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THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE TEMPORARY SETTLEMENTS
GARDEN GROVE, MOUNT PISGAH, AND KANESVILLE,
IOWA, TO MORMON EMIGRATION, 1846-1852

An Abstract
of a Thesis Submitted to
the Department of Religion
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Master of Science

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by
Lynn Robert Webb
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ABSTRACT

Purpose of the study.--For years the writer has been very interested in the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. His work as a teacher, employed by the L.D.S. Department of Education, has been with the youth of the church. His teaching experience has taken him through a chronological consideration or sequence of events of the church from its origin down to the present. However, the absence of historical data during the period of 1846-1852 grew into a problem in the writer's mind. After reading in the histories of the church a brief paragraph about Garden Grove and Mount Pisgah, two temporary stopping places of the saints, and a little more about Kaneshville, Iowa, the writer began to wonder why so little attention had been paid to each of these settlements. If two-thirds of the exiled saints remained at these three way-stations for six years, from 1846 to 1852, what did they do there? What was their contribution to Mormon emigration during these six years?

It appeared to the writer that historians had either by-passed, or covered important details and events too briefly. The illustrious and striking history of Nauvoo, Illinois, by way of comparison lasted only six years. Suffering and hardships at Winter Quarters had likewise been given full credence by historians. The attention of readers had then been shifted

to the new Mecca, Salt Lake Valley, because leadership of the church had been established there after 1847.

Why should the period of church history 1846-1852 be so full and eventful yet the Iowa sojourn, lasting the same number of years, be devoid of accomplishment and color? How could Orson Hyde, with his counselors George A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson, preside over 10,000 members of the total church population at these scattered settlements during this period without these years likewise being eventful and rich in achievement?

Life and many contributions of these Iowa settlements, Garden Grove, Mount Pisgah, and Kaneshville, though temporary in nature, had been overlooked. Despite underestimating these way-stations in Iowa, they, and especially Kaneshville, located on the Missouri River, became the funnel through which that vast stream of Mormon emigration was routed to Salt Lake Valley. The things which transpired in Iowa have not been fully told and, in the opinion of the writer, justify a more thorough study.

Method and procedure of study.--The method selected to accomplish the task of further amplification of church history in Iowa has been of a varied nature. It has involved intensive research within the restricted period between 1846-1852. Private diaries, journals, and personal and family reminiscences have been read, both at the Brigham Young University special collections room and at the Latter-day Saint Church Historian's Office at Salt Lake City. Some private journals,

letters, and microfilms were used by special permission from the Church Historian's Office and have added greatly in portraying this historical problem. These sources have added further information and detail to books and encyclopedias which have dealt in a general way upon this period and phase of history.

Some other valuable depositories of information about the places under study are the "Journal History," which gives a day-by-day account of the happenings within the church, and The Frontier Guardian, a semi-monthly paper (edited by Orson Hyde, president of the branches of the Pottawattamie lands of western Iowa where the Mormons resided) which was the sole church publication in America for over a year. The first copy of The Frontier Guardian came off the press February 7, 1849. Orson Hyde published this paper for three years and one month.

The writer has also had occasion to interview men who have in recent years visited these places of consideration. These visitors have talked with "old-timers" at these many locations and have established points of geography which, when passed on to the writer, helped to orient him in view of his special study.

The writings upon this subject of such men within the church as Brigham H. Roberts, George Q. Cannon, Joseph Fielding Smith and others must receive full and due credit for their help. Many non-Mormon writers have likewise contributed to this period of Mormon history.

Summary and conclusions.---This study has been organized

as follows: succeeding the Introduction, Chapter I presents generally the hardships and difficulties of travel encountered by the Mormons as they were driven from their homes in Nauvoo, Illinois, to cross the Mississippi River in the throws of mid-winter. Lack of complete organization, undetermined objective of the trek, shortage of food and clothing and manifold other aspects made this a most difficult journey.

Chapter II presents the need for, and the establishment of, a temporary camp at Garden Grove, Iowa. This center was settled especially to help the poor saints already there who because of circumstances could not proceed further, and to aid those members who should come later. There were approximately 500 saints at Garden Grove most of the six years. Some were leaving but others were coming to take their places.

Mount Pisgah, a similar way-station with comparable objectives, is the consideration of Chapter III. Here Captain James Allen of the United States Army made his first contact with the Mormons pursuant to a request from President James K. Polk for the recruiting of 500 men to march to California to assist in the war with Mexico. The people of Mount Pisgah, as well as Garden Grove, fenced some 1,500 acres of land and planted it for the benefit of those poor saints living there as well as for others who should follow. Most of the "poor remnant of saints" being brought from the Mississippi River in the fall of 1846 were left at Garden Grove and Mount Pisgah.

Chapter IV shows the dependence of these scattered Iowa saints (numbering 15,000 souls) upon Missourians for work,

food, and supplies. Barely a decade before had the Mormons been expelled from the midst of these people who now were willing to hire them and thus provide them sustenance.

As the Mormons reached the western half of Iowa, they encountered their first red men. To more fully understand their problems in connection with several tribes about the Missouri River, Chapter V considers the background and disposition of these Indians and speaks of their relationships with the Mormons. An estimate of the losses the Mormons suffered at the hands of these Indians, especially the Omahas, was \$20,000 for the six-year period. The chapter also shows the difficulties the Mormons suffered resulting from the prejudice of the Indian agent.

In the last two chapters of the body of this study (VI and VII), the writer has presented the description, founding and growth of Kaneshville and, in general, the other thirty-nine settlements scattered upon a sixty-by-forty mile section directly adjacent to the Missouri River in southwestern Iowa. Here Orson Hyde with George A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson immediately presided over more people for six years than President Brigham Young and his counselors did in Salt Lake Valley during this same period. Their problems included those of self-preservation by way of establishing mills, schools, recreation centers, ferries, roads, civil governments, a newspaper, religious instruction in many small settlements, and the building of homes.

Here at Kaneshville, after three and one-half years the

church was again organized with a First Presidency. The hands of the Twelve in directing the church, were now set free to go into the world and declare the restored gospel.

Also at Kanessville, Oliver Cowdery again became a member of the church, thus adding strength to the position of President Brigham Young and dispelling any doubt which some members might have had about leadership.

To this point of embarkation on the Missouri River thousands of saints from Europe, Canada, the Scandinavian countries, the Iberian peninsula, and various places in eastern United States were to come. These factory workers and urban people generally from Europe had to be settled upon the land on the Missouri River and taught the principles of gardening and farming and schooled in the frontier way of life. This became a transition period for them from an urban to a completely rural way of life.

The position, then, of these temporary settlements in western Iowa must inevitably assume the importance to which they are fully entitled. They were established as settlements and way-stations to help the needy and give succor to those with limited means who could not go further until such time as these needy were prepared to move on. These settlements of Garden Grove, Mount Pisgah and Kanessville, Iowa, did accomplish this purpose, as shown by the fact that almost all of the saints abandoned their homes, farms and holdings in western Iowa in the spring and summer of 1852 and left for the new Zion in the valleys of the Rocky Mountains.

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This thesis by Lynn Robert Webb is accepted in its present form by the Department of Religion of the Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Science.

Date

8-3-54

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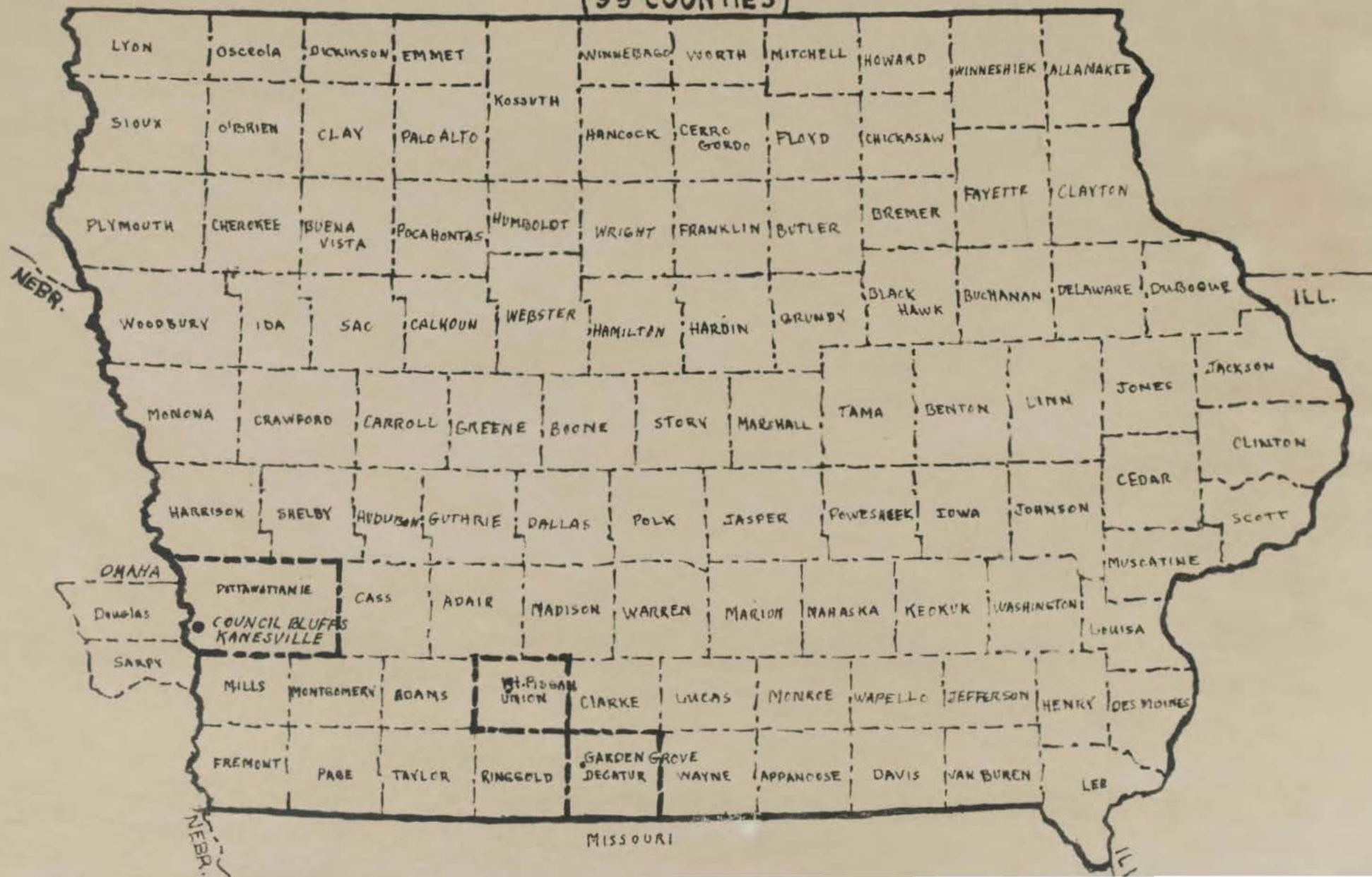
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PLATE I.--Map of Iowa Showing Location of Garden Grove,
Mount Pisgah, and Kaneshville.

IOWA (99 COUNTIES)



Full many a gem of purest ray serene,
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.

Elegy written in a Country Church Yard
-----Thomas Gray

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the years, some writers in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints have established themselves as good historians. In writing they have faithfully followed the events of the Latter-day Saint Church history from its origin down to the present. Most of them have followed chronological sequence in their narratives. At times in the sequence, however, because of the lack of space or time limitations, they have either by-passed or covered important details and events in short paragraphs. This would not allow for a full-view picture of true conditions.

One area of Latter-day Saint Church history which provoked the writer's interest and grew into a problem in his mind, concerned itself with the extent of growth and the contribution of the temporary Mormon settlements of Garden Grove, Mount Pisgah, and Kaneshville (now Council Bluffs), Iowa.

To begin with, this new country was, in a sense, in its primitive state. No white man had attempted to build a permanent home. Those who had been here had come primarily for reasons of trade or out of other interests.

The Mormons were driven here. They were now located in a country without saw- and gristmills. Could they rise to the challenge? They were without roads, bridges and ferries. Could these obstacles be conquered? Was it possible for two-

thirds of the church membership to be separated from their leaders generally and still retain their identity, fervor and zeal for the church? It must be remembered that one thousand miles separated them. Could they establish farms, improve the soil, build fences and make general improvements and then leave upon request from those directing in the hierarchy of church government? History dictates that all of these queries be affirmatively answered, for in six years all of this was accomplished.

Because the spotlight of Mormon interest had been turned to the new Mecca (Salt Lake City), the life and contribution of these Iowa settlements, though temporary in nature, were overlooked. More especially writers, but oftentimes readers, have been prone to minimize the value and importance of such caravanserais or way-stations in Iowa. Without these stopping points along the way the transfer of the saints to the new Zion would have been nearly impossible. They contributed in manifold ways to the Mormon migration to the valleys of the Rocky Mountains.

By way of comparison, Nauvoo, Illinois, has become endeared to every Latter-day Saint. This endearment came about in six years. Reasons why are numerous. Joseph the Prophet lived there. A temple was built by the toil and sacrifice of all. Substantial homes were constructed after swamp land had been drained. At Mount Pisgah, Garden Grove, and Kanesville, Iowa, thousands of members of the church remained for six years also. Many of these improvements were made, just as at

Nauvoo, yet our view of the importance of these Iowa centers is eclipsed by the activities in the new Zion. All things happening in these Iowa settlements were geared for removing westward in due time. Despite the fact of underestimating our way-stations in Iowa, they, and especially Kanesville located on the Missouri River, became the funnel through which that vast stream of Mormon emigration was to be routed to Salt Lake Valley. The things which transpired at Garden Grove, Mount Pisgah, and Kanesville have not been fully told. As one reads the available accounts which have not been published, he becomes more forcefully impressed with the fact that life and pertinent events at these places have been overlooked. Therefore it has been the writer's desire to present many facts and incidents in connection with these three places within the 1846-1852 period that should be brought to light and made available to the reading public. Their story is interesting and their contribution lasting and should be recorded on the pages of history. It has therefore been the writer's purpose to amplify these points of church history and re-focus attention to the important activities and contributions of these temporary Mormon settlements.

The method selected to accomplish this task has been of a varied nature. It has involved intensive research within the restricted period between 1846 and 1852. Private diaries, journals, and personal and family reminiscences have been read, both at the Brigham Young University special collections room and at the Latter-day Saint Church Historian's Office in Salt

Lake City. Some private journals, letters and microfilms were used by special permission from the Church Historian's Office and have added greatly in portraying this historical problem.

Books and encyclopedias which have dealt in a general way upon this period and phase of history have been carefully examined and read, not because of primary but secondary contribution in time and setting.

The writer has also had occasion to interview men who have in recent years visited these places of consideration. These visitors have talked with "old-timers" at these many camps and have established points of geography which, when passed on to the writer, helped to orient him in view of his special problem.

The "Journal History" of the church, located in the Church Historian's Office, which gives a day-by-day record of all church events of special interest, has added materially to the writer's collection of data. Also through the interested cooperation of the Brigham Young University library staff the writer has secured on microfilm strips writings in various books and journals not available at local libraries. These have been secured through the facilities of the Library of Congress, an organization set up for the facilitation of such research problems.

Another valuable source of information, especially on conditions at Kaneshville, Iowa, has been the Frontier Guardian. This paper was published and edited by Orson Hyde at Kaneshville

and was the sole church publication in America for over a year. The first sheet was printed February 7, 1849, and the paper was issued semi-monthly thereafter for three years and one month. It contained important religious speeches and writings besides the local and national news generally.

Credit must also be given to histories already written in the field which give many important facts and valuable information. Also, stories of the Mormon migration in some of the church periodicals by writers of yesteryears have been very helpful. These writers were both Mormon and non-Mormon.

The study has been organized as follows: succeeding the Introduction, Chapter I presents generally the hardships and difficulties of travel encountered by the Mormons as they were driven from their homes in Nauvoo, Illinois, to cross the Mississippi in the throws of mid-winter weather. Needless to say, the inclemency of the weather, lack of organization, undetermined objective of the trek, and manifold other aspects made this a most difficult journey.

Chapter II presents the need for, and the establishment of, a temporary camp at Garden Grove, Iowa. This center was settled especially to help the poor saints already there and who were later to come.

Mount Pisgah, a similar way-station with comparable objectives, becomes the consideration of Chapter III. Here Captain James Allen of the United States Army made his first contact with the Mormons pursuant to a request from President James K. Polk for the recruiting of 500 men to march to

California to assist in the war with Mexico.

Chapter IV has been included to show the dependence of these scattered Iowa saints (numbering 15,000 souls) upon Missourians for work, food, and supplies. Barely a decade before had the Mormons been expelled from the midst of these people who now were willing to hire them and thus provide sustenance.

As the Mormons reached the western half of Iowa, they encountered their first red men. To more fully understand their problems in connection with several tribes about the Missouri River, Chapter V considers the background and disposition of these Indians and speaks of their relationships with the Mormons. It is necessary to determine if the Indian agents had much to do with the conditions which were to promote stealing and pilfering and effect relations generally of the Mormons and Indians on the Missouri River.

In the next two chapters, VI and VII, the writer has developed the description, founding and growth of Kaneshville and, in general, the other thirty-nine settlements scattered upon a sixty-by-forty-mile section directly adjacent to the Missouri River in southwestern Iowa. Here Orson Hyde with George A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson immediately presided over more people for six years than President Brigham Young and his counselors did in Salt Lake Valley during this same period. Their problems included those of self-preservation by way of establishing mills, schools, recreation centers, ferries, roads, civil governments, a newspaper, religious

instruction in many small settlements, and last but not least, homes.

