Young and his brethren of the Twelve Apostles had to contend with in leading the people forth into the wilderness... To him all looked for counsel and guidance."68

Many were resentful of Young's control; others lax in their observance of the Sabbath, and careless about their Church duties.

67 Historical Record, 888
68 Ibid., 881-882-883
This march across the territory of Iowa is a splendid illustration of what may be accomplished by men under organization, supplemented and aided by the religious sentiment to "inspire mutual patience and charity." It has been said nothing in the history of our country and perhaps not in the history of the world quite parallels this journey from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs, except the subsequent march of the same people from the Missouri River to the shores of the Great Salt Lake.

Thus these Mormons passed through Iowa from river to river,

"weeping, smiling, dancing, dying, exhibiting rare fortitude, practicing economy and polygamy. The vanguard, with Brigham Young at its head, saw the Missouri sprawled like a silver serpent in the sun of a mid-June morning."71

---

69 Roberts, op. cit., 182

70 Ibid., 182

71 Perkins, J. R., Mormon Battalion for Service Against Mexico Was Recruited Here, 8.
SETTLEMENT IN KANESVILLE

Upon the arrival of the main camp at Miller's Hollow, Negus, writing in the *Annals of Iowa*, says that there were some thirty persons who pitched tents on the Missouri River bottom on the east side of Keg Creek, about four miles north of the south county line of Mills County, and that the same season they built up quite a village of log cabins, which they called Rushville. The main settlement was near Miller's Hollow.

From their Historical Record we learn that the Saints immediately started to build a ferry boat to be used in crossing the Missouri River. They were welcomed by the Pottawattamie Indians and Pratt relates one occasion when

"by invitation a large number of gentlemen and ladies from our camp, together with the band of music visited the residences of the Indian agent, and gave a concert to many hundreds of the tribe; all seemed to enjoy themselves, and were full of life and gaiety. From this point we were obliged to send down to Missouri between one hundred and two hundred miles, to procure provisions, to make a necessary fit-out for the great western expedition." 73

---

72 Negus, *op. cit.*, 549

73 *Millennial Star*, 3
News was received with great rejoicing of the dedication of the Temple at Nauvoo. Later the camps of Orson Hyde, Wilford Woodruff and two of the twelve apostles joined the main companies. Hyde had been at Nauvoo and Woodruff in Europe. On June 29, Brigham Young used the new ferry boat to cross the river. Young was still anxious to have a company of men, who would leave their families behind, go that season to the mountains; but at this time news of the United States War with Mexico reached camp.

Soon after the Saints arrived on the Missouri, indeed before all of them arrived there, Colonel Thomas L. Kane of the United States Army and Captain James Allen came up the river from Fort Leavenworth. The latter visited the camps at Mount Pisgah and Kanesville, and informed the Mormon leaders that the United States and Mexico were at war, and that they would not be permitted to leave United States territory because of their prejudice against the government. It was agreed, however, that the Saints might demonstrate their patriotism by raising a battalion for service in the war, such battalion to be mustered out in California.

Clayton records on June 27, that during the
day they passed some United States officers on their way to see President Young and the council.

"We afterwards learned that they professed to be going to the authorities of the church by order of the President of the United States to raise five hundred volunteer Mormons, to defend Santa Fe..."75

Allen arrived at Mount Pisgah on June 26, and placed his circular before the Mormons. He asked for able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five to enlist. The pay was $7 per month with the expense of their clothing taken care of. Here at Mount Pisgah he was advised to go to the Church Council at Council Bluffs and Allen was given a letter of introduction to Elder William Clayton, clerk of the camp.

Captain Allen reached Council Bluffs on the thirtieth, and communicated with Brigham Young on July 1. Allen addressed the entire camp on the Missouri, informing and explaining to them his mission. Although the Saints held Allen in high esteem there was difficulty and differences in the attitudes of

75 Clayton, op. cit., 50
76 Historical Record, 907
the camp, this being due mostly to the recent persecutions the Mormons had undergone. At length Elder Herber C. Kimbal made a motion to raise the required number for the battalion. It was seconded by Elder Willard Richards and carried unanimously.

Pratt seems to feel somewhat bitter about the forming of this Mormon Battalion for he records in his journal:

"Another obstacle soon made its appearance which seemed to completely hedge up our way from going any further this season; it was a call from the general government of the United States, upon the poor, persecuted, exiled Saints, to send five hundred men into the service of the army against Mexico. The United States had the barefaced injustice and inhumanity to require of the Saints to go and fight their battles in their invasion of Mexico after having suffered us to be driven from state to state unlawfully and unconstitutionally, with a loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of property; and after martyrdom and cold-blooded butchery of scores of our men, women and innocent children." 78

As there were not enough men in the camp at Council Bluffs for the five hundred required, word was sent to Mount Pisgah to enlist the remaining amount. Clayton records in his journal for Wednesday, July 1, 1846:

77 Historical Record, 907

78 Millennial Star, XII, 3
"Parley P. Pratt passed about six o'clock. We afterwards learned that he was going on express to Pisgah to raise the five hundred volunteers to go to Santa Fe." 79

On July 14, the volunteers from Mount Pisgah arrived at the main camp and by the sixteenth they had four companies of over four hundred men mustered and a part of the fifth company was filled. On July 20, the Battalion left for Fort Leavenworth, Mexico, and California according to the agreement and the objection to the contrived march of the Saints was withdrawn.