To this point of embarkation on the Missouri River thousands of saints from Europe, Canada, the Scandinavian countries, the Iberian peninsula, and various places in eastern United States were to come. Here the poor saints were to grow crops preparatory to accomplishing the next leg of the journey. The great influx of gold-seekers beginning in 1849 likewise had considerable effect upon the life and tranquility of these Mormon communities.

The position, then, of these temporary settlements in western Iowa must inevitably assume the importance to which they are fully entitled, as stated in the concluding chapter. They were established as settlements to help the needy and give succor to those with limited means who could not go further. Did they accomplish these objectives? It is the purpose of this study to answer this question in the affirmative.

CHAPTER I

HARDSHIPS OF TRAVEL IN IOWA, 1846

With the revocation of the unique set of charters granted to the City of Nauvoo, Illinois, and the increasing pressure upon the saints being brought by the bitter enemies of the church, it became necessary for action to be taken by Latter-day Saint Church leaders. The city had to be evacuated immediately. And so at a general conference of the church held in the House of the Lord in the City of Joseph, a very unusual event took place.

Present on this occasion were Elder Brigham Young, President of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, along with Elders Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Willard Richards, John Taylor, George A. Smith and Amasa M. Lyman; Patriarchs John Smith and Isaac Morley; Presiding Bishops Newel K. Whitney and George Miller, as well as many of the authorities of the church generally. Here President Young "moved that we take all the saints with us, to the extent of our ability, that is, our influence and property." This action was seconded by Heber C. Kimball and by vote carried unanimously. And then Elder Brigham Young continued with a promise: "If you will be faithful to your covenant, I will now prophesy that the great God will shower down means upon his people to accomplish

it to the very letter."¹ This became the silent, yet determined, objective of Brigham Young and the Twelve Apostles. Their every effort was bent this way from the time of the crossing of the Mississippi River from the much-beloved city of Nauvoo, until they reached their final destination in the heart of the great Rocky Mountains.

But this objective was not achieved short of hardship, suffering from cold and want for food, for lack of shelter and the warmth of the hearth-fires which they had left behind. Food was also scarce for the animals being herded and driven. The leaders were determined that they were going into the wilderness where white man had never before trod and there they must have horses, oxen, cattle, sheep, chickens, pigs, dogs and the other necessary domesticated animals.

The first to cross the river from Nauvoo was Charles Shumway. His wagons started on Wednesday, February 4, 1846. His was followed by several wagons belonging to Bishop George Miller, who took his leave February 6. Soon Brigham Young, Willard Richards, George A. Smith, and a large company crossed the frozen Mississippi on the ice. They had remained behind taking care of last minute duties and now, on the 15th, they traveled nine miles to Sugar Creek, in Lee County, Iowa, where they formed a camp.² This camp was important, for here

¹"Journal History," October 6, 1845 (unpublished day-by-day account of events of Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Office of L.D.S. Church Historian, Salt Lake City), p. 6.

²Joseph Fielding Smith, Essentials in Church History (13th ed.; Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1950), pp.401-2.

the group was organized in companies and awaited the arrival of others from Nauvoo before they took up the line of travel.

As the saints looked back to the east, their hearts were heavy with the thought of being forced to sacrifice their homes for practically a tithe of what they were worth. Some received nothing for their holdings. A note from the diary of President Young gives a brief valedictory before leaving:

Our homes, gardens, orchards, farms, streets, bridges, mills, public halls, magnificent temple and other public improvements, we leave as a monument of our patriotism, industry, economy, uprightness of purpose and integrity of heart, and as a living testimony of the falsehood and wickedness of those who charge us with disloyalty to the constitution of our country, idleness and dishonesty.³

During February and the first of March, when not frozen over, the Mississippi River became the scene of extensive navigation. At Nauvoo the river is about one mile wide and flatboats, old lighters and a number of skiffs were making constant, shuttling trips to bring the persecuted saints from their lovely city.⁴

They had been assured by the leaders of the mob that they need not leave the city until "grass would grow and water run." But as the temple was being pushed to completion the persecutors, fearing lest the leaders among the Mormons should change their minds and not leave, forced the abandonment of

³Edward W. Tullidge, Life of Brigham Young (New York: privately printed, 1877), pp. 27-28.

⁴Edward W. Tullidge, "Pioneer Sketches Illustrated," The Western Galaxy, I, 93-108.

the city and the toil of their hands.

Jesse W. Crosby, who was not in the advance company but who left his home toward the end of May, 1846, had this notation in his private diary:

We ascended the bluffs and some six miles from Nauvoo we found ourselves on a high and sightly place where we had a most splendid view of the Temple and every house almost in Nauvoo--This was a farewell view; thence proceeded on our journey, slowly, at the rate of 12 miles a day.⁵

In our Latter-day Saint Church history narrative, in speaking of the hardships of the pioneers we fail fully to appreciate the difficulties encountered by the Mormons in that leg of the journey between the "Father of Waters" and the "Muddy Missouri." This journey through Iowa was approximately three hundred miles, yet it was beset with many unforeseen challenges. Normally such an undertaking for a few persons well-equipped would not have asserted the claim of death and suffering as this journey did under the circumstances. The historian H. H. Bancroft significantly refers to this as a migration without parallel in the world's history.

At Sugar Creek, nine miles from Nauvoo, Brigham Young attempted to form the two thousand people of the initial exodus into some semblance of organization. This task was made difficult, for coming into the "Camp of Israel," hourly almost, were people fleeing their possessions in Nauvoo. Many were gripped with the fear that the leaders of the church

⁵Jesse W. Crosby, "History and Journal of Jesse W. Crosby" (MS copied by Brigham Young University Library, 1940), p. 30.

would get away into the wilderness without them. Some eight hundred men reported at the camp of Sugar Creek with scarcely enough food to last for a few weeks. Brigham Young took occasion to reprove them, not for their poverty, but for their heedlessness in complying to instructions which had been given during the months preceding their leaving.⁶

The snows of winter were heavy at Sugar Creek. The ground had to be cleared before the tents could be pitched. Some saints had small iron stoves to go in their tents or in the wagons which were covered with canvas, but by and large the great majority were without such urban conveniences. Wood was plentiful here and large log fires were kept burning in and about the hollow square in which the camp was formed. Young as well as the old formed in the French four or the cotillion and danced to amuse themselves as well as to keep their blood in proper circulation. Despite the gaiety of the dance and violin or flute music, delicate mothers had to bow to the dictates of nature's course and answer the stronger call of motherhood. Eliza R. Snow recorded in her diary:

I was informed that on the first night of the encampment nine children were born into the world and from that time, as we journeyed onward, mothers gave birth to offspring under almost every variety of circumstances imaginable except those to which they had been accustomed; some in tents, others in wagons--in rain storms and in snow storms.⁷

⁶Brigham H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), III, 40-41.

⁷Edward W. Tullidge, The Women of Mormondon (New York: privately printed, 1877), p. 309.

Yet many of these same women, only a few days before, were sheltered within the confines of comfortable homes, many of which were brick, with fine hardwood picket fences enclosing them.

At this encampment the thermometer dropped to 20° below zero. There it remained near the zero point for several days. Many declared that they had never suffered so much from the cold as they did at Sugar Creek during their two or three weeks spent there.⁸

On Sunday, March 1, 1846, Heber C. Kimball, one of the Twelve, exhorted the saints to be faithful in calling upon the Almighty God. He counselled heads of families to be especially mindful of their family prayers and then promised them that "angels of God would go before them, and would be the breakers up of our way,"⁹ if they would but observe this counsel.

This promise received fulfillment time and time again when the heads of families were forced through circumstance to go into the scattered communities throughout the territory of Iowa and also into the state of Missouri, from whence the Mormons had been driven, and work for food and provisions.

Many of the men worked in Lee County, Iowa; others found employment in Bentonsport, Van Buren County, Iowa. These men were skilled artisans, many of them having learned

⁸Helen Mar Whitney, "Our Travels Beyond the Mississippi," Woman's Exponent, XII (December, 1883), 102-03.

⁹Ibid.

trades as young men either in the East or in western European countries.

In an article entitled "The Mormons," compiled in a small book called Bentonport Memories, the writers had this to say about the Mormon workers:

In 1846, a number of Mormons dropped out of the caravan of their trek west and solicited work. Edgar R. Harlan, former State Curator, states that much of the building in North and South Bentonsport was done by the same artisans who erected the Mormon Temple in Nauvoo, Illinois. Some of the homes they constructed in South Bentonsport had door frames, window sills and other inside finishing all fashioned by hand, and beams cut from solid walnut logs. A few stayed a year, working for Seth Richards and other settlers and requesting very small wages; some sought only food and shelter.¹⁰

Other men took jobs of cutting timber, putting up rail fences, building granaries, clearing land, and husking corn. Brigham Young and the other Apostles shared their food and clothing; they had started from Nauvoo with sufficient provisions to sustain them for a full year, as they had counseled others to do.

Besides the need for food and clothing for the saints, hundreds of bushels of provender had to be obtained for the horses and oxen. Corn fodder was not available in some scattered localities, which necessitated their cutting brush and limbs of trees for the stock or turning them loose to eat the bark or limbs of trees as their principal food.¹¹ Thus, aptly

¹⁰"The Mormons, Bentonport Memories: American Guide Series (Compiled by the Iowa Writers' Project, Work Projects Administration, 1940), pp. 11-12.

¹¹Andrew Jenson, "Journeyings in the Wilderness," Historical Record (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1882-90), VIII, 879.

applied was the phrase, "between grass and hay," for this was veritably between the seasons.

As the journey progressed, it became more apparent that strong oxen were more suited to such travel than horses. Oxen could lug the heavy loads in the mud longer. They were less susceptible to distemper--that disease which took its toll among the horses, thus causing some loaded wagons to be left by the wayside for lack of complete teams. Oxen could forage along the streams and among the trees, living without supplemented feed, and stay in better flesh as well.

There were, however, two disqualifying conditions with the ox. He was hard to shoe. He either had to be lifted from his feet or thrown down in order to put the shoes on him. Men differed in their opinions as to whether the ox should receive shoes before the journey started or wait until such time in travel that his feet became too sore to travel and then apply shoes. Some said that leather shoes were more practical, while others maintained that iron ones were more indispensable. But regardless of kind, either type of shoe was challenging to attach to the hoof of the bovine quadruped.

Another solution to this difficult problem (for problem it was because a good team was the wealth of the desert traveler) was the use of gutta percha around the sore hoof. This material could be molded about the sore hoof of the animal without throwing it to the ground. As the hoof grew and healed of its soreness, the gutta percha might be removed

quite easily.¹²

There was another problem with the ox. He was subject to an ailment that afflicted him under conditions to which the horse was immune. It was termed "footale" and resulted from mud and grass getting in the cleft of the hoof. Treatment of such was pulling a rope between the hoofs and then "pouring melted rosin upon the afflicted area."¹³

Thus each draft animal had its disadvantages, but with the heavy Iowa mud and lack of feed for animals, the superiority of the ox over the horse for wagon travel was apparent. Therefore horses were sold or traded in the communities along the Iowa trail.

The pioneers' next stop of consequence was at Farmington, a community in Van Buren County. This was the second county in Iowa in which the saints had traveled. There were some scattered saints living throughout these communities in Van Buren County, but the distinction goes to Lee County as the home of the first Mormon families in the state of Iowa. Here in 1839, at the time the saints were driven from Missouri about one hundred families settled in Lee County and were generally regarded by the other people to be "industrious, inoffensive and worthy citizens."¹⁴

¹²Frederick Piercy, Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley (London: Franklin D. Richards, 1855), p. 80.

¹³E. Cecil McGavin, The Mormon Pioneers (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallace, Inc., 1947), p. 64.

¹⁴D. C. Bloomer, "The Mormons in Iowa," The Annals of Iowa, II (1895-7), 587.

Farmington was located on the east bank of the Des Moines River. The snows of winter had melted, leaving a sea of mud about the river bottom. Only oxen could pull the loads. Wagons were overloaded in this heavy mud with all the earthly possessions of the "outcasts." Aged men and delicate women were forced to walk as the wagons became embedded to the axletrees in the "deep white oak clay." Teams could not get out of the deep ruts to pass other wagons as the timber was thick and grew too close to the narrow roads. They had to stay in the deep ruts where the roads were the worst, for they were too narrow, too full of short, deep hollows and "very killing to the teams."¹⁵

Allen Stout, who kept his daily journal in shorthand, bears evidence of the deep mud and difficulty of travel for the animals. He records "the road was extremely difficult to travel--full of hills and extremely muddy. I saw twenty-five yoke of oxen hitched to one wagon to get up a hill."¹⁶ Teams would be forced to stand for hours at a time waiting for someone to come and help them double over a bad stretch of country. Oftimes at the end of the day when darkness would overtake the camp, only a few miles would have been covered. Teams were worn out from having to cover the same stretch of

¹⁵Hosea Stout, "Diary of Hosea Stout" (MS copied by Brigham Young University Library, 1941), I-II, 170-171.

¹⁶Allen Joseph Stout, "Autobiography of Allen Joseph Stout" (MS originally kept in phonography, copied by Brigham Young University Library, 1954), p. 24.

country three or four times because of having to be brought back to double other teams over a bad stretch.

Ezra Taft Benson, later to become one of the Quorum of Twelve, had this vivid picture of the muddy condition in mind when he wrote in his diary: "and, after passing through one mud hole only, which was about six miles in length, arrived at Captain Averette's tent," to which he had been summoned by the leaders of the "camp of Israel."¹⁷

Such a life was extremely difficult for the women. They had the meals to prepare, the washing and ironing to do, and many other tasks such as corn to grind. Cooking was done over open fires when wood could be had. Wood was plentiful over the eastern one-third of the state of Iowa but from there westward it was sometimes days before it could be found to ignite a fire.

Oftimes rain was so incessant that the sea biscuits and crackers which had been neatly packed in pine boxes would become mouldy and spoil.¹⁸ The food also took on the taste from the wooden boxes in which it was packed. Camp grounds were covered with two or three inches of rain. Tents, too, would blow over in the night and it must have been a novelty to see the men, partially dressed, trying to retrieve their only covering from the skies.

¹⁷John Henry Evans and Minnie Egan Anderson, Ezra T. Benson, Pioneer, Statesman, Saint (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1947), p. 145.

¹⁸William Clayton, William Clayton's Journal (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1921), pp. 28-31.

Of the approximately ninety days spent in transit from the Mississippi to the Missouri, George A. Smith's diary records thirty-four days of storm, either snow or rain. This was one of the wettest springs that Iowa had had or was to have for some years to come.

Wanting to go to another part of the company which was spread out over several miles, Helen Mar Whitney, wife of Horace Whitney, decided upon riding a small ginnie. The ginnie stood but "about three feet from the ground, and the mud being so deep, I felt some dubiety about our accomplishing the journey that day in safety." The mud was approximately eighteen inches deep.¹⁹

There was a fine brass band in the pioneer company. These men, led by William Pitt, an English convert, were to break the monotony of rain, mud, cold, scanty shelter, and want for food. Many villagers from Iowa, attracted by these strange nomads on the move, would listen to their music in the evening as they circled on the high places for camp. At Farmington, upon permission from President Brigham Young, the band gave a concert at both the schoolhouse and the hotel. Following the concert supper was given the men, five dollars in money, and three cheers.²⁰

At Indian Creek some distance further on through Van Buren County another invitation came. This time it was from

¹⁹Whitney, op. cit., p. 118.

²⁰Mabel Harmer, The Story of the Mormon Pioneers (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1943), pp. 26-7.

the residents of Keosauqua, a few miles away. Upon proper permission from President Young, the band played on the 10 and 11 of March, 1846. The courthouse was crowded with an audience eager to hear such fine music. In the evening they were requested to repeat the performance, which they did. Besides clearing \$30 they were invited to take a ride on a "light boat." After the ride and as the boat neared the pier a cannon was fired as a salute.²¹

On March 6 there were over 2,000 present in the camp at Indian Creek. As the spring and early summer wore along there were many thousands who followed the wagon wheels which had cut deep through the early spring mud. Wilford Woodruff addressed the people at Mount Pisgah just prior to his leaving there, saying:

I stopped my carriage on the top of a hill in the midst of a rolling prairie where I had an extended view of all about me. I beheld the Saints coming in all directions from hills and dales, groves and prairies with their wagons, flocks, and herds, by the thousands. It looked like the movement of a nation.²²

Leaving Indian Creek they traveled on to Richardson Point. From thence they moved over the line into Davis County. Here on the Chariton River, where they were compelled to remain for about two weeks until the high water subsided, a new organization was effected. The camp became more systematically accounted for by dividing the whole assembly into companies of

²¹Whitney, op. cit., p. 111.

²²Matthias F. Cowley, History of the Life and Labors of Wilford Woodruff (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1909), p. 250.

hundreds, fifties, and tens, with a captain over each. The whole breakdown was then divided into two grand divisions. One was presided over by Heber C. Kimball and the other by President Brigham Young. Brigham Young was then "sustained over all the camps of Israel" as their leader. The apostles were appointed to take charge over divisions under the two general grand divisions.²³ Captains were then appointed over groups of tens, fifties, and hundreds. Each company had assigned to it an issuing commissary and each had a contractor as well as a clerk who kept careful records and notes of all happenings.²⁴

The effectiveness of this more detailed organization was revealed when President Brigham Young announced that the camp would have to go on rations of one-half pound of flour per day per individual.²⁵ This measure was taken with the thought that a conservation of food would have to be made, since it was decided to send a group of 100 men ahead to go over the plains to the Rocky Mountains to put in crops. This plan, however, was soon thwarted as we shall subsequently see.

It was soon apparent to Brigham Young that unless some direction was given to the whole camp, trouble was in the offing, for already, as was the custom, the leading commissary from each company was out in advance or off to the flanks of

²³Smith, op. cit., p. 405.

²⁴Hosea Stout, op. cit., p. 279.

²⁵Ibid., p. 211.

the line of travel with his teams and wagons, buying grain. Since each had the responsibility of securing feed for the animals, flour and ground meal for the families within his company, he was anxious to get ahead of his brother companies. President Young called a council and reproved the captains for going out to buy corn and bidding against each other on the market. Corn which had been 15¢ a bushel now was being held up by the sellers for 20¢ and 25¢ just because of the competition.²⁶ The old law of economics--supply and demand--was thrown into effect along the pioneer line of travel.

In addition to the purchase of supplies by the contracting commissary, men from the companies were ever seeking employment and means to increase their stock of goods. Sarah Pea Rich, in her daily log kept on the trail, says:

Beyond the Chariton River, Brother Rich took a contract to clear one acre of ground. This they [the group] accomplished in one day and got 23 bushels of corn for we had to feed our teams all this time while the brethren were doing this work.²⁷

Brigham Young exerted great "patriarchal care" over the migrating thousands.²⁸ No family problem was too small for his solicitous care. Neither did a yoke which was too small for the neck of an ox escape his notice. Or if the lead lining on the yoke had frayed or worn through so that it rubbed a sore on the ox, he was there to give advice and help.

²⁶Hosea Stout, op. cit., p. 276.

²⁷Sarah Pea Rich, "Journal," Book I (L. D. S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City), p. 77.

²⁸Tullidge, Life of Brigham Young, p. 35.

Thomas L. Kane, who visited the saints in their stricken condition on the Missouri River and had followed their trail of departure out of Nauvoo, had this to say about the tender care administered by the saints to their animals:

A strong trait of the Mormons was their kindness to their brute dependents, and particularly to their beasts of draught. They gave them the holiday of the Sabbath whenever it came around; I believe they would have washed them with old wine, after the example of the emigrant Carthaginians had they had any.²⁹

Whooping cough broke out among the camp and children suffered severely. Hosea Stout had three children who suffered and died along the trail with it, the last son--his own namesake--passing away just before arriving on the Missouri River.

But deaths were frequent along the trail. Orson Spencer's wife died near Indian Creek. Many others died from exhaustion and privation. Fresh graves stood as silent, unmarked benedictions of a life of toil having come to an end.

On the prairie there was no lumber for boxes. To bury a loved one without proper cover in the cold earth was heart-breaking, though each of those left behind had a religious conviction that "to dust must thou return." Blankets were needed as warmth for the living so it would not do to sacrifice them as coverings for the dead. But another, yet less appropriate means was found to do homage to their dead. A log was

²⁹Thomas L. Kane, The Mormons, a discourse before the Pennsylvania Historical Society, March 26, 1850 (Philadelphia: King & Baird, Printers, 1850), p. 37.

cut eight or nine feet long. The bark was then split lengthwise down the sides and the body was placed in this with withes made of alburnum to hold it tight. Thus it "formed a rough sort of tubular coffin."³⁰

The Chariton River was the next important camp grounds. It had deep and sandy banks. Wagons were helped down the banks with ropes attached from behind. Sometimes by going up the stream several miles the saints found a more favorable crossing but it would be out of the line of travel. Advance scouts were out in the lead, building roads, cutting away the points of jutting hills or making bridges over streams not too large to find timbers to span. The diary of George A. Smith says that "Elijah and Elisha Averett (twin brothers) built a bridge forty feet long over Shoal Creek this week."³¹

Nearly all the inhabited area of Iowa in the spring of 1846 was east of the city of Des Moines. The western third of this portion was made up of small, scattered settlements whose residents had thrown off the shackles of gregariousness and had ventured into the horizons of new hope.

Leaving the Chariton River the line of march took the pioneers over a twelve-mile prairie. Rain was again the order of the day. Wagons sunk in the mud up to their beds and women and children had to evacuate them until their wagons could be "doubled" out of the holes. "Many of the wagons with families

³⁰Ibid., p. 17.

³¹George A. Smith, "Journal" (Copy of MS in L.D.S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City).

in them stayed on the prairie over night, wet and cold they were, having no fire, or any material with which to make one."³²

From the twelve-mile prairie their travels crossed the Missouri border and the saints found themselves back in the state of their many trials. They were now in Putnam County, Missouri. The council met and it was soon decided to take a northwesterly course as soon as they could. Once again they had come into the rolling prairie country. It was short of wood. The grass was infested with prairie rattlers, and the waters were "ague-sweet and brackish," as Kane put it.

Speaking of rattlers, Horace Whitney's diary entry of April 23, 1846, says:

The other day one of Brother Kimball's horses being bitten he laid his hands on the part effected, and rebuked the sickness occasioned by the poison in the name of the Lord, which prayer was almost immediately answered. Brother Kimball says it is just as proper to lay hands on a horse or an ox and administer to them in the name of the Lord, and of as much utility, as it is to a human being, both being creatures of His creation, both, consequently, having a claim to His attention.³³

Andrew Jenson records a similar experience. He says that on one occasion a team was sent back from Richardson's Point to help bring some remaining stragglers forward. The horse took sick and hands were laid on it. The healing was instantaneous and the party was soon on its way. However, before the day was out the horse was again down. This time

³²Ibid.

³³Whitney, op. cit., p. 135.

he lay as if dead. They made attempts to get him to take medicine but to no avail. Again hands were laid on him and a prayer offered in which the evil influence was rebuked. The horse rolled over a couple of times and sprang to his feet. He was harnessed next morning and helped to draw a good load. Some in the party doubted the propriety of the use of this ordinance of administration but the owner of the horse quoted the words of the Prophet Joel that in the last days the Lord would pour out His spirit on all flesh.³⁴

The reader will bear in mind that these emigrants had no home. Their objective was miles to the west. To get there required wagons and teams. To lose one horse or ox left them stranded. That was their faith!

In a speech delivered by Mr. S. Leffler, of Iowa, in the House of Representatives, June 2, 1850, he speaks of the condition of these homeless wanderers:

Having been stripped of most of their property, forced to leave without ceremony, unprovided for such a journey, they took their way towards the wilderness, the most wretched, downcast, God-forsaken population I ever beheld on the face of the earth. I recollect I had occasion, while a candidate for the first seat I occupied in this House, at the time of their exodus, in the autumn of 1846, to traverse the southern part of the State, and found them camped along the route and dragging along the road, for more than one hundred miles. They reached the Missouri river late in the fall of that year.³⁵

Bedraggled and destitute as they may have seemed when

³⁴Jenson, op. cit., p. 880.

³⁵John C. Rives, Appendix to the Congressional Globe, for the 1st Sess. of 31st Cong. (Washington: privately printed by John C. Rives, 1850), XXII, Part 1, 820.

judged from outward appearances, their spirits gave no expression of such tone. Apostle Orson Pratt writes in his diary "that notwithstanding our suffering, hardships and privations we are cheerful, and rejoice that we have the privilege of passing through tribulations for truth's sake."³⁶

On several occasions during the course of travel Brigham Young had to reprove some for dishonesty. Others were lax in practice of those Christian virtues which were so necessary under conditions where such a large body was scattered. But all in all President Young reminded them that the Lord was pleased with the camp in general.

Despite these adverse conditions and hardships, they had time to construct boweries or shelters of limbs and boughs thrown on top of poles suspended from posts. These were only temporary, but they provided the setting for sermons from the leaders, stories, hymns of praise, selections from the brass band and other instrumental music. Though stripped of possessions, yet they felt happy and free. And by the end of the summer Nauvoo had been abandoned by the Mormons. Thousands of homes lost their proud owners and Iowa became scattered over with some 16,000 souls, 3,000 wagons and 30,000 head of cattle as well as great numbers of horses, mules, sheep and other household pets.³⁷ These people, too, were seeking to be happy and free from mob violence.

³⁶Tullidge, The Western Galaxy, I, 93-108.

³⁷Bloomer, op. cit., p. 591.

The exiles had now arrived at what would become Garden Grove. It was in Decatur County and 145 miles from Nauvoo. Soon they were to move onto lands occupied solely by the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawattamie Indians in the southwestern portion of Iowa.³⁸

Here temporarily ended a journey for the more destitute saints. They were to stop, plant crops, increase their possessions until they were able to move on westward.

³⁸Frederic Logan Paxson, The Last American Frontier (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1913), pp. 94-95.

CHAPTER II

GARDEN GROVE, A SETTLEMENT FOR THE DESTITUTE

About one-half the distance between the two great rivers had been covered. Upon leaving Nauvoo the saints had entered Lee County, Iowa, located in the extreme southeast corner of the state as it now exists. From there they went into Davis, through Appanoose, into Wayne and now they stopped in Decatur County. This was about mid-state east and west, along the southern border.

Upon leaving Sugar Creek camp, Colonel Stephen Markham with one hundred men under his command set out in advance of the main body to clear the way and build roads, fashion bridges, select temporary encampments and do what was necessary to make conditions easier for the oncoming company,¹ for this company following was to be composed of sick and aged, expectant mothers, and small children.

On the afternoon of April 24, President Brigham Young and Henry Sherwood rode up a branch of the Grand River and selected a location for a settlement. Thus, three days later, the council decided that this location on the East Fork of

¹Joseph Fielding Smith, Essentials in Church History (13th ed.: Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1950), pp. 406-7.

the Grand River should be called "Garden Grove."²

Garden Grove was pleasantly situated for there was an abundance of timber. Soil was virgin and the country was all that its name implied. It fulfilled all the necessary early requirements for habitation--water, timber for rails and fence posts and logs for cabins or huts, and deep rich loam soil.³ Such a combination of physical factors was to make the Hawkeye State a leading agricultural area and one which exceeds all others in the value of farm products.⁴

The leaders recognized in Garden Grove a central point or half-way station between the two rivers. This "magic city of the woods," as Hosea Stout so aptly put it, was located 145 miles from Nauvoo, 157 from Winter Quarters on the Missouri, 17 miles from the next stop, Mount Pisgah, 17 miles north of the Missouri border, and 120 miles northeast of St. Joseph, Missouri.⁵

It was planned that this place would provide a sort of recruiting settlement for the poor saints. Even before the month of May was over, there were several hundred settlers in the new camp. It was beyond the enemies of the church yet

²"Journal History," April 27, 1846 (Unpublished day-by-day account of events of Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Office of L.D.S. Church Historian, Salt Lake City).

³Hosea Stout, "Diary of Hosea Stout," (MSS copied by Brigham Young University Library, 1941), I, 218.

⁴"Iowa," The Progressive Reference Library (Chicago: The Holst Publishing Co., 1936), IV, 1400-03.

⁵E. Cecil McGavin, The Mormon Pioneers (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis, Inc., 1947), p. 66.

close enough so that even those without equipment, if need be, could walk to it from the "City Beautiful." Along with these necessary and natural advantages, crops could be planted and the ground fenced into a "big field" and then the advance company could move on toward the final objective--somewhere in the "Rocky Mountains."

Had not Hyrum Smith, brother to Joseph the Prophet, pronounced this final destination in a blessing upon the head of Lorenzo Dow Young along with twelve or fifteen other brethren of the Priesthood on January 8, 1836? This blessing of administration was given just a little over two months before the Kirtland Temple was dedicated. Lorenzo Young, brother to Brigham, had been working late in the fall to finish the mortar work on the outside of the temple. It was so cold that his companion workers had quit for the season, but he was determined to finish the building. In doing so he contracted what Dr. Seely and another doctor had pronounced as quick consumption. Dr. Seely gave him up saying that his lung capacity was only that of the size of a tea cup. However, the blessing which Hyrum Smith pronounced upon Lorenzo Young's head promised that he would get well. To give Lorenzo's own words with respect to the blessing:

He said I should regain my health, live to go with the Saints into the bosom of the Rocky Mountains to build up a place there and that my cellar should overflow with wine and fatness.^{6,7}

⁶James Amasa Little, "Biography of Lorenzo Dow Young," Utah Historical Quarterly, XIV, 45-46.

⁷A revelation on the expulsion of the Saints from Nauvoo was given August 6, 1842, by the Prophet Joseph at

When the bugle was sounded and "noses were counted" at Garden Grove, 359 laboring men were reported in the camp. Soon 110 men were at work cutting trees, splitting rails, putting up fences, cutting log lengths for huts; 48 men were to build houses; 12 were to dig wells and 10 to build bridges, for the camp was now on the Grand River. The remaining number were assigned to make sod plows, to plow, harrow and to plant the grain. Already the wisdom could be seen for the minimum requirements per family as outlined by Parley P. Pratt the winter before. He had listed as essentials for a family from 10 to 20 pounds of seed together with plows, equipment, etc., for sowing the ground.

Hosea Stout records that there was a long string of "log houses now being put up on the east and west farm for the accommodation of those who were going to stay, which gave the appearance of a civilized country again."⁸

In writing the pioneer story of the trek westward, Helen Mar Whitney draws upon the diary of her husband, Horace Whitney. She writes of the oxen drawing rails "this afternoon" (May 8, 1846), and that the brethren had finished the

Montrose, Iowa. He had crossed over the river with General James Adams, Colonel Brewer, and other high Masons to install officers of the Rising Sun Lodge. While General Adams, deputy grand master of Illinois, was giving instructions to the master-elect, Joseph Smith was giving some instructions to some of the brethren, then in the shade of the building. He declared that, among other things, the "Saints would be driven to the Rocky Mountains. . . ." Smith, op. cit., p. 324.

⁸Stout, "Diary of Hosea Stout," II, 314.

fencing, having enclosed 300 acres, leaving some 10,000 rails in surplus for future use. Besides this, house logs enough for 30 or 40 more buildings were left.⁹

Heman C. Smith states that two farms were fenced and cultivated with an area respectively of 1,000 and 500 acres. A meeting house was also located within the present corporate city limits of Garden Grove, and a mill was also constructed at this time.¹⁰

President Young, inspired to sense the immediate need of the camp in this outer periphery of civilization, admonished the camp to sell their feather beds, silk dresses, earrings, finger rings, chains, brooches, pocket watches and other small unnecessary items. If they could spare one of their wagons, or a harness or saddle in exchange for flour, groceries, oxen to plow with, milk cows and a few sheep to tide them over for a few weeks, it would be the means of survival. By that time crops of their own would be sufficient for winter use and starvation would be averted.

This admonition of President Young was put to vote and all hands indicated a willingness to abide the President's counsel. They would sell and trade these luxuries.

A letter was then directed to the other saints

⁹Helen Mar Whitney, "Our Travels Beyond the Mississippi," Women's Exponent, XII (December, 1883), 132.

¹⁰Heman C. Smith, "Early Settlement at Garden Grove," Journal of History (Board of Publications, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1908), II, 102-12. (This publication should not be confused with unpublished "Journal History" heretofore cited.)

scattered from Garden Grove back to Nauvoo, Illinois, suggesting this same course--selling less important for more important things. The letter of President Young then concluded with, "such are the whisperings of the Spirit to me."¹¹

Immediately men were on their way into the Missouri settlements with the things that could be sacrificed and it would not be many days hence until they would return bringing wagons loaded with flour, meal, groceries and other staples to ward off starvation.

The saints were poor at Garden Grove and though they now had a place where they could stop and begin to recruit their efforts, they were without many things. They needed milk cows for the young families. Frequently on the journey when an ox became lame or too poor to pull the load, a milk cow was substituted but it was not long before she could not give much milk.¹²

On Sunday, May 10, 1846, not far from the beautiful thick wood of tall, shell bark hickory, President Young called the camp together for the usual service. No matter where the saints were along the trail, or how few miles had been made that week, Sunday was always observed with the same devotion that characterized the zeal of this "peculiar people." He spoke of organization, of the need for some to remain behind, of some going on ahead to "lengthen the cords and build a few

¹¹"Journal History," May 2, 1846.

¹²Sarah Pea Rich, "Journal," Book I (L. D. S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City), p. 75.

more stakes."

Then a resolution was passed by the body that the land which had been enclosed, and all that pertained thereto, should be considered as belonging to the church. Each man or family was allowed a certain portion of land to till but if it was neglected it was to be taken from him, for this was the philosophy of the new church. Every man was to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. There were to be no loafers. To subsist meant to toil early and late. Those who were able-bodied were to assist the aged and otherwise incapacitated.¹³

William Clayton tells us that Samuel Bent was appointed at this meeting (May 10, 1846) to preside over those left at this settlement. He chose David Fullmer and Ezra T. Benson for counselors.¹⁴ But two days later the vote was rescinded that Ezra T. Benson remain at Garden Grove and Aaron Johnson was selected in his place.

Some light is cast on the substitution of Aaron Johnson for Elder Benson in the latter's autobiographical sketch:

This was a great place for rattlesnakes. Either an ox or a horse came up almost every night with a swelled head. I became very much dissatisfied with this place; it seemed as though I could not tarry there under any circumstances. Brother Brigham Young told me that, if I could get a team and a man to take my place, I might go on with him. Brother Phippen let me have a large yoke of oxen, with the promise that I should pay him in a future day; and Brother Aaron Johnson agreed to take my place in the presidency of the branch. I truly felt as though this was the happiest day I had seen. The Lord had provided me with such a team in a wilderness country.¹⁵

¹³"Journal History," May 10, 1846, p. 1.

¹⁴Clayton, op. cit., pp. 30-1.