Babbitt quotes Reverend Henry De Long, an old pioneer in Council Bluffs, who was between twelve and fourteen years of age when the Battalion was organized. In a letter to Babbitt on November 13, 1915, he says:

"My remembrance of the raising of the Mormon battalion is this: They had a regular city composed of wagons and tents; some 4000 inhabitants, at what is now Dodge Orchard and J. G. Rice's place. Brigham Young's tent was the most conspicuous of them all...Amidst the beating of drums and martial music men fell into line as volunteers were called for..."

When five hundred men were secured they left. This place was west of the present Iowa School for the Deaf.

---

79 Clayton, op. cit., 52
80 Historical Record, 907
81 Steinhouse, op. cit., 240
82 Babbitt, op. cit., 79
As we have seen from Pratt's journal, many were suspicious of the recruiting of the Mormons Battalion, although Captain Allen was one man of the military authority that the Mormons trusted, and they idolized Kane.

Young no doubt cared very little for the government's dispute with Mexico, but he was faced with the thought of crossing the plains and the Mountains without government aid, and he knew unless the government helped them "they might become a scattered sheep without a shepherd."

Tucker, writing on Mormonism, says this about the mustering of the Battalion:

"Young and his coadjutors had apprehended ultimate conflict with the Mexican authorities, and deemed it essential to be on good terms with the United States."

Young received $20,000 from the Government, a large proportion going for his own private use and toward the material aid necessary to carry forward his colonial enterprise.

Clayton in his diary makes little mention of the battalion, speaking several times of Captain Allen.

---

83 Perkins, op. cit., 8
84 Ibid., 8
85 Tucker, op. cit., 205
and once of playing in the band for the volunteers. Many of the Battalion died with fevers in the course of the long march. Many lived to return and take part in the final exodus which led the Mormons to their permanent home in the Great Salt Lake Valley.

The raising of this Battalion resulted in materially modifying the plans of the emigrants. A very large proportion of their defensive force had gone to war, making a trip on west seem impossible. As a result a semi-permanent encampment was established at Council Bluffs, still in the territory of the Pottawattamie Indians.

Through the aid of Captain Allen, the Mormons secured the consent of the Pottawattamie Indians to camp on their territory at Kaawaesville, later called Council Bluffs. On the eleventh of September, 1846, a site was picked out on the west banks of the Missouri to be used for Winter Quarters, as the Saints knew it was useless to try and go further that summer. This location was at a place now called Florence, six miles north of Omaha. Here a temporary city was laid

86 Werner, op. cit., 217
87 Baskin, C. L. Co., History of Pottawattamie County, 84
88 Babbitt, op. cit., 80
A committee of twelve were appointed to arrange and divide the city into Wards, and over each a Bishop was to preside. He had such duties as helping the families in his own ward when there was sickness and also watching that the Saints did duty to their Church.

"Every family labored diligently to construct some sort of home." They were made chiefly of logs, covered with willows, dirt or clapboard. Caves were dug in the side of the hills and used by many for homes. Sod cut with spades in the form of bricks composed most of the chimneys. A coat of mud over rough timber made up the roofs; the hearths and fireplaces were made of clay; the floors and doors were split and hewed puncheon. Some huts had oak shakes fastened on with weight poles, while others were covered with shingles. During the long winter many a dance was held on the hewn floors of the log meeting house, a building about 24x40 feet in dimensions. The total population of these Winter Quarters was thought to be between five and six thousand.

89 Historical Record, 80
90 Ibid., 890
91 Babbitt, op. cit., 82
92 Jenson, Andrew, Day By Day With the Utah Pioneers, (Published in the Salt Lake Tribune, at Salt Lake City, Apr. 6, 1934, by Ass't Church Hist.)
The exiles at Winter Quarters were a mixed group but had

"attained a certain solidarity through necessity social experiment and religious convictions, although there were elements that might have proved incongruous under different circumstances."

Here at Winter Quarters were Englishmen, doubtful as to the doctrines of polygamy and their attitude toward the United States. Many from New England with a Puritan background, the Yankees and the southerners, many illiterates and the Danites with their ever increasing power.