¹⁵Evans and Anderson, op. cit., p. 115.

The scope of the authority delegated to President Samuel Bent was outlined in a letter of appointment, May 12, 1846. His duties were to preside over the Garden Grove settlement; to divide out the lands fenced by the advanced companies; to see that no man had the use of land which he was unwilling to till or to take proper care of. He was to receive the tithes of the Saints and with it to care for the needy and poor. Crops were also to be secured and properly placed in storage for future use so that nothing was lost. Brigham Young and the quorum of the Twelve Apostles had been at Garden Grove for three weeks lacking one day and now, on the 13 of May, President Young took leave for the next stopping place.

Father Bent, as he had come to be called by the people because of their love for him, had been in the church thirteen years. He had received the gospel in far away Pontiac, Oakland County, Michigan, and his daughters were the first to receive the gift of tongues in that area.¹⁶

Samuel Bent was president of the High Council at Nauvoo¹⁷ when ejected by the mob. He had been assigned captain of one hundred in the Camp of Israel, traveling in company with others of the High Council. On one occasion when Joseph Smith had proposed that one hundred men be sent to the West as a preliminary exploring party, Samuel Bent was

¹⁶Edward Stevenson, "Journal" (Microfilm copy in the L. D. S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City), p. 79.

¹⁷Evans and Anderson, op. cit., p. 113.

one of the first to volunteer. On his shoulders was to rest the principal responsibility for the care of this poor and destitute group.

The settlement had now begun to take on the appearance of a well-planned community. The site being well-selected, Henry Sherwood had completed the survey and all was fenced. Log huts or cabins, intended only for temporary shelters, were laid up in "cob fashion" leaving from three to eight inches of open space between the logs.¹⁸ Quilts and old rugs or anything else available were hung up on the inside against the wall. Mud was also chinked in the cracks or slabs of wood fit into them to keep out the weather.

Since most logs were sawed by hand over a saw pit with one man standing above and another down beneath in a pit to guide the saw from the other end, not much lumber was readily available. Here at Garden Grove, Hosea Stout mentions that Brother Patten and Brother Hill went down below camp about a mile and "put a saw log on a pit for they wanted to saw it into inch plank for Brigham's wagons."¹⁹

The first birth at Garden Grove occurred to bless the home of Welber J. Earl. This took place April 29, 1846. On May 2, just three days later, Samuel Thomas died of consumption. This was the first death at the first temporary settlement.

¹⁸McGavin, op. cit., pp. 79-85.

¹⁹Hosea Stout, "Diary," II, 220.

Hosea Stout, too, lost another son, having buried one back along the eastern part of the trek. His record for May 9, after returning home from helping Brother Ezra T. Benson saw some plank, tells of his finding his little son Hyrum dying with whooping cough:

He died in my arms about 4 o'clock. This was the second child which I had lost both dying in my arms. He died with the whooping cough and black canker. . . . My wife is yet unable to go about and little Hosea my only son now is wearing down with the same complaint. . . . I have forebodings of coming evil on my family yet we are truly desolate and afflicted and entirely destitute of anything even to eat much less to nourish the sick and just able to go about myself.²⁰

Charles C. Rich and family were delayed at Garden Grove because of the illness of George Patten, whom they had adopted and were taking with them. Patten was in his eighteenth year when at the Chariton River, some sixty miles from Nauvoo, he became ill with mountain fever.²¹ He lay rocking in the wagon for about three weeks and his hip bones were clean through his flesh. He was put to bed in an unconscious condition in a tent at Garden Grove. Charles C. Rich and Russell Brownell took turns staying by him each night until they were both exhausted from loss of sleep.

One night Charles asked his wife to relieve him. This was in the middle of the night. She kindly consented. John Henry Evans relates:

On going into the tent she looked at George. He lay stretched on the couch, all but dead. His breathing was

²⁰Ibid., p. 226.

²¹Rich, op. cit., II, 3.

heavy and his lips very swollen. Taking her seat beside the bed, she pondered over the situation. What would she do if George were her own flesh and blood? She knelt down and prayed not that God would heal the boy, but that He would show her what to do under the circumstances.

When I got up from praying (she tells us) I was led by my feelings to put a teaspoon of consecrated oil in his mouth. His tongue was drawn far back in his mouth and was very black and his eyes to all appearances set in his head. I did not see that he swallowed the oil. To my great joy I noticed that he swallowed it. With a soft swab I rubbed his tongue and mouth in order to remove the black crust that was forming in his mouth and throat. I then gave him a little brandy and water, and he swallowed that. Then I made some tea of what we called horsemint, which he also swallowed. After that I washed his hands and face in water and soda. Thus I worked with the dear boy till day light.

To my great joy George opened his eyes and looked at me as though he were astonished. I said, "George do you know me?" And he answered in a whisper, "Yes!"²²

This boy recovered later, crossed the plains, and married after settling in Utah.

Many such conditions existed in Garden Grove and other places along the trail. And before this summer was out Father Bent had yielded to the Greater Power and passed away August 16, 1846. With insufficient food, lack of shelter and medicines for doctoring, along with hardship, many strong men bowed in death to adversity.

Before Ezra T. Benson moved from Garden Grove one of his wives, Adeline, gave birth to her first baby, a son, who was christened George Taft Benson. He became the grandfather of Elder Ezra Taft Benson, who is a member of the quorum of Twelve Apostles today (1954).²³

²²John Henry Evans, Charles Coulson Rich (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936), pp. 119-120.

²³Evans and Anderson, Ezra T. Benson, p. 115.

Upon Samuel Bent's death David Fullmer and Aaron Johnson took temporary charge at Garden Grove. They immediately wrote to the council of the Twelve (at Winter Quarters) expressing the deep loss of their leader:

Garden Grove is left without a president, and a large circle of relatives and friends are bereft of an affectionate companion and friend, and the Church has sustained the loss of an undeviating friend to truth and righteousness. The glory of his death is, that he died in the full triumphs of faith and knowledge of the truth of our holy religion, exhorting his friends to be faithful; having three days previous received intimations of his approaching end by three holy messengers from on high.²⁴

These two men, Fullmer and Johnson, worked faithfully during the summer to care for the needy. The crops were watched with solicitation and an orderly procedure had been followed in seeing that the stock owned by the community had been herded and kept out of the growing fields of grain, potatoes and garden stuff.

But to them there was always a constant challenge. Men with equipment and means never came to stay. They paused long enough to visit a little, rest their teams, make any necessary repairs of harnesses and wagons and have blacksmith work done. It was estimated that at the close of the year there were about 200 Latter-day Saints located at Garden Grove.²⁵

Just before the close of this first year (1846) the

²⁴Andrew Jenson, Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1901), I, 367-68.

²⁵Andrew Jenson, "Iowa Settlements," Northern States Mission (MS in L.D.S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City).

Council at Winter Quarters wrote to brother Charles C. Rich, who had gone on to Mount Pisgah to become president there, and to David Fullmer at this place, advising the location of the poor saints in these settlements where they would be nearer to supplies rather than going on to the Bluffs at the Missouri River.

The poor saints referred to were families too destitute of this world's goods to remove from Nauvoo, Illinois. Many of them, however, left Nauvoo of necessity with what goods and food they could carry on their backs and crossed over the Mississippi River into Iowa in the city of Montrose. It had been one of the first white settlements established in the state. In 1837 it had been laid out by D. W. Kilbourne and many Mormons had settled there.

To Montrose (Mount of Roses) then, most all of the remnants of Nauvoo came. Here they waited at the mercy of others. Teams were sent from Winter Quarters to the Mississippi. They left Winter Quarters September 11, 1846, and arrived on the Mississippi October 7. On the 9th, two days after arrival, the camp of the poor saints was organized and they started for the Missouri River. After reaching Garden Grove many were left to take up farms and prepare for future journey westward. The writer van der Zee, in an article "The Mormon Trails in Iowa," says, speaking of these poor saints:

They comprised a miserable remnant of about seven hundred people, physically unfit and poorly equipped, and they lay huddled at a camp north of Montrose until wagons

arrived for them from Garden Grove and Mt. Pisgah in October 1846.²⁶

In February of the following year (1847), Elder Orson Pratt was sent to reorganize these two settlements, Mount Pisgah and Garden Grove. These two settlements now embodied those remnants of poor saints. At Mount Pisgah Charles C. Rich was installed president with Lorenzo Snow as counselor, and at Garden Grove David Fullmer became president with Aaron Johnson counselor. At this time there were 110 families at Mount Pisgah and 120 families at Garden Grove.²⁷

The scenes at Garden Grove were ever shifting. As family heads acquired enough property such as teams, wagons and other needs, they bade farewell to the other poor saints and started for Kaneshville on the Missouri. Consequently there was ever a degree of shifting population in Garden Grove.

David Fullmer came into the church in 1836, having been baptized by Henry G. Sherwood in Richmond County, Ohio. In 1837 he went to Kirtland, Ohio, and later to Missouri where he lived until he was forced to leave his property and take his family to Nauvoo, Illinois. Here he was appointed as a member of "The Living Constitution" committee whose business it was to settle difficulties which might arise among the different mechanical trade associations and industries. He was a captain of a hundred upon his departure from Nauvoo with his wife, Rhoda Arvin, and their family.²⁸ With such a

²⁶Jacob van der Zee, "The Mormon Trails in Iowa," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XII (1914), 4-15.

²⁷"Journal History," November 3, 1846.

²⁸Jenson, L.D.S. Biographical Encyclopedia, I, 290-1.

background he was well qualified for his work at Garden Grove.

At this time there was no civil authority here. The only laws which people had to regulate them in their relationships with their neighbors were embodied in the statutes of the church. Whenever a controversy arose between two parties, those appointed leaders had to sit as the judges and arbitrate the differences. As an example, men in extreme poverty and destitution sometimes resorted to means which were branded as "shady" and underhanded in order to secure bread and other provisions for a destitute family.

Because of the state of affairs existent there, Orson Hyde, who had been appointed president over all the saints in Iowa, wrote to David Fullmer. The letter was dated July 19, 1847, and was directed from Winter Quarters, Omaha Nation.²⁹

Among other things, he charged the branch at Garden Grove with theft and wickedness according to reports brought the High Council at Winter Quarters. He further charged that division and contentions existed within the branch there. He suggested that an action of disfellowship would be taken against them all, which was subsequently done on July 25, 1847, by the High Council at Winter Quarters under direction of Alpheus Cutler, their president.

However, on August 7, 1847, President Cutler wrote to the branch at Garden Grove informing them that David Fullmer, Daniel D. Hunt, Lyman A. Shurtliff, and Duncan

²⁹"Journal History," July 19, 1847.

McArthur had appeared in person before the Council at the Bluffs, giving a full account of the charges. After fully examining all details of the difficulties, the Council re-stored the branch at the Grove to full fellowship.³⁰

Noting the extreme poverty among his people, a few months before David Fullmer was released from his duties as president, because of his desire to go west, he had dispatched Brothers Shurtliff and Hunt into the communities of the gentiles and among the wealthy people of settled communities, begging help for the destitute among his group. After their return Brothers Hunt and Derby were sent forth to seek more help from the people. The saints at home united their prayers for their prosperity, "hoping that the Lord would soften the hearts of the gentiles, that they might contribute to their necessities," and it seemed that such was the case. Their missions of mercy resulted in acquirement of some hundreds of dollars and goods worth much more than that amount. Thus many of the poor, widows, and orphans at Garden Grove were relieved from the oppression of immediate poverty.³¹

In October, 1847, David Fullmer left for the Bluffs as he wanted to leave for the Valley in the spring. Thomas Kington was sustained as president by vote of the people to fill the vacancy.

Late in 1847 Thomas Kington received word from the First Presidency at the Bluffs to remain in Garden Grove

³⁰Ibid., August 7, 1847, pp. 12-13.

³¹Ibid., October 8, 1847, pp. 2-3.

during the winter and prepare to leave in the spring. Willard Richards told him that all the saints on the Omaha side would be moving across to the Iowa side the next spring (1848) and that they could then come, build houses and return for the poor saints.

Some misunderstanding began circulating at Garden Grove that David Fullmer had sold all the church properties of Garden Grove to one Dr. R. Roberts, but in a letter to the saints at Garden Grove, Brigham Young emphatically emphasized that Dr. Roberts had no claim on the church property. He also said that he would send Elders James W. Cummings and Lucius N. Scovill from the Missouri and Elder Lorenzo Snow from Mount Pisgah to the Grove to straighten out the misunderstanding.³²

During the ensuing months the saints were advised to plant crops and remain where they were except those who found themselves with means to move on to the Missouri River.

Wilford Woodruff passed through Garden Grove in August, 1848, on his way East, and reported that the people were happy and that he had a good visit with "Thomas Kington and the Church."³³

Later in the summer, George A. Smith wrote to the First Presidency from Carbonca, Iowa (near Council Bluffs) reporting that "President Kington of Garden Grove spent the day with us." Elder Kington had come from his home to

³²Ibid., January 6, 1848, p. 1.

³³Ibid., August 22, 1848, p. 2.

Kanesville for October conference of the church. He stated further that "the Saints were all in good spirits; union and peace prevails among them; no difficulty among them."³⁴

It was not until the early spring of 1852 that nearly all the saints left Garden Grove for the Rocky Mountains, and only two families were left, "namely Oliver C. Hoskins and Jefferson Copeland, with their respective families. These two families resided about five miles from Garden Grove."³⁵

For many of the 500 saints³⁶ this had been home for several years. They had improved it and enlarged upon the 300 acres originally planted and fenced. They had learned to love it, but the stronger call of the "spirit of gathering" was to lead them across the plains and over the mountains. This land of south-central Iowa had been hallowed by their toil and purpose.

Assistant Church Historian Andrew Jenson, of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, visited Garden Grove in September, 1893, and found a city of about 600 inhabitants. The present city is located not far from the one established by the exiles. The people there today are well pleased with the town's location, feeling that no finer town-site exists in the whole state of Iowa. The surrounding farm

³⁴Ibid., October 2, 1848, p. 15.

³⁵Jenson, "Iowa Settlements."

³⁶"Journal History," December 31, 1847.

land is fertile and the people generally are well-to-do.³⁷

Garden Grove was the home of the poor saints for six years, from 1846 to 1852. Many of those saints left at Nauvoo, Illinois, who did not have wagons but who were brought to Iowa by teams sent from Winter Quarters in October, were given homes in Garden Grove. They were assigned land to farm and were allowed to better themselves until they were finally able to move on to Utah in 1852. Garden Grove will be cherished by many people in the church today whose forebears were given opportunity there to live, work and improve their lot that they might make the trek to the new land of promise in the Great Basin.

³⁷Deseret News, XXXXVII, 579.

CHAPTER III

MOUNT PISGAH, A DUPLICATE OF GARDEN GROVE

From Garden Grove to Mount Pisgah was twenty-seven miles. The camp of Israel traveled this in seven days. Here the leaders were to designate another temporary stopping place for the poor and ill-equipped.

For the first company it was a winding trail leading along the crooked ravines; and sometimes at the end of the day's travel, the camping place of the one started from that same morning would be in sight. And in this prairie grass of southern Iowa lurked the prairie rattler which gave so much fright to the emigrants and which did so much damage to the animals. Sarah Pea Rich, wife of Charles C. Rich, says: "It was no uncommon thing to find snakes coiled up under our beds when we took them up in our tent in the morning."¹

The American Guide Series records the following under title of "General Information":

Poisonous snakes not common, though there are timber and prairie rattlers in southern and northeastern Iowa. . . . Water in Iowa creeks and streams not usually safe for drinking. . . . Streams have little dangerous quicksand, but depths often deceiving.²

¹Rich, op. cit., II, 7.

²Iowa: The American Guide Series. Compiled by the Federal Writers Project, Works Progress Administration for State of Iowa (New York: The Viking Press, 1941), p. xxvi.

Among the many talented and gifted men coming into the early church was one Parley Parker Pratt, whose activity and interest was felt everywhere. He was among the vanguard of saints leaving Nauvoo early in February. To him is credited the naming of Mount Pisgah.

After Parley, with others, had helped to fence a farm of considerable acreage on the prairies at Garden Grove and to add some log houses, he was dispatched ahead by the Presidency. He was assigned with others in a small company to find another suitable location for just such a camp as that at Garden Grove.

It was felt by Brigham and the other leaders that if a good fertile site of many hundred acres could be found, fenced and plowed and planted, and a small nucleus of men left behind to watch over the crop, foodstuff could be insured for the future.

With this in mind, Parley P. Pratt and his small company moved ahead, crossed a branch of the Grand River and were soon to move out upon a fertile expanse of prairie country generally uninhabited. The direction which they traveled was northwest. Parley relates that small streams were encountered quite often, but because of recent heavy rains these streams became swollen and had to be bridged so that subsequent companies, composed of older men, women, and children could cross safely later.

The journey was continued in this same direction for several days and while the camp was situated on a small stream,

Pratt took his horse and went on some three miles in search of the main fork of the Grand River. While riding along through the prairie country he came "suddenly upon some round and sloping hills, grassy, and covered with beautiful groves of timber--this he called 'Mount Pisgah.'"³

Very much pleased with the many deer and other wild animals he saw, and impressed especially with the alternate groves, forests, and with beauties abounding between, Parley was impressed to call this "Pisgah."

Preston Nibley says:

The name of Mt. Pisgah, derived from the ancient mountain in Palestine from which Moses is said to have viewed the Promised Land, was a happy designation for this second settlement of the Saints in Iowa.⁴

Others referring to it speak of its name as meaning "hill or high place." It was exactly that and upon it was found a mass of grey granite which looked like an ancient altar whose rock had fallen apart under intense heat. It was the more remarkable because in this section no other rock could be seen anywhere.⁵

Parley returned to his camp with news that the long-looked-for Grand River had been found and soon the camp moved forward to pitch tents under the shade of these beautiful

³Parley P. Pratt, Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1950), p. 380.