With the crossing of the Mormons into Winter Quarters came their negotiations with the Omaha Indians who then occupied the land on the west bank of the Missouri. As the Omaha Indians were at war with the Sioux Indians, they immediately recognized the advantage of having so large a body for a protection on their side of the river. Permission to remain two years in their territory was readily given to the Saints.

Brigham Young also carried on negotiations with the United States Indian agents for permission to remain here on this site. His request was denied by the Indian Superintendent of that district. Through the influence of Colonel Thomas Kane, who had so recently

---

93 Perkins, op. cit., 11
94 Babbitt, op. cit., 80
been nursed back to health by the Mormons, and his father, at Washington D.C., government permission for remaining at Winter Quarters was obtained.

Young dealt kindly with the Indians but many tried to cause trouble, mostly by stealing. Brigham Young sent gifts to their chief Big Elk, with a request for his warriors not to steal. Big Elk immediately replied with an apology. Due to Young's policy of catering to the wishes of the Indians, the Mormons did not experience the early Indian horrors. The Indian's good will was developed by gifts and consideration of their rights. No men or women were killed.

Soon winter descended upon the camps here on the Missouri. Provisions could not be obtained in any great variety. Corn, bread and pork constituted the principal diet during the cold months. Most of this food was brought from Missouri. A coffee-mill had been used for grinding the grain. Under the guidance of their President a mill was erected at Winter Quarters.

Besides fighting the elements, and the constant uneasiness toward the Indians, the Saints at Winter Quarters fought an epidemic, or siege of "black-leg".

95 Werner, op. cit., 212
96 Ibid., 212
97 Histological Record, 393
or scurvy. This was a result of their poor diet and lack of vegetables. Limbs would swell, turn black and be sore. It caused much suffering and many deaths. Wagons were sent down the frozen river into Missouri where potatoes were obtained. The addition of potatoes to the diet had an excellent effect in checking this disease. Horse radish was found growing wild here and it served as an excellent antidote for scurvy.

The same wisdom and foresight which had marked Young's career since the time of Joseph Smith's death, now displayed itself in directing the labors of the camp. Willow baskets, half bushel measures, washboards, etc., were manufactured for sale in Missouri in the spring.

Clayton records very little of real historical importance in his diary. He writes mostly of his sickness, family life and his work at his store. Several times he mentions the cold weather, the musicians and the council gatherings. He tells in detailed account of the trip from Winter Quarters to Salt Lake.

Brigham Young received a revelation, January 14, 1847 to move on westward from Winter Quarters.

---

98 Historical Record, 894
99 Ibid., 894
Orders were revealed for organizing the companies into groups with captains of one hundred, fifties and tens. Clayton goes much into detail about the names of the various captains and their companies. Young worked hard in the preparation for the trip westward and also he sent a group as missionaries to England.

The semi-annual conference of the church was held at Winter Quarters April 6, 1847, under the presidency of Brigham Young who on that occasion was unanimously sustained by the assembled Saints as President of the twelve apostles which practically meant being president of the Church. On the same occasion Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Willard Richards, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Amasa M. Lyman and Ezra T. Benson were sustained as members of the quorum of twelve apostles. This was the seventeenth anniversary of the founding of the Church. The next morning, on the seventh, Young left Winter Quarters to find a settlement in the Far West.

100 Jenson, op. cit.
101 Historical Record, 397 (Also Bloomer op. cit., and Babbitt, op. cit., 83)
This group was made up mostly of sturdy men, but they were accompanied by three women and two children.

The women were: Clarissa Decker Young, one of the wives of Brigham Young; Lorenzo Young, and Ellen Sanders, one of the wives of Herber C. Kimbal. An interesting comparison is noted in the listing of the women on this trip. Clayton names the three women but lists only one as a wife. He lists Lorenzo Young, Clarissa Decker, and Ellen Sanders. Why he does not list the plural wives of Brigham Young and Elder Kimbal as their wives, this writer does not understand, for from all the reading of his diary, he must have been a believer in polygamy as he mentioned several of his wives. Clayton says that the two children, Isaac Perry Decker Young, and Sabisky L. Young made the total of "149 souls who started...to find a home where the saints can live in peace and enjoy the fruits of their labor."

Young returned to Winter Quarters from Utah after remaining there several months. He arrived back at Winter Quarters on October 31, 1847. Here he centered his efforts in organizing the remainder of the camp to

102 Werner op. cit., 219
103 Clayton, op. cit., 76
104 Ibid., 76, 77
go to Salt Lake. Many left the summer of 1848 for Utah, under the leadership of such men as Smoot, Wallace, Rick, Taylor and Pratt. These men carried little with them but seed and farm implements, their aim being to plant spring crops at their ultimate destination. They relied on their rifles to give them food. They made long daily marches with as much rapidity as possible.

The total population of Winter Quarters in the winter of 1847-1848 was thought to be between five and six thousand. Only about half went to Salt Lake the rest moved back to the east bank of the river and settled at Kanesville; others settled out in Pottawattamie County at Carterville, Macedonia, Springville, and some entered into Mills County.

That same winter upon the petition of Young to the Iowa legislature, a temporary county organization, called Pottawattamie County, was provided for. The United States government established a post-office at "Miller's Hollow", known as "Kane" on January 17, 1848. Evan Greene became the first postmaster on February 7, 1848.

105 Historical Record, 897
106 Kane, Thomas L. The Mormons, (A Discourse)27
107 Babbitt, op. cit., 82
1848. This name of Kane was changed to Council Bluffs on December 10, 1853. On March 11, 1850, a post-office was established at Macedonia.

The Mormon population in the county was probably larger in 1848 than any year following. The state census of 1849, after many had gone on to Utah, was 6,552 and by the national census of 1850, 7,838. However, the limits of the county were longer than they are now.

On December 5, 1847, the "Council of Twelve" met at Elder Orson Hyde's house and "unanimously elected President Brigham Young President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, with the authority to nominate his two counselors." Herber Kimball was chosen his first Counselor and Willard Richards his second. Orson Hyde, George Smith and E. T. Benson were to remain in Council Bluffs. Orson Hyde "presided almost continuously from 1848-1852."

One writer on the Mormons in Pottawattamie County says:

"No more industrious, frugal, and temperate community was ever known. Among them were mechanics of almost every kind, and they proceeded to build a city here called Kane-

---

108 Bloomer, op. cit., 529
109 Historical Record, 396
110 Babbitt, op. cit., 85
Rich valleys became hives of industry." 111

They raised good crops, which enabled them to assist those coming on. Idleness and dissipation were not tolerated. There were no jails as there was no need for them. Polygamy was practiced but only on a small scale.

Their laws were edicts or regulations issued from the councils of their wisest men. It was literally the rule of Caryl's "cow-wing, or able-men", voluntarily submitted to by the people with right willing loyalty and nothing doubting because they recognized in the edicts promulgated "precisely the wisest, fittest" thing which in all ways behooved them to do.

The winter of 1849-1850 was a dreary one. The long cold months were enlivened to some extent by the settlers with their dances and parties. Their life was mainly one of toil, "anxious contemplation of the almost frightful journey across the plains." Cholera in its most vicious form broke out. There was little medicine, few physicians, and huts not conducive to

111 Field, Homer, *History of Pottawattamie County*, I, 8
112 Roberts, *op. cit.*, 473
113 Ibid., 474
114 Baskin, *op. cit.*, 87
good health. They relied mainly upon prayers to aid them in this scourge. Many of the number died.

At this time the Mormons were in complete control. They made public sentiment, controlled the election of offices and even sent one of their representatives to sessions of the legislature. With the gold rush of 1849, and the migration of many gentiles to the west, Kanesville soon became a great outfitting post. Merchants soon came here, buying out the stores and homes of those who had gone on to Salt Lake. With the influx of these gentiles, the entire community gradually changed from a peaceful settlement to one of gambling houses, vice and corruption. These traders and dealers brought in intoxicating drinks. Many horse thieves and desperate characters appeared. The Sabbath remained unobserved except by the Mormons under Orson Hyde.

From the old newspapers published in Council Bluffs, much of interest concerning the Mormons is published. One cannot help but find a great deal of understanding towards this people by reading these old papers.

115 Bloomer, op. cit., 597
116 Field, op. cit., 9, 10 (Also Bloomer, op. cit., 532)
One of the first documents ever published at Kanesville was "The Constitution of the State of the Deseret", issued by Orson Hyde in 1849. The advance guard of the Mormon migration to Utah had arrived July, 1847 months before any kind of civil government had been set up by the United States. The Mormons took the initiative to organize the State of Deseret, electing Brigham Young as its first governor. The printing of this document at Kanesville was no doubt done to interest those still at Kanesville to move westward. Other than the newspaper, this print, along with one other, is no doubt the earliest known product of the press at Council Bluffs. No more than three or four copies survived, one at the Harvard College Library. Its rarity may be adjudged from the fact that several years ago a copy of this sixteen page pamphlet sold for $1,030.

McMutrie says:

"In undertaking to compile a chronology of printing points in Iowa, I found considerable conflict of testimony regarding the date of the beginnings of printing in Council Bluffs, formerly known as Kanesville." 118

One author states it was established in 1848

118 Ibid., 1
by Orson Hyde who was also the editor. Other authorities state it was in 1849.

"As original copies of the newspaper constitute the final authority regarding dates of publication and personnel, I therefore endeavored to locate a file."