⁴Preston Nibley, Exodus to Greatness (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1947), pp. 168-69.

⁵Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Co., 1941), p. 887.

groves.

From the diary of Hosea Stout comes the following:

It was a beautiful grove of small hickory and formed a pleasant shade and was a delightful place. . . . This place was called 'Mount Pisgah' and the main settlement was situated on a long ridge running north and south. To the west was a large deep valley or bottom land of good prairie and was now being plowed and planted while the adjoining glades and groves were teeming with men and cattle engaged in the busy hum of improving and planting. The whole woods and prairie seemed alive to business and a continual stream of emigration pouring in which looked like the entire country would be inhabited as a city in a short time.⁶

No doubt, such a picture was gratifying, for when the main body of the camp came forward, Ezra T. Benson recorded that this "was the first place that I felt willing in my heart to stay at since I left Nauvoo."

From this beautiful new spot in Iowa to Nauvoo, Illinois, was about 172 miles as the pioneers traveled. Within a short period from the time of the arrival of Pratt and company, Brigham Young was there ready to organize and direct the work of laying out another tract of land for permanency. This land was now part of the Pottawattamie Indian lands which they were soon to leave.

From the diary of William D. Huntington come details of the setting up of an organization to direct affairs here:

Thursday, May 21, 1846, the camp was called together and organized. A council of presidency was appointed over which I was to preside. To preside over both spiritual and temporal affairs with Brother Ezra T. Benson and Charles C. Rich to act as Presidents with me. Started immediately to organize for the plowing, fencing and other

⁶Hosea Stout, op. cit., II, 323-24.

matters pertaining to their stopping there.⁷

Charles C. Rich arrived at Pisgah on May 22, 1846, only four days after the advance company, "but already they had ploughed 1,000 acres of land, fenced it and put it to seed."⁸

Sarah Rich states they lived in their wagon boxes which were taken off and placed on the ground beside their tents for living quarters until they could build log cabins with bark and dirt for roofs and bark on the floor for coverings.

In speaking of the permanency that was given to the encampment at Garden Grove, Elder B. H. Roberts says that it was organized with a presidency and to each person or head of a family was assigned land in proportion to the size of his family. This, of course, did not do away with the cooperative organization of all working for the well-being of all, but it did provide for individual ownership. President Young here at Mount Pisgah, too, advised that if a man would not take care of his plot of ground, it would be taken from him. This policy dominated the spirit of all of President Young's colonization efforts. He further advised that the people be taught the law of tithing, the payment of one-tenth of their increase to the church annually, and that the tithes be taken and distributed to the poor and needy within this settlement.⁹

⁷William D. Huntington, "Diary of Wm. D. Huntington" (MS copied by Brigham Young University), May 21, 1846.

⁸Evans, Charles Coulson Rich, p. 121.

⁹Roberts, op. cit., III, 54.

At Mount Pisgah the scenes of Garden were reenacted. A farm of several thousand acres was inclosed and planted, and the place became a permanent settlement.¹⁰

To the Presidency of Mount Pisgah we must give considerable credit for the spirit and attitude built up in these early settlers of this new location. These men, headed by Father Huntington, were full of faith, ambition and the zeal to do the right thing in the sight of God. They were men who could be trusted, who were kind to the poor and considerate and solicitous of the well-being of the aged and sick. Upon their shoulders was to be a heavy load.

To illustrate their faith we read from William Huntington's diary for May 31, 1846, "Three members of the presidency went north two or three miles, pitched a tent and put on clothes of the Priesthood and held a prayer meeting, seeking the Lord for the things His people would need."¹¹

The President of this branch of the church, William Huntington, was born March 28, 1784, in New Grantham, Cheshire County, New Hampshire. His father then moved his family to Watertown, Jefferson County, New York, in the fall of 1806. William married Zina Baker, December 28, 1806, and the two of them united with the Presbyterians for the next fourteen years. William was impressed to abstain from intoxicating liquors, hot drinks, and tobacco though this religious body did not prescribe against their use. After reading the Book of Mormon, he and his wife were baptized into the Restored Church in

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Huntington, op. cit., May 31, 1846.

April, 1835. He then sold his farm, equipment and home for \$3,500 and went to Kirtland, Ohio, with the saints. It was not long until he moved into Missouri and there in the persecutions at the hands of the Missourians his wife passed away leaving a family which, under the trying circumstances, had to be sent to different families of saints to live. They were later united again. He received the appointment on October 11, 1845, to lead, as captain, a company of 100 families out of Nauvoo and up to the wilderness. When he arrived at Mount Pisgah he was called to preside over this prairie settlement. The principal residences of Father Huntington were Kirtland, Ohio, Adam-ondi-ahaman in Missouri, Nauvoo, Illinois, and Pisgah in Iowa.¹²

William Huntington's first counselor did not remain with him long, for when John E. Page was excommunicated from the church on June 27, Ezra T. Benson was called from Pisgah to go to Council Bluffs and be ordained an Apostle, July 16, 1846.¹³

Charles Coulson Rich, second counselor to William, was born in Campbell County, Kentucky, August 21, 1809. He was baptized by Ira M. Hinkley, in Tazewell County, Illinois, on April 1, 1832. He received the High Priesthood and also his temple endowments. At Missouri he took a prominent part with the saints in all of their persecutions and on more than

¹²Ibid., pp. 1-12.

¹³Jenson, Church Chronology, July 16, 1846, p. 31.

one occasion he exhibited his bravery and courage, for, while carrying a flag of truce between the camp of the saints and the mobocrats at Far West, he was the target of gunfire. During the battle of Crooked River, wherein the saints in Missouri were trying to protect their homes from being burned, and people from being kidnapped, Charles Rich showed real faith and courage:

When David W. Patten fell mortally wounded, and while bullets were flying thick and fast, he laid down his sword in the heat of battle and administered the ordinance of laying on hands to the dying hero; after which he resumed the sword, assumed command.¹⁴

Because of his faith and devotion, Charles C. Rich was later called to be an Apostle, on February 12, 1849. He was sent by President Young in October, 1849, to California with Francis M. Pomeroy to explore the territory and visit the saints living there and bring back their tithing to Salt Lake. He returned in the fall of 1850, and as Brigham Young looked down the street and saw the group coming, tired, footsore and covered with dust, he said, "the sun never shown on a more honest and dependable man than Charles C. Rich."¹⁵

The settlement at Mount Pisgah had scarcely become a month old when, on June 26, 1846, Captain James Allen, an officer in the United States Army, arrived. He had papers and commission from Colonel Stephen W. Kearney of the United

¹⁴Jenson, Historical Record, V-VIII, Bk. I, p. 10.

¹⁵Edward F. Rich, Apostle Charles C. Rich (Ogden: Published by the Author, 1934), pp. 10-11.

States Army, and Commander of the "Army of the West," to accept services for twelve months of four or five companies of Mormon men to be enlisted immediately. The United States was now at war with Mexico. Captain Allen of the First Dragoons conferred with Apostle Wilford Woodruff and President William Huntington. Then the people were called together and

Captain Allen delivered an address to the brethren appropriate to his foolish errand. I [Huntington] followed him with an address by way of commendation or as the old proverb says answering a fool according to his folly.¹⁶

When Captain Allen first came with three dragoons, the camp of Mount Pisgah "was momentarily thrown into great confusion and excitement. The report had gone from tent to tent that the United States troops are upon us." But as Captain Allen presented his request for enlistment of volunteers, Elder Wilford Woodruff, of the council of the Twelve, being camped here, referred the matter by letter to President Young at Council Bluffs. President Young urged the people to raise a battalion for the war.¹⁷ He reasoned that such a move would show patriotism to the country which they loved. It would also give to the families of the battalion left at the Bluffs money by which they could later cross the plains. It would transfer 500 men some 1,000 miles to the West at government expense. However, it would mean that their families would have to postpone their journey West for another season and therefore arrangements would have to be made for the Mormons to remain

¹⁶Huntington, op. cit., June 26, 1846.

¹⁷Jenson, Encyclopedic History, pp. 546-47.

on Indian land for a period of time.

Five days after Captain Allen first stopped at Pisgah (Allen had gone on to Council Bluffs), Parley P. Pratt arrived from the Missouri River with instructions that a company of from three to five hundred men be raised for this battalion. The women were to remain behind and the men were to take teams, seeds, mill irons, farming utensils, and other provisions, so that when they were discharged in California they could join the saints in the Rocky Mountains, some 800 miles from where they were discharged.

Early in July, 1846, Brigham Young with Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards arrived at Mount Pisgah, and Brother Brigham laid before the meeting the object of his mission. It was with some strong persuasion that eighty men were raised from this camp. Since it would take all able-bodied men from their families, it meant setting aside their trip West that year. It would also leave them without support for their families in a financial way as well as without protection from Indian attack.

Further reflection as to how many of the saints in the settlement felt about this call from the United States government especially after receiving no help when driven from their homes in four states, is given in the journal of Sarah Rich in which she speaks of the call for a battalion as "a cruel demand made upon us."¹⁸

Regardless of what the individual feelings were at the

¹⁸Evans, Charles C. Rich, p. 123.

time concerning the raising of a battalion, the venture, nevertheless, proved to be very profitable to the saints in many ways and leaders and people alike have since recognized its blessings.

Other problems, as well as the loss of the men to form the battalion, confronted the leaders at Mount Pisgah. Fences had been hastily constructed and since much of the prairie had been grazed off by stock belonging to the Indians, the cattle now became unruly and men had to go to work and "stake and rider their fences."¹⁹

Father Huntington, being in his sixties, was struck down with the chills and fever. He had worked hard in service for the others and was run down in health. He passed away August 19, 1846, after having served devotedly for three months.²⁰ Charles C. Rich took his place as President and served in this capacity from August, 1846, until February, 1847. He had the added responsibility of the battalion members' wives, though in November he had been promised a Council to help relieve his burden of administration.

President Rich and his own family were short on many items of food but gave of their sustenance to others. On one occasion the wife of one of the battalion members who was in need and whose children were starving came to him. Mrs. Rich

¹⁹Rich, op. cit., II, p. 11. This was done by putting up stakes crossways on each end of the other piles and then laying another pole on top of that so that the fence was made higher and the cattle could not jump over into the corn, potatoes and leak.

²⁰Ibid.

says:

My husband turned to me and said, 'Let this sister have some flour, Sarah.' This was a puzzle to me, knowing that we did not have twenty pounds of flour in the house, and none in the place to buy, even if we had the money to buy it with. So I said, 'We haven't twenty pounds of flour in the house and none that can be bought.' He looked at me and smiled, 'Sarah,' he said, 'let her have all there is in the house, and trust in the Lord to provide for us.'

I did as he bade me, but wondered how our own children were to eat. When the sister was gone, Mr. Rich said, 'I know, Sarah, that the Lord will open the way for us.'

Along toward evening we saw some covered wagons coming down the hill towards the house. They stopped in front, and the men came in. One of them proved to be Brother Sidwell, who had been with Brother Benson and who had called on us in the East. Brother Sidwell said he wanted to stop with us over night, and my husband told him he could. He then turned to Mr. Rich and said to him, 'The Spirit tells me you are out of money, and tells me to help you.' And he handed Mr. Rich fifty dollars. Mr. Rich handed the money to me, saying, 'Now you see the Lord has opened the way for us to get flour.' He was overcome with gratitude.

After understanding our situation, Brother Sidwell informed us that 'we have bread enough in our wagons for tonight and the morning.' He told us also they had passed a wagon load of flour a little way back which would reach here either tonight or in the morning, so that we might be supplied with bread stuff.

On this we both burst into tears, to think the Lord had so blessed us for our kindness to the poor sister and her children.

When the wagon load of flour arrived, Mr. Rich not only laid in a supply for ourselves, but also got a lot to give out to others that were sick and poor in the place. The man with the flour also let us have some groceries. He was a wealthy bachelor on his way to Winter Quarters. When, later on, we went to Winter Quarters, to begin our journey to the West, he assisted us and others to start to the mountains.²¹

According to President Young's advice the brethren had fenced between 500 and 1,000 acres and much of it had been surveyed into lots of five, ten, and twenty acres. Each

²¹Evans, Charles C. Rich, pp. 125-26.

family was allowed only that land which they were able to properly take care of.²²

Hosea Stout mentions that the whole woods and prairie seemed alive to business and that there was a continual stream of emigration pouring in which made the entire country look like an inhabited city.

Jesse W. Crosby says, "Here are many people camped in every direction. Many plowing and planting."²³

So fast were the saints moving into these early permanent camps that it was soon reported that there were approximately 2,000 saints at Mount Pisgah.²⁴

One reason for such rapid growth was that many saints did not have sufficient supplies or proper equipment to go further. They had been forced to evacuate Nauvoo in such haste that only those things which could be carried on their backs or thrown together in a hurry were taken. Three-thousand dollar homes were sold for a few hundred dollars because they could not remain long enough to make proper disposal.

Between the dictation of emergency and the establishment of this location as a stopping center, Pisgah grew rapidly and Robert Campbell was appointed the clerk and postmaster.

²²Little, op. cit., p. 53.

²³Crosby, op. cit., p. 31.

²⁴Jenson, Encyclopedic History, p. 546.

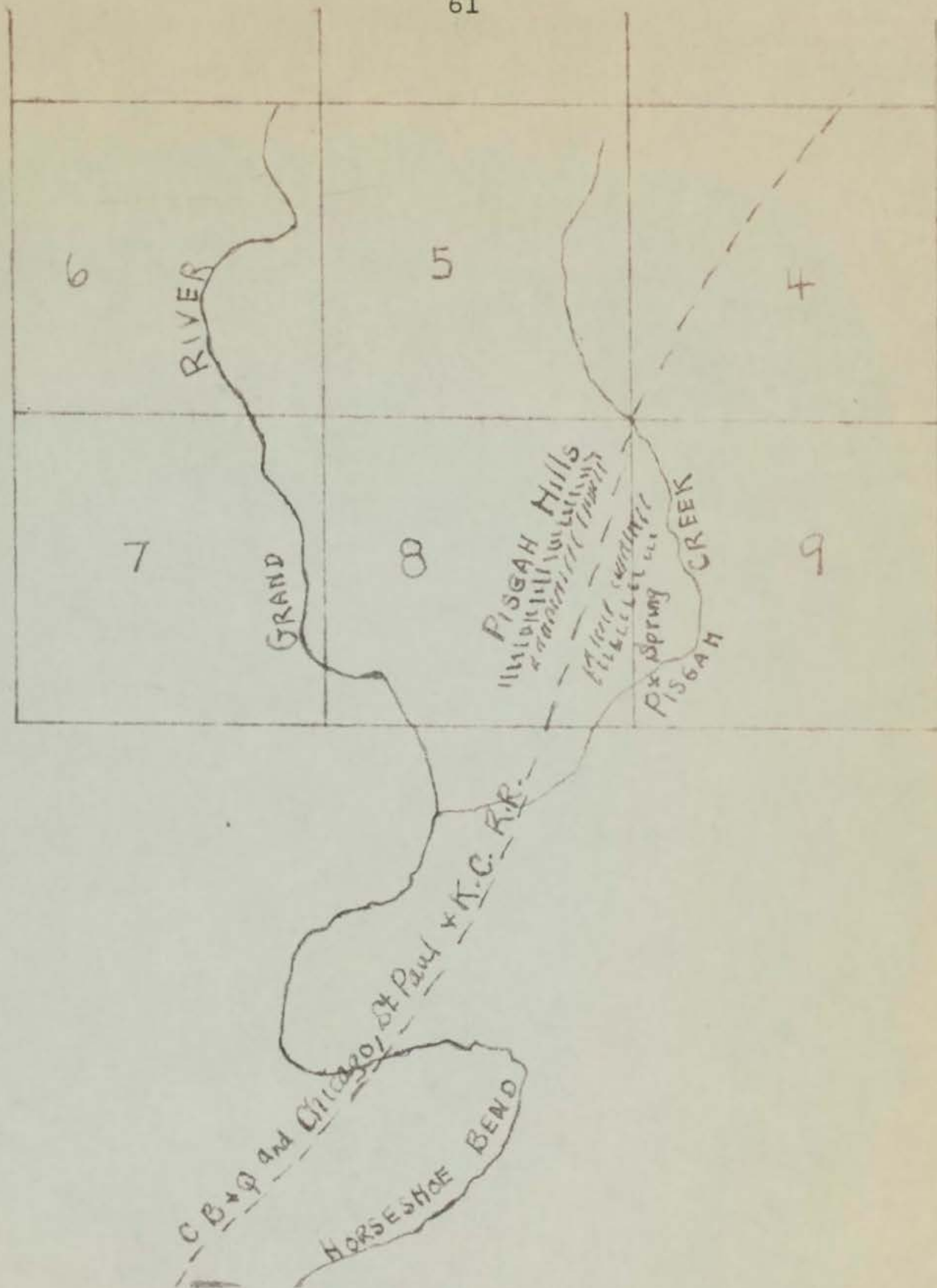


PLATE II.--Location of Mount Pisgah,
Jones Township, Union County, Iowa

Under date of March 27, 1850, "Journal History" states that Mount Pisgah and Garden Grove each included about two miles of land planted to grain, with a hamlet of comfortable log cabins in the neighborhood of each.