After a trip to Salt Lake he found there preserved an almost complete file of the Frontier Guardian, which established beyond question the facts regarding the beginnings of printing at Kanesville.
The first issue appeared February 7, 1849. It was intended to start in 1848 but due to the delay of arrival of a printer it was not started till 1849.

The Frontier Guardian was published semi-monthly by Orson Hyde. It was a four page, six column paper. McMutrie states it is not probable that any Frontier Guardian existed in Iowa but some were accessible to the writer of this paper.

Many little extracts and notices are of interest. In the first issue, the editor assumes his position as one of responsibility. "The press is a powerful engine, for good or for evil, calculated to make a deep and lasting impression upon the community where it is." The actions of many are controlled by it.

119 McMutrie, op. cit., 1

120 Frontier Guardian, Vol. I, No. 1 (February 7, 1849)
"The principles of our religion will always have a conspicuous place in our columns... With us it is a matter of conscience, not of speculation. We shall spare no pains or labor to keep up a healthy moral atmosphere."121

The editor states he will endeavor to do all in his power for the education of the youth.

"There are two flourishing schools in our little town of about eighty scholars each, conducted by a principal and an assistant in each one... How necessary then, that the juvenile mind be fed with food to cause it to expand...."122

The paper expresses its views upon political questions, stating it is

"not our present design to interfere to any extent, still, when duty calls us to raise our voices on this subject we know our constitutional rights, and we dare to assert them."123

The intention of Orson Hyde is to make the Guardian both interesting and useful to all classes of citizens, giving them foreign and domestic news and publishing all matters interesting and beneficial to the community. He sends forth a plea for the business men to advertise and he urges patronage of his paper.

The last issue of Volume I of the Frontier Guardian is No. 26, dated January 23, 1850. The

121 Frontier Guardian
122 Ibid.
123 Ibid.
second volume appears with the issue of February 6, 1850, and closes with No. 26, dated January 22, 1851.

Up to this time it was published on Wednesday but the first issue of Volume III is dated Friday, February 7, 1851. No. 26 appeared on January 22, 1852. Orson Hyde still was editor and proprietor.

The fourth Volume started with Hyde as Editor, but the third issue of the same volume came cut as a weekly with Jacob Dawson as editor, and the name of the paper changed to

"The Frontier Guardian, and Iowa Sentinel," and with a new style of heading. It was dated Thursday morning March 4, 1852. It continued till November 11, 1852. A. C. Ford then became editor and published it till May 12, 1853. This is the last issue located and to judge by other circumstances, it is probable the Frontier Guardian and Iowa Sentinel was suspended about this time.\textsuperscript{124}

In several issues of the Frontier Guardian in the first two volumes several interesting items concerning the Indians appeared. Most of the publications were warnings to the Mormons against the thefts of the Indians. The Otto and Omaha Indians were across the river.

"These tribes are miserably poor and wretched. They are not disposed to do much evil, only as they are forced by hunger and want

\textsuperscript{124} McMutrie, \textit{op. cit.}, 8-9
to rob and steal. It is true they have stolen and killed a great number of our cattle... and carried off... from one to two hundred bushels of corn... If you feed them, or show them favor, they are more likely to steal from you than as though you treated them with severity and rigor... But this is not true of the Pottawattamie Nation.\textsuperscript{125}

Several little items are of interest to us now. The paper gave a daily market report for Kanesville. During that time eggs were five cents a dozen, butter eight cents a pound, with flour, beef, cheese, and other commodities correspondingly low.\textsuperscript{126}

The Frontier Guardian even contained a rude form of a society page. In giving an account of a certain marriage the following was said concerning the bride:

"The beautiful bride presented us with a fine loaf, and like herself, it was adorned with white, composed of the best material. In short, the genuine article. Long life to the pair!"\textsuperscript{127}

In the Frontier Guardian for March 21, 1849, there was a lengthy article warning the Mormons concerning legal marriages. Advices were given them not to cross the river or into Indian territory to be married, in order to save money, for "you may

\begin{align*}
\text{125} & \quad \text{Frontier Guardian, VI No. 3 (Mar. 7, 1849)} \\
\text{126} & \quad \text{Ibid., No. 5, (April 4, 1849)} \\
\text{127} & \quad \text{Frontier Guardian, Vol. I, No. 3 (Mar. 7, 1849)}
\end{align*}
see the time when you would give thousands of dollars if you could prove a legal marriage and thereby become heirs to fortunes."

On August 8, 1849, the following appeared:

"We are doubly thankful to our great Creator that we are able to stay, that there was never a more healthy time with us, not a case of sickness in town of any kind that we know of."129

According to the death notices consumption seems to have caused many of the deaths. Cholera appears to have been their most dreaded disease. A letter received from Orson Hyde was published in the issue of August 21, 1850. Hyde was on his way west and he writes that his party was progressing nicely, hampered only by those suffering from cholera. In the same issue warnings against the disease were published. The following issue two weeks later stated that cholera had practically disappeared, and that the community as a whole was well.

In each issue of the paper was a great deal of space taken up with church affairs and discussion of some doctrine, such as baptism of the dead, observance of the Sabbath, etc. Minutes of all their conferences were always printed.

123 Frontier Guardian, Vol. I no. 4 (March 21, 1849)

129 Ibid., Vol. I, No. 14, (August 8, 1849)
The **Frontier Guardian** was influential along educational lines. The following appeared in the issue of August 22, 1849.

"We are about to build a Hall in this place for the cultivation of the science of Music... It will cost about $500... and be built solely by the editor of the Guardian unless some of his friends dispose to forward him something for the above object."130

The Music Hall was completely finished in the month of December and in the issue of November 14, the arrival of the music teacher is announced.

In an issue the following year, the editor again urges people to send their children to school and to raise them to be useful, industrious, and prayerful, so that they will soon "come to the day when they will grow up without sin unto salvation." 131

T. S. Rucker, from Tennessee opened a Male and Female Academy in Music Hall in October of 1850. A new Kanesville Academy was opened on December 30, 1850.

Correspondence of the church and between different colonies of the church held a prominent place in the **Frontier Guardian**. On June 27, 1849, the

130 **Frontier Guardian**

131 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 7 (May 1, 1850)

following was published by Orson Hyde:

"We are frequently asked if we are going to the Valley this year. We are answering not, because we were appointed to stay here.... We like to stay here because we feel that we are doing more good here than we could do anywhere else. But when our superiors want us in another place, we think we shall be as ready to obey as the man who declares himself to be a Brighamite." 133

Hyde also issues a warning to all those who are planning on going to Salt Lake. On January 8, 1849 he advises them all to prepare their fences, their crops, wagons, teams, etc., as they are all expected to leave by June 15.

The arrival of Elders Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, and his company was printed in the issue of May 29, 1850. They were all well, and many of them were bound for the Salt Lake country and many were going to settle in Pottawattamie County. The same paper states that the California Emigration has been greater through Kanesville than through any other place on the frontier. The number of teams that had passed through Kanesville for the mines was estimated at over 5000. "We will be glad when

133 Frontier Guardian, I, 13, (June 27, 1849)
the rush is over and our citizens themselves again."  

These little notes concerning travel are of interest. In 1850 there were four ferries across the Missouri River. On September 17, 1849, the Guardian stated that plans were nearly completed for stage coaches to travel between Kanesville and St. Louis. The Mormons were urged to sign a petition for a railroad from Davenport to Council Bluffs, via Iowa City.

As we have already seen, the influx of emigration has had its effect upon the morality of the Saints at Kanesville. The papers issued in 1850 contain much advice concerning the morals of the people. In the issue of October 30, 1850, Hyde warns the Saints of the increase of vice. He urges all to consider the effects of this on their community, and the demoralization which these evils will bring about on the minds and characters of the young people. He wishes to see this frontier settlement prosper, but these evils are not inducive to prosperity. To emphasize the gravity of the situation and as a further warning to the Saints, he ends his

134 Frontier Guardian, Vol. II, No. 9 (May 29, 1850)

135 Ibid., Vol. II, No. 2 (Feb. 20, 1852)
article with this quotation: "Think on these

Conflicts over slavery were becoming prom-
inent at this time. The Guardian attempts to take
as neutral a stand as possible. The issue of Octo-
ber 17, 1849 contains a warning to all Saints not to
harbour any run-away slaves, thus involving them-
selves with the authorities. The Mormons were ac-
cused of favoring slavery and Orson Hyde answers
this criticism in his paper. He explains that many
southern gentlemen had joined the Mormon faith and
taken their slaves with them to Salt Lake. He in-
ferred that it is a matter not for the Church to
enter into. If the slaves were satisfied and did
not wish to leave their masters, then they should
follow him. If there was dissatisfaction, then the
masters should free their slaves or sell them.

It cannot be overlooked that the Mormons
played a part in politics. Both the Whigs and Dem-
cocrats were anxious to have the votes of the Mormons.
Whig politicians came to Kanesville making fiery
stump speeches. They denounced the cruelty to the

136 Frontier Guardian, Vol. II, No. 20 (Oct-
ober 30, 1850)

137 Ibid., Vol. II No. 23 (December 11, 1850)
Saints at Nauvoo and championed their cause. After some discussion the Mormons drafted a letter stating they would vote the Whig ticket if the Whigs would back up their claims and promises.

In the election of November, 1848, Taylor received 527 votes to 42 for Cass for President of the United States. Somehow the votes disappeared, supposedly never reaching the hands of the State canvassers.