In the diary of William Huntington many entries read: "Twenty or thirty families passed through today to the Bluffs," or "wagons going through by the hundreds," and "much activity on the trail," or "the land is swarming with activity."

Among others, the Riches were living in a log cabin on the mount, but as autumn approached they moved to the bottoms where they would be closer to wood and water. Here the homes were more "elegant," as the record states. The latter dwellings had earth for floors and roofs, whereas the former had both floors and roofs of the bark of the easily peeled oak tree.

The people of Pisgah had their entertainment too. One party was held in the home of Lorenzo Snow at the time that President Brigham Young came to speed up the enlistment of the battalion. Lorenzo lived in a log structure, fifteen by thirty feet, with "dirt" floor and roof and a chimney of modest height in one end of the room. The chimney was made of turf cut from the "bosom of mother earth," for rock was difficult to find at Mount Pisgah. On the occasion of this party straw was strewn on the floor and the walls were draped in white sheets coming off the feather beds, which beds had been traded for food in Missouri. We have Lorenzo's own account of this:

How to light our hall suitably for the coming event was a consideration of no small moment, and one which levied a generous contribution on our ingenuity. But we succeeded. From the pit where they were buried, we selected the largest and fairest turnips--scooped out the interior, and fixed short candles in them, placing them at intervals around the walls, suspending others to the ceiling above, which was formed of earth and cane. Those lights imparted a very peaceable, quiet, Quakerlike influence, and the light reflected through those turnip rinds imparted a very picturesque appearance. . . .

The hours were enlivened, and happily passed, as we served up a dish of succotash (corn and pea kernels mixed), composed of short speeches, full of life and sentiment, spiced with enthusiasm, appropriate songs, recitations, toasts, conundrums, exhortations, etc. At the close, all seemed perfectly satisfied, and withdrew, feeling as happy as though they were not homeless.²⁵

The children, too, were not left without their get-togethers. They pursued the normal course of life's activities while at Pisgah as they did in Nauvoo but with less means. Boys had to work in the corn fields keeping the weeds from the garden.

Joseph Cluff, whose parents came to Pisgah in 1846 and stayed till the fall of 1848, when they moved on to Mosquito Creek, speaks of the family (fourteen in number) building a double log cabin near a clear spring. A farm was assigned to them and they planted the seeds that they had so carefully preserved enroute. The father and two or three of his older sons had to return to some of the Iowa settlements to work, but not until they had opened up a beautiful forest of sugar maples from which they extracted juice for sugar. These sugar maples gave remarkable first-class maple sugar and with very

²⁵Eliza R. Snow Smith, Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Company, 1884), pp. 91-100.

little effort. One had only to tap the trees and great quantities of sap were produced to make tons of sugar. The wife and smaller children cared for this profitable business while the father was away.²⁶

Joseph refers, with pride, to the season of the year when he, with other boys of the family, would gather bushels of walnuts, hickory nuts, butternuts and hazel nuts, and during the cold winter, when there were no places of frequent amusements, such as now, for the families lived so far apart that it was impossible for young people to have amusements, hence winter nights would be spent by the young folks in eating nuts and popcorn, and listening to David and Moses (two brothers) practice on the violin. In the absence of schools the parents would teach their children the A B C's.²⁷

Joseph also speaks of being but thirteen years of age and the youngest field hand; but when hoeing down the corn rows, he would come out at the end ahead of the other boys. All of the boys were required to work in the field and help take care of the crops. But, says he, we were "abundantly paid for our labors in the excellent crops grown and harvested, even in a newly settled country."

The youngest member of the family, Orson, was born to David and Betsey Hall Cluff in August, 1847, at Mount Pisgah. During the following December, the father returned from Iowa-ville, after working as a carpenter; the boys worked in a blacksmith shop and mill at the same place. Upon the father's return he sent David away to a "dancing school" for the winter.

²⁶"Cluff Family Journal, Reminiscences of Family Members," containing accounts written by various members of the family, who resided at Mount Pisgah between the years 1846 and late fall of 1848 (microfilm at Brigham Young University Library), pp. 1-153.

²⁷Ibid.

Before passing from the experiences of the Cluff

family, the following youthful event will show life at its best:

While the Cluff family was residing at Pisgah, in Iowa, an incident occurred with some of the young folks of both sexes in which Benjamin and William of the Cluff family figured quite conspicuously. Not unlike many young people of the present they wanted some recreation on the Sabbath. The boys of the party went out on the prairie range between Pisgah and "Three Mile Creek" and caught up an stray horse and hitched him to a light 'one horse wagon,' and started off for "Four Mile Creek." They were very fortunate in filling their buckets with the choicest plums and then they started for home, singing merrily as on they go until they got on the down grade. There were ten of those "young bloods" in the "one horse rig." The distance between the creeks was one mile and all the way down grade. At the top of the hill, Benjamin, who was driving, requested the young people to get out as he considered it dangerous to ride down hill, but they refused stating that they did not fear.

When the horse started down hill, having no britching on, the wagon with its precious load of ten songsters, boys and girls, with buckets full of plums, crowded on the horse, and he commenced to kick.

Benjamin was driving and beside him sat a bucksome girl, the largest girl in the wagon. The horse plunging and kicking struck this girl in the stomach and knocked her out of the wagon and only for the three inch wide corset board, which was in vogue in those days, would undoubtedly have killed her.

Next Benjamin was knocked out by a kick from the horse, making a severe cut from the corner of his mouth across his chin. Other girls and boys of the party jumped from the "rig," two only remaining in, William and young Houtz. The horse continued his flight down the hill and passed over the narrow pole bridge of "Three Mile Creek," only two wheels touching the bridge. Making a turn down the creek into a thicket of plum bushes he finally kicked himself loose from the wagon and wandered off again on his prairie range. The boys and girls all maimed and crippled up come limping home leaving their plums strewn from the top of the hill to the bottom. William and young Houtz who remained in the wagon escaped injury. Sunday frolicking taught these young people a lesson which, although they are now aged, they have never forgotten.²⁸

²⁸Ibid., p. 62.

During the winter of 1846 and 1847 the people of Mount Pisgah held a party for Charles C. Rich in Arvel Cox's shop. There were about one hundred people present. Why the party was not held in the log meeting house on the ridge we are not told unless traveling conditions were too bad. However, means provided at this party enabled Elder Rich and family to accompany James S. Holeman to the Bluffs, as Elder Rich had been down with ague and fever practically all winter, recovering just sufficiently enough to make the journey of 130 miles to Council Bluffs.

Poverty existed everywhere at Pisgah when Lorenzo Snow took over the leadership. Several families were entirely out of provisions and dependent on the charity of their neighbors, who also were ill-prepared to succor their needs. Along with this a sweeping sickness had visited the settlement, "when there were not sufficient well ones to nurse the sick; and death followed in the wake, and fathers, mothers, children, brothers, sisters and dearest friends fell victims to the destroyer." Many were buried with little or no ceremony as there were not enough well ones to accomplish this. Several were placed in one grave, such as father, mother and daughter.

Lorenzo Snow selected suitable men to go into the settlements in the state of Ohio where they gathered up funds amounting to about six hundred dollars. Elders Dana and Campbell besides securing money received much in the way of clothing and produce and Lorenzo Snow, wishing to divide, sent a wagon load of provisions to Brigham Young at the Bluffs as a

New Year's present.²⁹

The gardens in Mount Pisgah in 1846 produced exceedingly well on the virgin soil. The saints were enjoying "Peas, cucumbers and beans, and corn had silked-out and buckwheat was in flower." There were also good prospects for crops of potatoes, melons, pumpkins and squash.³⁰

The authorities were planning on the valuable crop from Mount Pisgah to help support the colony which had been proposed to be established on Grand Island; and, in return, the salt which they expected to make from the salt spring at the head of Grand Island would supply the needs of the settlements for their table use and for salting down the "jerky" or dried buffalo, venison, and antelope. There were also many wild turkey here, and some fish were caught in the Grand River.³¹

Among the other accomplishments at Mount Pisgah was the building of a small horse-power mill for the cracking of corn. It was located on the Grand River. The burrs were made from common boulders known as "nigger-heads." The stones were two by one and one-half feet in diameter, and two feet thick. Everything possible for the promotion of travel and caring for the emigrants was done by those in charge at Mount Pisgah.³²

²⁹Snow, op. cit.

³⁰Jenson, Encyclopedic History, p. 546.

³¹"Journal History," July 7, 1846.

³²Hannah Settle Lapish, "The Mormon Burial Ground at Mt. Pisgah," Improvement Era, XVII, Part II, 662-66.

To get a comparative picture of the way the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were scattered on December 31, 1847, Andrew Jenson gives the following approximated figures: ³³

	Members
Great Salt Lake Valley	1,900
Winter Quarters, Nebraska	5,000
Pottawattamie County, Iowa	1,000
Mount Pisgah, Iowa	500
Garden Grove, Iowa	500
Lee County, Iowa	100
Nauvoo, Illinois, vicinity	200
St. Louis, Missouri	1,000
Scattered in the East	5,000

When the Saints came onto the prairie lands on which the settlement of Pisgah was to be situated, they were on lands that had been in the hands of the Pottawattamie Indians. But the lands had already been sold by the Indians to the government and the Indians were to be "evacuated by next fall."³⁴

Little did anyone in the early part of the nineteenth century realize that where the "red men" had been, voting precincts would soon be set up, for in the fall of 1848 the commissioners of Monroe County, Iowa, provided for this democratic right among the Latter-day Saints to be exercised as the Constitution so provided.

The first death occurring in Mount Pisgah was the passing of Noah Rogers, on Sunday, May 31, 1846. He had been

³³"Journal History," December 31, 1847.

³⁴Huntington, op. cit., p. 65.

Captain of Ten in the Guard on the march from Nauvoo, which appointment he received after having returned from a three-year mission in the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands.

Not long after this interment another burial took place. Hyrum Spencer's body was brought to Pisgah for burial. He had died suddenly and unexpectedly some one hundred miles back on the trail, near Soap Creek. He was a brother to Orson and Daniel Spencer, whose names appear many times in church history. Hyrum was made Captain over Fifty coming from Nauvoo. Traveling was difficult and he often had to double back over the same ground several times. He brought his company into the lane leading to Garden Grove one night about nine o'clock. His task was now performed temporarily. Therefore he and his nephew returned to Nauvoo to settle some business. There in one of the stores, he was leaning against the counter trying to induce the proprietor (a mobocrat) "to fulfill a contract he had made" when the man behind another counter called him a liar. Hyrum grabbed him by his clothes, lifted him over the counter and threw him on the floor, putting his heavy boot upon his neck, while appearing to clean his hands. When Hyrum released the man, the latter went out to get a writ for the arrest of Hyrum. While in Nauvoo Hyrum traded a valuable farm for 110 head of mixed cattle. He had to go north to Alton some sixty miles above Nauvoo to receive them. His nephew was left in Nauvoo to watch the movements of the man whom Hyrum had thrown down earlier. He had organized a posse which was being assembled sixty miles below Nauvoo. Hyrum, with a companion,

drove the cattle at break-neck speed by day through the heat and flies. His desire was to get to a Mormon camp before the sheriff with the posse overtook him. For seven days he pounded the trail during the daylight hours and had to keep watch by night. He became completely exhausted and worn down in health.

His nephew told:

I think it was the seventh day out I saw him reeling in his saddle and rode up and asked him, 'What is the matter?' The reply came (with a most beautiful smile), 'Nothing is the matter, only I have done my all, help me down and I will die here.' I assisted him a short distance from the trail. This was about 4:30 p.m.; at 11:30 that night his earthly labors were hushed in peace.³⁵

Shortly after Hyrum Spencer's body was brought to Mount Pisgah for burial, the grave was marked by two stones with "H.S." chiseled on them. Two aged sisters also died here shortly after the time of Hyrum Spencer's burial.

Jenson says that during the first six months, about 150 people died at Mount Pisgah.³⁶

Sarah Rich speaks of Joseph Knight dying here. He had assisted the Prophet Joseph Smith with means to support his family while translating the Book of Mormon. She mentions also a Brother and Sister Judson who buried their little daughter one day and then both died the following day, leaving

³⁵"Journal History," January 9, 1888 (newspaper clipping of a story told by his nephew of Salt Lake City). This episode came to light years later when Oliver Huntington, son of William Huntington, Pisgah's first President, was advertising for the names of those who had died at Pisgah, to be placed on the new monument which was to be erected there.

³⁶Jenson, Encyclopedic History, pp. 546-47.

three children, one of whom died shortly. These three were placed in the same grave. There were so many sick with fever that there were hardly enough well to bury the dead.³⁷

When word was received from the First Presidency in Salt Lake City to abandon the settlement and come West, there were known to be between 200 and 300 saints interred there but many of their names were not known when the monument was later placed at Mount Pisgah.³⁸ Either more people died at Pisgah or many who died in surrounding settlements were brought there for burial.

From Zina D. Young's pen comes the following vivid and descriptive picture of the suffering and hardship which sprang up incident to the new way of life--the exodus! She says:

We reached Mount Pisgah in May. I was now with my father, who had been appointed to preside over this temporary settlement of the Saints. But an unlooked for event soon came.

One evening Parley P. Pratt arrived bringing the word from headquarters that the Mormon Battalion must be raised in compliance with the requisition of the government upon our people. And what did this news personally amount to me? That I had only my father (age 62) to look after me now; for I had parted from my husband; my eldest brother, Dimick Huntington, with his family, had gone into the Battalion, and every man who could be spared was also enlisted.

It was impossible for me to go on to Winter Quarters so I tarried at Mount Pisgah with my father. But alas! a still greater trial awaited me! The call for the Battalion had left many destitute. They had to live in wagons. But worse than destitution stared us in the face. Sickness came upon us, and death invaded our camp. Sickness was so prevalent and deaths so frequent that enough help could not be had to make coffins, and many of the dead were wrapped in their grave clothes and buried with

³⁷Rich, op. cit., II, 13-15.

³⁸"Journal History," December 1, 1888.

split logs at the bottom of the grave and brush at the sides, that being all that could be done for them by their mourning friends.

Too soon it became my turn to mourn. My father was taken sick, and in 18 days he died. Just before he left us for his better home, he raised himself upon his elbow, and said: 'Man is like the flower or the grass cut down in an hour.'

This said he sweetly went to rest with the just, a martyr for the truth, for like my dear mother, who died in the expulsion from Missouri, he died in the expulsion from Nauvoo. Sad was my heart. I alone of all his children was there to mourn.³⁹

The story of how the Mormon burial ground at Mount Pisgah was discovered is very interesting. Apparently the exact location and the names of those buried there had been lost. And it was by an unusual stroke of good fortune that this secret was revealed to the church. It came about like this.

Mrs. Hannah Settle Lapish, of American Fork, Utah, went to Dillon, Montana in August of 1885 to visit her daughter, Mrs. Stelzer. The latter was then buying dairy products from a Mr. Depue, who invited Mrs. Lapish and her daughter into his home. While there Mrs. Lapish was looking through his library while waiting for dinner, to which they had been invited. She became much interested in an old book called Reminiscences of Mount Pisgah, Iowa. The volume was an old geography of Jones Township, Union County, Iowa. In it on section 8 was marked a square about one inch each way indicating the "old Mormon burying ground."

Mrs. Depue was the daughter of Stephen White, who once

³⁹James A. Little, "Suffering on the Trail," From Kirtland to Salt Lake City (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor, 1890), pp. 54-55.

owned the land on which the "Mormon" graveyard was located. Mrs. Depue remembered well of how her father had told her of the suffering of the Mormons who camped on his land; "how they buried one man wrapped in a sheet, and how they stripped the bark from the trees to improvise a coffin for him."⁴⁰ She told further of how her father would never permit her brothers to plow up the land where the "Mormons" were buried. He added: "If they were 'Mormons,' they were human beings, and should never be disturbed, or the land desecrated by them" (his family).⁴¹

Some notes were taken by Mrs. Lapish from this rare book, as follows:

Jones Township, Union Co., Iowa. The Mormon's sojourn from 1846 to 1852--called the Big Field. It comprised Sections 7, 8, 16, 17, containing 1400 acres of land. On the 23 of May 1850, William M. Lock, 'Uncle Billy,' as he was known, and Henry Peters, settled on land owned by L. K. White and Stephen White. . . . The Mormon cemetery is on the North quarter of section '18.' A head-stone remains in it, can be seen from the door-yard of A. C. White. It is the Masonic Square and Compass, with the letters "O.E." on it.⁴²

O. B. Huntington, of Springville, Utah, gave as a token of his appreciation to Mrs. Lapish a Nauvoo Legion note signed by the Prophet Joseph Smith. (This was the last mark from the hand of the Prophet.) Had she not caused the avenue to be opened by which that burying ground was to be transferred to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints? The Mormon burial ground consisted of one acre with a good fence

⁴⁰Lapish, op. cit.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

around it.

Sometime after the above incident Mr. A. C. White wrote to President John Taylor and asked him this question: "What do the people want to do with the remains of their friends who were buried here?" He further stated that the burial ground was in the middle of his farm and that he had preserved it sacredly as such.⁴³ Mr. White later made it possible for the church to purchase one acre and put a steel fence around it. He stated in a letter that he was a boy when his father bought a large tract of land embracing Pisgah, soon after the saints left there. He became owner of the land after the death of his father and about the time that the country was being settled permanently. In his boyhood he remembered seeing the one and only complete gravestone with the name of Wm. Huntington "chiseled upon it."⁴⁴ The stone disappeared years ago to make whet-stones for incoming inhabitants, for it had come from the bed of Grand River nearby.