Hyde wrote a bitter article in his *Frontier Guardian* of March, 1850. He scoffs at the idea of sending such men as were sent, to examine the "stealing of the Poll Books." Both men were active in their work against the Mormons and "will try to throw dust in the eyes of the people."

This episode called for a great deal of discussion as to whether or not the votes of the Mormons should be counted. Hyde and Babbitt were accused of accepting bribes from Washington. Babbitt answered these charges with a bitter letter, denying these charges.

Hyde and Babbitt were censured by the Church for their part in the election. Babbitt refused this
censorship but Hyde submitted. Seven years later, while on the way to Salt Lake City, Babbitt was killed by the Indians, although suspicion has always pointed to the Danites.

To anyone familiar with the present city of Council Bluffs there are a few little historical facts interesting to note. A large building was erected by Hyde on Harmony Street to be used both for religious and social purposes. Those fond of dancing often gathered in this building. Another large two story building was erected in later years being used as a Court House. Hyde Street, spoken of here is now First Street. Huts were built along Indian Creek but the most of them were on what is now Madison Street.

A gentile, Jonathan F. Stutsman, came to Winter Quarters in February of 1848, from Harlan, Iowa. He bought out a business here and moved it over to Council Bluffs, where he conducted it on what is now Madison Street. Here he married, and built the first frame house. Another gentile, Voorhis, came here from St. Louis and opened a store near where
the Methodist Episcopal Church now stands. Both these men have streets in this locality, named for them. William Powers built a home near the present location of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He and his wife remained here, not going west with the others. Quite a village also sprung up along Mosquito Creek.

As we have stated, many of the Mormons scattered out in the surrounding counties. In Boomer Township, the earliest settlement was said to be in 1847, by Lee Bybee, a Mormon. Here about fifteen houses were erected but all sold out in a few years and went to Utah.

The first settlers in Crescent Townships were Latter-Day Saints. Among them were David Wilding, an Englishman, Robert Kirkwood, and Will Strang, both from Scotland, H. A. Terry, S. M. Hough, and Joseph McCoid.

In 1848, John Harris, a Mormon Elder, took twenty-three families into Harrison County, near Missouri Valley. In 1848, 1849, and 1850 a number of Mormon families stopped in Grove Township, raised a crop or two and then moved on to Salt Lake. Silver

140 Baskin, op. cit., 37
141 Ibid., 273
142 Ibid., 340
Creek Township was first settled by the Mormons. Their land was sold to the gentiles and they went on to Utah.


Groups of Mormons, many of them still coming from Nauvoo and many from all parts of the United States and foreign countries, continued through Iowa (which became a state in December, 1846) and Council Bluffs.

One of the most interesting groups to come through on their way to Salt Lake City was the so-called Hand Cart Brigade. On the twenty-third of July, 1856, a company of English and Welch converts to the Mormon faith passed through Pottawattamie County. They carried their provisions, clothing and a few other articles in hand carts which they slowly pushed across the prairies. Some men and women harnessed themselves to the carts which altogether in weight amounted to about 90 pounds. There were a few wagons in which to carry the infirm, sick or heavy baggage.

---

143 Baskin, op. cit., 138
144 Bloomer, op. cit., 139
This group presented a most pitiable sight. Nathan P. Dodge, one of Council Bluffs' most colorful figures, received a letter from his mother on July 26, 1856, in which she tells of this expedition.

"A Mormon hand cart train came yesterday... I think the leaders should be prevented from taking the children on such a journey and to a land where the influences are so bad." 145

This brigade crossed the river to Florence, Nebraska, where they made hurried preparations to journey on. They left the place on August 18, 1856, "trusting implicitly in their leaders, and unaware of the perils in front of them..." The winter was cold and many died on the plains before reaching Salt Lake.

The departure of the Mormons on to Salt Lake brought on many changes in Kanesville other than those of corruption and the growing control of the gentiles. Most of those Mormons, faithful to Brigham Young, heeded his last call for them to come on to Salt Lake. However, many preferred to remain here permanently. Like other Christian organizations today, they had their "divisions and dissensions." 147

145 Dodge, Nathan P., Early Emigration through to Council Bluffs, (Annals of Iowa 18, 169)
146 Callaher, Ruth, "The Hand Cart Expedition", The Palimpsest, 3, 219
147 Bloomer, op. cit., 601
Some rejected the doctrine of polygamy and some considered Young an usurper, Joseph Smith being the real prophet. Those who remained here formed their own church, called the Re-organized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

These people were considered law-abiding citizens and good neighbors. They accepted the Book of Mormon as of equal authority with the Holy Scriptures, and they fully believed that Joseph Smith was their inspired prophet and leader. The Headquarters of this branch of the Church is today located at Lamoni, Iowa in Decatur County.

It is of

"more than passing interest to know that a congregation of Latter-Day Saints, among those who rejected Brigham Young, now worships in a church building that stands within three blocks of the heart of old Janesville..."149

Thus in the Spring of 1852, Mormon control of Janesville ceased, when Orson Hyde, their dominant leader accompanied by all faithful Saints, departed bag and baggage for Salt Lake City. The last Stake of Zion had been pulled.

148 Bloomer, op. cit., 601
149 Perkins, loc. cit., 15
BIBLIOGRAPHY
PRIMARY MATERIAL

1. Books


The *Historical Record.* A monthly periodical devoted exclusively to Historical, Biographical, Chronological, and Statistical Matters. Edited and published by Andrew Jenson, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1886.

Smith, Joseph and Herman, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.* Vol. 3, Board of Publication of the Re-organized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Lamoni, Iowa, 1900.

2. Newspapers (Various Issues)

   Frontier *Guardian,* (Kanesville)

   Millennial *Star,* (Liverpool, England)

   Times and Seasons, (Nauvoo, Illinois)

3. Pamphlets


II. Encyclopedia


III. Journals

Vander Zee, Jacob, "The Mormon Track in Iowa". *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XII published Quarterly by the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1914.

IV. Magazines

Murphy, Donald R., "The Mormon Trek Across Iowa". *Midland Schools*, XLVI, No. 6, Des Moines, Iowa, February, 1932.


V. Newspaper

Jenson, Andrew, "Day By Day With the Utah Pioneers", (Published in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, at Salt Lake City, April 6, 1934, by Ass’t. Church Historian).
VI. Pamphlets

Aumann, Francis R., "A Minor Prophet in Iowa". The Palimpsest, VIII Published monthly by The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1927.


Harlan, Edgar R., The Location and Name of the Mormon Trail, The Knoxville Express, Knoxville, Iowa 1914.

Perkins, J. R., Mormon Battalion For Service Against Mexico Was Recruited Here. Published by the Board of Education, through the Courtesy of the Author and the Nonpariel, July 24, 1932.
1. Books


Bloomer, D. C., "The Mormons in Iowa". The Annals of Iowa. Third Series, Published by Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa, 1895-97.

Dodge, Nathan P., "Early Emigration Through and to Council Bluffs". Annals of Iowa XVII, Series 3, Published by Historical Department, Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa, 1931-33.


REMARKS CONCERNING SOURCE MATERIAL

The diaries of William Clayton, in William Clayton's Journal, and Orson Pratt, in the Historical Record afford unlimited material. Both were important officials in the Church. When Salt Lake City celebrated an anniversary in 1934, Jenson, the Assistant Church Historian wrote 111 daily articles for the Tribune. Most of his material was gathered from diaries, those quoted most, being Pratt and Clayton.

The Historical Record, Volumes 7-10 was found in the Council Bluffs Library. This book is the only remaining one in this series. Its importance and value was recently learned and since then it has been held for reference work only. The book, aside from its authentic value, is most readable and interesting.

Smith's History of the Church contains only official publications and documents of their church. It contains much of interest concerning the religion of this Church.

The most interesting of all the material was
the Frontier Guardian. To actually read the newspapers, yellow and fragile with age, was an interesting experience. Only the first two volumes were accessible. One could find material here of interest for other fields of writing. The Millennial Star and the Times and Seasons were more often referred to in Chapter I and II.

Thomas L. Kane's The Mormons is full of praise for these people but because of his enthusiasm, it is not so reliable as other source material. He was most colorful as a writer.
REMARKS CONCERNING SECONDARY MATERIAL

Babbitt's *Early Days at Council Bluffs* was a most valuable book. His style is interesting and his statements were very often re-read in the source material.

Bancroft, a most familiar historian, was used nearly exclusively for Chapter I. His chapter was used as an introduction. Bancroft, although secondary, refers all his writings to primary sources. His footnotes are most interesting and valuable.

Bloomer has written several articles about western Iowa. One acquainted with the history of Council Bluffs will be familiar with the Honorable Nathan P. Dodge. His *Early Emigration Through and To Council Bluffs* is reminiscence of this time.

Linn, author of *The Story of the Mormons* has been accused of having a very anti-Mormon attitude. Articles published in the *Annals of Iowa* were most interesting.

Tucker wrote in the early days of the Mormon Church. He lived in the vicinity of Smith, Harris and Cowdery and was well acquainted with them. He
chronologically traces the Church of Latter-Day Saints.

Another author, well acquainted with the Mormons, in fact a relative of one of the founders, is Werner. Vander Zee in compiling his *Mormon Trails in Iowa* made use of much source material.

Harlan, although differing somewhat from Vander Zee on the trail through Iowa, agrees on most points.

J. R. Perkins, author of several pamphlets and books concerning Council Bluffs history, presents a story, cleverly written, on the *Mormon Battalion For Service Against Mexico Was Recruited Here*. 