President John Taylor, who was in hiding from Federal officers for living plural marriage, referred A. C. White's letter to Oliver Boardman Huntington. The latter then corresponded with Mr. White at Afton, Iowa, regarding arrangements and subsequent purchase.

In the correspondence Mr. White says that the north and east side of the settlement of Mount Pisgah was enclosed

⁴³"Journal History," January 7, 1886.

⁴⁴Ibid., March 30, 1887.

with a good fence of rails and poles, while the west and south portions were protected by the Grand River, its boundary line.

As a quote from the Afton, Iowa, Enterprise news sheet, entered in the "Journal History," comes the following:

The site of this monument will be in full view from the tracks of the C.B. & Q. and Chicago, St. Paul and K.C. railroad, overlooking the valley of Grand River, and will stand out in the sunlight of the present civilization as a strange history of a strange people. To the passerby, who stops to read, the wonder will come with striking effect that here, in the vast wilderness, a race of people stood a moment to look beyond and then journey on to the valley of Salt Lake.⁴⁵

Everything possible was done to locate the names of those left behind in the silent graves at Mount Pisgah, but of the two hundred or three hundred buried there, only about seventy could be located and these were placed on the granite shaft. The monument was built by donations within the church.

The First Presidency at Salt Lake encouraged the people at Mount Pisgah to do all in their power to prepare to come to the Rocky Mountains during the period between 1846 and 1852. Aaron M. York, who took Lorenzo Snow's place as president at Mount Pisgah in 1848, also assisted until the settlement was finally abandoned under his direction.

A letter from Great Salt Lake City dated September 21, 1851, signed by the First Presidency, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards, bade these people to come West.

⁴⁵Ibid., April 27, 1888.

The letter was addressed to the people as an "Epistle to the Saints in Pottawatamie." In part it said: "Come all ye officers in the church, and all ye officers in the state or county. There is no time for Saints to hesitate what course they will pursue."⁴⁶

It further stated that the Presidency had been trying to get them to come West ever since "we left them." The Presidency chastised them for wanting to wait another season and get a better "fit-out," when actually many who had had means were so reduced that they had nothing left to come on.

They were admonished not to give their possessions away but to properly dispose of them for their value or to hold them to bless the poor of the church who were to follow along the trail.

And then the epistle continued: "What are you waiting for? Have you any good excuse for not coming? No! You have all of you, unitedly, a far better chance than we had when we started as pioneers, to find this place; you have better teams and more of them."⁴⁷

This prompted action on the part of the saints at Mount Pisgah, and by the summer of 1852 most all of them had left for the Valley.

That Mount Pisgah made its contribution to the general movement of the Mormon people West, cannot be doubted. It

⁴⁶"Epistle to the Saints in Pottawatamie," Millennial Star, XIV, 29.

⁴⁷Ibid.

served as a temporary shelter for many who, under the circumstances, could not have come West. Its leadership was organized to promote the right feelings and faithful adherence to the principles of the gospel for which the leaders at Salt Lake stood. And it scattered the population of the church so that more of a likelihood of survival would be possible. Its place in the Mormon movement West can be justified, for during the years 1846 to 1852 it made a significant contribution to Mormon emigration.

CHAPTER IV

THE WILL TO LIVE! WORK IN MISSOURI

Because of their hurried evacuation from Nauvoo, many of the emigrating saints came into Iowa ill-prepared even for a few weeks travel. They lacked good wagons. They were short on essential items of clothing. Their food supply was but a titling of what it should have been. Many families had provided themselves with a year's supply of food but most of them had run short a few days or weeks after beginning the trek. As time moved on and especially as winter began coming on, the pressure of starving families forced men to seek food wherever it could be found.

The story of the Mormons in Iowa would not be complete without the parallel story of the Mormons in Missouri. But their being in Missouri was for a much different reason--that of obtaining sustenance.

Although they were without the necessities of life, they could work, and they did work. It has already been pointed out how many men secured employment in the towns of Iowa.¹ As the Mormon camps moved along, men were sent out in all directions to work and find forage for the animals. It required tons of feed to care of their many animals. The camp

¹Supra, pp. 13-14.

took on the appearance of a moving "industrial column."

But as the slowly moving "industrial column" reached its tentacles farther into the interior of Iowa and into the Indian lands, it became increasingly more clear that if they were to help themselves by working in the settlements, such employment would have to be found to the south, in Missouri. It proved to be advantageous to the saints that civilization had been extended to Missouri on the south of them; it had become a state in 1821. Even before becoming a state, its territory had begun to attract settlers from all parts of the eastern United States. Many fairly large farms had been opened, especially in the territory along the two large rivers, the Mississippi and the Missouri.

Missouri lies midway between the Rocky Mountains and the Atlantic Ocean. The general elevation is from 350 to 800 feet above sea level and so the climate is fairly mild and healthful. The winters are generally short and the summers long, and the winds are rarely excessive. Seldom does the temperature reach 10° below zero. All parts of the state have ample rainfall, ranging from thirty inches per year in the north to sixty inches per year in the south. This fact accounts perhaps for the reason that about 78 per cent of the total area of Missouri is included in farms. Corn is grown in abundance and also hay and forage crops. Cattle and hogs are produced on a major scale.² With this general picture of

²"Missouri," The Progressive Reference Library (3d ed.; Chicago: The Holst Publishing Company, 1936), V, 1810-13.

Missouri it is much easier to understand how the emigrants, who were spread out over hundreds of miles of trail bordering this fairly well populated country with good climate, could find the very things they were seeking--work and food.

In 1846, much of the area in the newly established counties of Missouri was virgin. New settlers were just getting started. They had taken up hundreds of acres of cheap land. All they needed was manpower, people who could build barns, clear wooded areas, help put up log houses and help plant and harvest the crops.

To show the disposition of the Mormons during their trek West in the forepart of 1847, Orson Hyde, writing to Orson Spencer (editor of the Millennial Star) in May, 1847, says: "Missouri is full of Mormons. Two Indian nations are full of them and they are strung all along the road from Nauvoo to the Rocky Mountains."³

But to provide background for a more complete understanding of the unusual parallel of the Mormons in Missouri in 1846-1852, in the very state from which they were earlier expelled, consideration will be given here to a brief history of early Missouri.

Andrew Jenson, Latter-day Saint Church Historian, records that up until 1830 the northern part of Missouri (Davies County and vicinity) was still the undisturbed home

³Orson Hyde, in letter to Orson Spencer, May 30, 1847, Millennial Star (periodical of the L.D.S. Church published in England), IX, 243.

of the Indians (Pottawattamie). It was a home that they were loathe to leave as it was a very fruitful hunting ground. It was a migratory field for the restless buffalo; bear and elk could be found in its wooded hills. Deer and wild turkey also made it their home. There was smaller game in the valleys and uplands, and fish could be found in abundance in its rivers and creeks. Thus the red man loved to frequent northern Missouri for he never failed in his purposes there.

It was not until the spring of 1830 that the first log cabin appeared in Daviess County. Soon many other settlers (non-Mormon) came, but during the Black Hawk War of 1831-1833 most of them abandoned their homes and took refuge into the more thickly populated counties to the south. However, they returned after the war was over.

Edward Stevenson describes these original inhabitants of Missouri. He had lived in the northern counties of Caldwell and Daviess most of the time from 1832 to 1838, when the Mormons were expelled by the Missourians. He says,

The old settlers were mostly Kentuckians [sic], as well as the southern, slave states, generally they were very hospitable, and free hearted, but of firey, hot blood and quick to resent insult and believed it cowardly to take the lie, and were ready, dirk in hand for a fight, it was almost universal to carry those dirk knives which were a long, slim but thick blade and with a spring catch in the back which would hold the blade from closing until the spring should be touched to close it up again.⁴

The homes of these early settlers, which were built through cooperative effort, were at best very crude. They had

⁴Edward Stevenson, "Journal" (Microfilm copy in the L.D.S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City), pp. 29-31.

no glass windows in them--simply a hole cut out of the logs and sometimes a wooden shutter improvised to close in case of storm or whenever the weather was cold. However, in moderate temperatures these were kept open, as were the doors.⁵

When the Mormons came into Caldwell territory in 1836, which was then a part of Ray County as was also Daviess County,⁶ there were only seven settlers there. By December, 1836, the Mormons had come into this area in such large numbers that they petitioned for a county government of their own.⁷

In this new country where patches of timber could be found from which to build cabins, it was customary for a newcomer to cut the logs, haul them to the ground ready to be assembled, and then invite the neighbors to come from miles around and put them together. Cabins would go up in square shape, capped with weight poles. The Missourian neighbors sang as they worked:

Our cabins are made of logs of wood,
The floors are made of puncheon,
The roof is held by weight-poles,
And then we 'hang off' for luncheon.

⁵Stevenson, op. cit., p. 25.

⁶Ray County was organized in 1820 but from its territory later came Caldwell and Daviess Counties, in this order, to the north.

⁷In 1838 Caldwell County had 8,000 inhabitants (mostly Latter-day Saints) and in 1840, two years later, only 1,458. The reason for the sharp decline was the expulsion of the Mormons from the state. In 1850 Caldwell County had grown to 2,316 and by 1860 to 5,034. In 1840 Daviess County population was 2,736 and in 1850 it was 5,298. In 1846, the year the Mormons came through Iowa and went into Missouri to work, these counties were fairly well populated.

This was followed by a 'swig from the little brown jug' kept especially for the occasion, and then with a hearty shake of the hand and a 'wish you well' the neighbors left the new-comer to put on the finishing touches to his cabin himself. And this was a 'raising-bee' in the olden times.⁸

Between the years 1831 and 1839 thousands of Mormons emigrated from Kirtland, Ohio, and vicinity and other parts of the East and from Europe, into Missouri. Jackson County had been designated as "Zion" to them by their Prophet and this meant a place where the "pure in heart might come together and dwell in peace." This is where their temple was to be!

However, the Missourians of Jackson County soon persecuted the Mormons, and the latter finally had to relinquish their holdings in that county and go over the Missouri River into the north counties. Many went into Clay and Ray Counties. Some went farther north into what is now Caldwell and Daviess Counties and became practically the first inhabitants of any great number in this region.

But more persecution was to follow them. It was not long until open hostilities developed following the August elections of 1838, when some of the mob tried to stop the vote of the Mormons, because the Mormons being in the majority could easily carry the vote. Governor Lilburn W. Boggs, sensing the threat to the old inhabitants of losing their "driver's seat in politics," and fearing an extreme internal strife, issued his famous extermination order in which the Mormons

⁸Jenson, Historical Record, VIII, 724.

were to be treated as enemies, either exterminated or driven from the state.

So in the late fall of 1838, the Mormons who had settled in these counties were being forced to leave. In two short years (1837-1838), as a result of the heavy influx from various other points, the 1,200 Mormons in these counties increased to 12,000. They were forced to leave in severe weather, to seek a new home. This home was later to be Nauvoo, the City Beautiful, in Illinois.⁹

Much of the responsibility of removing the Saints in the dead of winter fell upon Brigham Young. Those brethren who had means were bonded together in a covenant for the removal of all the saints no matter how destitute they were, if only they wanted to go. He saw first-hand the harsh treatment of defenseless women whose husbands had been thrown in jail or killed. He witnessed how they were thrown out of their homes and the homes were burned in their sight. Other women and small children forded the swollen streams and rivers and became exposed to the inclement weather, many of them later to lose their lives as a result of this treatment.

After witnessing such cruelties, Brigham ever after held the Missourians in contempt; and when at one point the Mormons' trek from Nauvoo took them into Putnam County, Missouri, he soon directed their course northwesterly out of the state.

⁹William E. Berrett, Doctrines of the Restored Church (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1941), pp. 38-44.

In a sermon given by Brigham Young after he had been to Great Salt Lake and later returned in the fall of 1847 to Kaneshville, Iowa, he expressed his feelings toward the Missourians and Gentiles in general. This speech is recorded by Mary Richards, wife of Joseph Richards who at the time was on a mission. She says in her diary:

He called upon the Lord to bless this place for the good of the Saints, and curse every Gentile who should attempt to settle here, with sickness, rottenness and death, also to curse the sand of Missouri that it might cease to bring forth grain or fruit of any kind to its inhabitants, and that they might be cursed with sickness, rottenness and death, that their flesh might consume away on their bones, and their blood be turned into maggots, and that their torments never cease, but increase until they leave the land, and it be blessed for the possession of the Saints.¹⁰

The above statements may seem harsh and caustic to the casual reader, but scrutinized from the strict standpoint of the church and its leaders, they take on a kind of modulation. The picture of burned homes and of fording streams in mid-winter by defenseless women and children has already been given. But these mob actions did not stop there; they were to follow the Mormons across the Mississippi River into Illinois and finally result in the death of the Prophet Joseph and his brother and the eventual expulsion of the saints into the unknown wilderness of the West.

Some distaste for the Missourians and their habits is also evidenced in the writings of other early Mormons. John Pulsipher, who went into Missouri on several occasions to work

¹⁰Mary Richards, "Diary of Mary Haskin Parker Richards," May 14, 1848 (MS copied by Brigham Young University Library, 1950), p. 108.

and who spent considerable time among them securing food and provisions so as to be able to go on to the Rocky Mountains describes the Missourians as follows:

The inhabitants of Missouri [1846] are an indolent, filthy race of human beings but little above the Indians.

They have possession of one of the choicest lands in the world, yet they have no spirit of enterprise--no desire to make buildings which are considered convenient and comfortable for civilized and enlightened people.

If they can get a farm on the prairie where the land needs no clearing--and a little log house in [the] edge of the woods with two doors opposite each other so a horse can walk through to haul in wood, and a fireplace large enough to take long wood to save chopping, then they are happy. They choose to live from one to twenty miles from neighbors so they can have plenty of range for cattle and hogs. Corn and pork make their living and if they can get that they are satisfied. They generally keep from three to fifteen dogs. The use they make of them is to bark at strangers and keep bread and meat from spoiling. By working one-fourth of the time they can produce such a living as that so they will live and die in an old log house--provided it don't rot down and [they] think there is no need of hard work.

The man that we stayed with that day that I spoke of had dogs and as they have no windows in their houses they are under the necessity of keeping one or both doors open to give light in the house. So it kept one boy busy to keep the dogs out of the house--and he could not do it all the time for when he was driving them from one door others would slip in at the other door--that is true.¹¹

When Elder Pulsipher returned from work in Missouri to the Bluffs he drove the pigs he had secured, instead of hauling them.

Edward Stevenson speaks further of the early farmers of Missouri wanting to move to a new location if they could not own from one quarter to a whole section of land for range for the pigs and cattle. He says:

¹¹John Pulsipher, "Diary of John Pulsipher" (MS copied by Brigham Young University Library), pp. 21-25.

For often they would have hogs by the hundreds which run in herds and wintered themselves, gathering great nests of leaves for beds sometimes in snowy weather of winter they could be seen steaming fairly smoking with steam [sic]--in the warmer part of the day they would scatter out root under the snow for nuts, acorns etc. and return to their nests and squeal.¹²

But without these herds of swine and without these same Missourians, there would have been more fresh graves to mark the line of march through Iowa than there were. They allowed the Mormons to come, their identity not being revealed, and work for them. Pork, flour, and molasses were furnished in return. Ground corn meal was brought back, and if the grain they had received for work could not be ground in Missouri (which many times could not be done), it would sometimes be ground at Winter Quarters by someone fortunate enough to have a handgrinder. Sometimes the grinder could be rented for a percentage of the corn ground.

It is most illuminating to note the accounts from the dozens of private diaries and journals kept by the pioneers between the years 1846 and 1852. Many contain records of a father or son, or both, after putting in their crops or garden, going "down" to Missouri to work for the summer or to spend the winter, trying to supply enough equipment and provisions to finish the rest of the trek from Kaneshville, Iowa, to Salt Lake City.

To what extent the Mormons went into Missouri from Iowa, to work, we have no record. However, judging from those

¹²Stevenson, op. cit., p. 26.

accounts that have come down to us, the percentage runs high. Most all of them make mention of work excursions into the counties of Missouri to replenish food and groceries through trade or work, or both. Illustration of this is found in the following cases:

After Joseph Holbrook arrived at the Missouri River, he found it difficult to find food. So he took his son and spent two months in Missouri. He speaks of their menu being fried pork, potatoes, corn cake, mush and molasses. He stacked six tons of hay on the prairie for the Edgar House "in town." He also hauled hay for Mr. Maxwell. His boy, Joseph Lamoni, cut his foot with the scythe while working with his father five miles east of St. Joseph, Missouri, and this delayed them considerably. Joseph spent part of July, all of August, and part of September, 1847, at work in Missouri. Before returning to his home on Mosquito Creek, Iowa, he had earned \$200 in cash and store pay and the "60¢ per day in pork" had added up to be a considerable amount.¹³

The "Journal History" for May 2, 1846, speaks of Elisha Averett and a company of thirty men returning from Missouri bringing \$100 worth of grain and bacon in exchange for their having cleared land and built two barns.¹⁴

Also a Brother Lewis returned about the same time from

¹³Joseph Holbrook, "The Life of Joseph Holbrook" (MS copy in Brigham Young University Library, 1942), pp. 107-115.

¹⁴"Journal History," May 2, 1846.

Missouri, having left the main body of traveling saints to secure work there. Upon his return he exhibited a swollen "great toe" which had been bitten by a rattler. He bound it up with a tobacco leaf and walked on into camp.¹⁵

Among others destitute on the trail was Edward Bunker, who had just been married to a young lady by John Taylor before leaving Nauvoo, Illinois. Brother William Robinson had offered to take Bunker and his wife along to the West, free of charge if they would help, Edward to drive and care for the team and his wife to assist with the cooking. When they arrived at Garden Grove, for some reason the contract was broken. Bunker then states:

With the help of Brother Steward, a young man who had just been married, I bought a log cabin of one room. We put a roof on it and chucked it but it was minus floors, doors or windows. We moved our wives into it and I went to Missouri with the intention of earning money enough to buy a team and wagon. I was in company with two other brethren and not being able to reach the nearest town, thirty miles distant, the first day, we camped in the woods without blankets or fire. The mosquitoes were very bad. Arrived at my destination. I worked . . . for corn and bacon.¹⁶

Appleton M. Harmon (who with Orson Pratt was later to perfect an odometer fashioned from lumber with sprocket wheels to count the revolutions of wheels and measure distance in miles) speaks of a difficult trip into Missouri in the heart of winter from Winter Quarters. His diary reads:

¹⁵Ibid., May 9, 1846.

¹⁶Edward Bunker, "Autobiography of Edward Bunker" (MS copied by Brigham Young University Library, 1939), p. 6.

By this time [December, 1846] our store of provisions was running low and I started in company with Briant Stringham to Missouri with an ox team to sell a wagon to get money to replenish our stock of eatables [sic]. In this trip I suffered greatly with cold. My clothes were worn rather thin and the howling blasts of the cold prairies was piercing, as we had to go at the tardy ox pace. We went 150 miles into the state of Missouri, sold the wagon and got a load of corn, pork, groceries and the like, and started for home. . . . I frosted my face, fingers, and feet.¹⁷

Goudy E. Hogan, whose father located his family at Plum Hollow or Zebrisky Hollow eight miles east of the Missouri River, speaks of cutting hay, building corrals and then going north to hunt deer and bee trees. After several days he came back with a good supply of meat and honey. The honey was enough to do the family through the winter. But the family needed groceries and he says that his father went into Missouri and "traded off a suit of broadcloth clothes for something to eat."¹⁸

Helen Mar Whitney refers to a letter written by Fanny Murray (a sister of Brigham Young) to an uncle Roswell Gould Murray, residing in Rochester, New York. In the letter she tells the uncle about the well-being of the family members. She says:

William Murray and Vilate with their families, are all alive and well, as far as I know. William started for Missouri two weeks ago, taking his wife and daughter and little son with him. He expects to stay through the summer and fall, in order to get something together for the journey to the mountains the ensuing spring.¹⁹

¹⁷Appleton M. Harmon, "Early History and Journal of Appleton M. Harmon" (MS copied by Brigham Young University Library).

¹⁸Goudy E. Hogan, "History of Goudy E. Hogan" (MS copied by Brigham Young University Library, 1945), pp. 9-10.

¹⁹Whitney, op. cit., XIV, 82.

Lorenzo Dow Young tells of a sick spell he had at Winter Quarters after arriving. He was down for three or four weeks and when he was up and around again he purchased some few pounds of thin pork from a merchant who charged him six and eight cents a pound. He reminded the merchant that he had purchased the hogs for two cents a pound and had to bring them only ninety miles. The merchant treated the matter lightly and told Lorenzo that he bought and sold to make money.

Elder Young conceived the idea of purchasing a large stock of meat in Missouri and then selling it to the poor saints at Winter Quarters for not much over cost. This would benefit many who were too poor otherwise to have meat. He put the plan before Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, who favored it. Lorenzo then borrowed \$500 from Brother Robert Pierce and \$300 from Moses Thurston. With this money he went into Missouri and purchased 212 hogs and a few beef cattle. The price for the hogs was one and one-half cents per pound with one-third of live weight deducted for waste.

He drove them to Winter Quarters where he hired Thomas Grover to butcher them, and he built a storehouse to take care of the meat. Two prices were charged: a wholesale price for the poor saints and a retail price for the more well-to-do. Of this business Lorenzo says:

I sold over forty thousand pounds of pork and some beef. The pork I sold for two and two and a half cents per pound. Brother Brigham said I should have asked two and a half and three cents. I lost my labor and one hundred dollars, but had the satisfaction of helping hundreds of my poor brethren, which in after years gave me much pleasure. It was close times for the saints at

Winter Quarters in the winter of 1846 and '47, and the distribution of over 40,000 pounds of fresh meat among them for a little less than cost was no small matter.²⁰

John Brown went into Missouri in the early spring of 1851 and purchased fifty yoke of oxen and drove them to Kaneshville, Iowa, where he had to herd them for a month before distributing them to poor families. He camped out on the prairie alone until the freshets subsided and the saints could leave for the West.²¹ This was one of the first bodies of saints to be helped by the Perpetual Emigration Fund. The fund furnished poor people the means to move to the Valley, after which they were to pay back the borrowed amount without interest.

Strange as it may seem, the Missourians who a decade earlier would not allow the Mormons to set up Zion among them nevertheless contributed to their exodus to the Great Basin.

²⁰Little, op. cit.

²¹"Journal History," September 28, 1851.

CHAPTER V

MORMON-INDIAN RELATIONSHIPS ON THE MISSOURI

The signatures making legal the Louisiana Purchase on April 30, 1803, were barely cold when Congress approved the expedition of Lewis and Clark. They ascended the Missouri River in 1804 and within the course of the next two years ascertained the extent of the great purchase. It included land later to embrace thirteen states.¹

The purchase was then divided into two parts by Congress. The southern portion was called the Territory of Orleans; the northern portion was called the District of Louisiana. The State of Louisiana was admitted into the Union in 1812 and Missouri in 1821. After Missouri was admitted the United States seemed to have forgotten the remainder of this territory to the north. The part forgotten later came to be Iowa, the part of Minnesota located along the river, the Dakotas and other sections to the west. No territorial government was furnished to these sections, no courts and no laws except those made among settlers.

In 1838, on July 4th, Congress created the Iowa Territory. In that year the population of the territory was 22,860.

¹"Louisiana Purchase," The Progressive Reference Library, (Chicago: The Holst Publishing Co., 1936), IV, 1637.

By 1840, two years later, the population had doubled to 45,000.² Most of the people were concentrated in the eastern part of Iowa.

Iowa remained a territory for eight years (1838 to 1846); and since it was not admitted into the Union until December 3, 1846, the Mormons came upon "Indian lands" as they entered the western half of the state. To understand more fully the Mormon-Indian relationships, early history of these Indians is here presented.

The Iowa Indians had stemmed from two great families or tribes, the Algonquins and the Dakotas. The Algonquins, or "Mound Builders," had occupied the Mississippi River region from the Great Lakes south. As this great tribe overflowed this region and moved south into the Mississippi valley they encountered the bold and vicious Dakotas. This group was even more savage than the Algonquins, and, as their name signified, they were a "united band."³ When the two great tribes clashed the Mound Builders were broken. The Dakotas then claimed the land in the northern part of Iowa and in Minnesota; the other family occupied the southern part of Iowa and Missouri.⁴

Among other tribes of lesser importance, the Dakotas

²E. L. Sabin and H. Sabin, The Making of Iowa (Chicago: A. Flanagan Co., 1927), pp. 18-30; 31-39.

³Ibid. The Algonquins were superior in intelligence and civilization; they buried their dead in the earth as a final rite. The Dakotas performed the last rites for their tribesmen by placing them in trees or on scaffolds.

⁴Ibid.

were composed of the Iowas and the cruel and bold Sioux, the Omahas, Otoes, Poncas and the Pawnees. The Iowas had lived in Iowaville and southern Iowa and were often divided into clans. Sabin says that many of these clans were called

Eagle, Wolf, Bear, Pigeon, Elk, Beaver, Buffalo and Snake. Pestilence and war reduced this tribe, until a massacre by the Sacs and Foxes in 1823 reduced this tribe until it ceased to play an important part.⁵

He also states that the Sioux Indians were the "arabs of the Iowa prairies," being sole possessors of Iowa north of the upper Iowa River.

The Indian tribes to the west of the Missouri River had much to do with the Mormons also. Aitchinson says of these tribes:

The Indian agency at Bellevue, across the Missouri, west of the Pottawattamies also cared for four tribes, the Omahas, Otoes, Poncas and Pawnees. The Omahas were to the north of the Platte, and the Otoes to the south with a strip of land sometimes disputed between them. The Pawnees had their villages south of the Platte and west of the Otoes, and the country to the north was yet the scene of frequent conflicts with their hereditary enemies, the Sioux.⁶

All of the tribes mentioned by Aitchinson belonged to the Dakotas, as did the Sioux and the Iowas. There is some question as to the origin of the Pawnees.

The Algonquins were composed of many smaller tribes known by other names: the Illini Indians, the Sacs and Foxes living in southeastern Iowa, and the Pottawattamies or "fire

⁵Ibid.

⁶Clyde B. Aitchinson, "The Mormon Settlements in the Missouri Valley," Oregon Historical Society Quarterly, VIII, 276-89.

makers." The Pottawattamies inhabited southwestern Iowa when the Mormons came there to settle. In 1833, along with the Chippewas and Ottawas, the Pottawattamies were moved out of Michigan. The treaty made at Chicago specified more than 5,000,000 acres which they were to have situated between the Boyer River on the north and the Nodaway River on the south.⁷

The Indian Agency for the Pottawattamies was located on the Missouri River opposite Bellevue at Traders' Point.⁸ Most all of the tribes, with the exception of the Omahas, received annual annuities from the government.⁹ As a result the Omahas were poor, miserable people, often crushed under the heel of the powerful Sioux to the north.¹⁰

About the same time the Pottawattamies were placed in southwestern Iowa, the government stationed a temporary camp of troops in the vicinity of Council Bluffs to keep peace between the east and west tribes.

Davis Hardin, farming instructor, was also sent among

⁷Jacob van der Zee, "Episodes in the Early History of the Western Iowa Country," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XI (1813), 334-46.

⁸Traders' Point was in the northwest corner of Mills County. Mills County was just south of Pottawattamie County, formed in the year 1848 when the Mormons moved in. Here Peter Sarpy kept a trading post for the fur traders, Indians and others.

⁹Frontier Guardian, February 21, 1851.

¹⁰Probably because the Omahas were so poor they gave the Mormon settlers on the Missouri River more trouble than all the other tribes together. They took what they wanted from the whites and justified their doing so by saying that their land had been taken from them.

the Pottawattamies to teach them the art of cultivation.¹¹ However, the Indians did not take to this arrangement and only a small amount of ground was cultivated by the squaws. Some grain was grown by the Indians with the result that S. E. Wicks was sent among them to erect a grist mill some two miles back from the Missouri River on Musketo Creek.¹²

Except for the instruction given incidentally to them by Davis, the Pottawattamies had very little enlightenment in other matters until Father de Smet arrived among them in 1838. He and other missionaries opened up a mission among them. An old magazine was fixed up for use for a chapel and a cross was placed at the top of it.

Father de Smet was very much impressed by the fine appearance of the Pottawattamies who came 2,000 strong to greet the missionaries as the boat approached the landing. He said, "I had not seen so imposing a sight nor such fine-looking Indians in America; the Iowas, the Sauks and the Otoes are beggars compared to these."¹³

The construction of the buildings of the Pottawattamies is described by Father de Smet:

Imagine a great number of cabins and tents, made of the bark of trees, buffalo skins, coarse cloth, rushes and sods, all of a mournful and funereal aspect, of all sizes and shapes, some supported by one pole, others having six, and with the covering stretched in all the different

¹¹"Iowa," The American Guide Series, pp. 203-4.

¹²Bloomer, "History of Pottawattamie County," Annals of Iowa, p. 527.

¹³Van der Zee, op. cit., p. 346.

styles imaginable, and all scattered here and there in the greatest confusion, and you will have an Indian village.¹⁴

Father de Smet and the missionaries did much fine work among the Indians, but it seemed that as long as the same boats that brought their annual payments or annuities from the government brought also barrels of whiskey, their work was to fail. Oftimes white men would roll barrels of whiskey out to be sold right under the nose of the Indian Agent. Overland cargoes of the abominable stuff were also brought by gamblers and the backwash of society for dispensing among the red men.

In 1840 Father de Smet was induced by the Flathead Indians to the northwest to come among them, and when he returned some months later to Council Bluffs he saw the curse of the liquor traffic. The work of unprincipled men plus the consternation which the powerful Sioux had wrought against his red brothers was the final death blow to the "budding mission."¹⁵ In 1841 the mission was closed.

The first Mormon contact with the Indian nation occurred near the Grand River in mid-Iowa. Here a lone Indian passed the Mormon camp headed for the Indian village some miles distant. Some miles further along a piece of bogus money was passed on to an Indian. Upon making the discovery he stole an ox from the next company that passed that way. When the matter was referred to Brigham Young, he whole-

¹⁴Ibid., p. 349.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 352-54.

heartedly sanctioned the action of the Indian, saying that "he had done just right."¹⁶

The first camp of the Mormon pioneers approached the Pottawattamie Indian village about four days before reaching the Missouri River on June 14, 1846. Their camp was situated on a very beautiful ridge fringed with timber and rolling prairie. The whole village turned out to meet this stream of emigrants. Their musicians played for them. The bells on the horses of the Indians frightened the cattle. The Indians were very friendly but inquired about "whiskey" as the wagons slowly moved from the village. Young Indian boys who had learned some words of the teamsters helped to drive the cattle.¹⁷

Bloomer, writing on the Mormons in Iowa, says that Reverend Henry De Long, a respected resident of Council Bluffs, told him that he was in one of the companies that camped at Mynster Spring, Council Point and Traders' Point, and that the Indians of the Pottawattamie tribe treated the newcomers with great kindness and consideration.¹⁸ Thomas L. Kane said that they were pleased with the coming of anyone who would not sell whiskey to them,¹⁹ cheat them in business dealings, or whip

¹⁶Roberts, op. cit., p. 57.

¹⁷Clayton, op. cit., pp. 44-47.

¹⁸Bloomer, "The Mormons in Iowa," The Annals of Iowa, p. 593.

¹⁹Before the county was organized the administration of law was in the hands of the Mormons. They forbade the sale of liquor to Indians under penalty of fine, except for medicinal purposes. Grog shops were absolutely prohibited; consequently no Indian could receive whiskey.

them for their "gypsy-like" habits.

It was decided in the council of the first company of pioneers coming to the Missouri River to abide by the rules of the government in all relationships with the Indians. This would mean no buying or selling to them unless special permission was granted from the government. A vote was taken and the whole company agreed to abide by this decision at the penalty of being disfellowshipped if they violated.²⁰

The raising of 500 of the best men for the Mormon battalion naturally caused a change in the emigration plans of the leaders. Without these men the Mormons were greatly handicapped in their journey west. And since the recruiting of the battalion took about two weeks, this threw them later in the season so that a thousand mile trip that year was out of the question. As an alternative, and in view of the service the battalion was giving to their country, permission was temporarily granted by Captain James Allen, the recruiting officer who represented the United States, for the Mormons to remain upon Indian lands for at least two years. Eight chiefs of the Pottawattamie tribe signed a treaty to this effect in the presence of Captain Allen on July 16, 1846.²¹

Captain Allen also received a written statement from the Indian Agent, R. B. Mitchell located at Traders' Point, that the Pottawattamie Indians had given this consent to occupy

²⁰"Journal History," June 14, 1846 (the day the Mormons arrived at the Missouri River).

²¹Ibid., July 16, 1846.

their lands of their own free will.²² This was to protect both parties.

Captain Allen was to make the report of the agreement to the government at Washington. Colonel Thomas L. Kane, a private emissary of the President, was to deliver in person his copy of the agreement.

In the meantime Captain Allen returned, became ill and died at Fort Kearney before his report was sent off. Colonel Kane also fell ill at the Missouri and remained bed-fast at the point of death for most of the summer. Thus no word was received by Major Thomas H. Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, Missouri. Soon the agents and sub-agents began to complain about the wood and timber used by the Mormons.

Some of the Pottawattamie Indians had embraced the Mormon faith and they were subsequently informed by Major Harvey that none of them would receive annuity payments from the government. (Most of the Indians baptized were half-breeds.) Mr. Case, a government Indian farmer who had worked for twenty years among the Pawnees, was discharged because he had embraced the Mormon faith. Upon his discharge the Ottoe Indians who had been desirous of getting a good agricultural agent to come among them, requested Major Harvey to appoint Case, but Harvey refused on the same grounds.²³

²²Roberts, op. cit., pp. 131-46.

²³Ibid.

When Colonel Kane lay ill he sent a request to his father, Judge Kane, to intercede for the Mormons in Washington. This his father did.²⁴ After Colonel Kane recovered he returned to Washington where he arranged for the Mormons to occupy Omaha lands as it had been arranged for them to occupy Pottawattamie lands by his father sometime before.

The treaty for the removal of the Indians was concluded in June, and in July, 1846, had become law. Van der Zee, the historian, speaks of the intensive preparation which the Pottawattamies made for leaving their home in Iowa. The two government blacksmiths were engaged during winter and spring repairing guns, traps, wagons, etc. During the summer and autumn of 1847 they repaired log-chains and other articles for emigration to the Kansas River. Thomas H. Harvey came all the way from St. Louis to Council Bluffs to be present for the annuity payment of the Pottawattamies and to urge them to leave as soon as possible. In October they set out in large parties. They crossed the Missouri River at many points. By the winter of 1847 most of the Pottawattamies had left except a few who remained to hunt on the headwaters of the Des Moines. Such a move marked the departure of one race and the coming into permanency of another.²⁵

The Mormons received permission to build a ferry across the Missouri. When it was completed most of the

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Van der Zee, op. cit., pp. 361-3.

Mormons moved over to the west side and settled at a beautiful, wooded grove later called Cutler's Park.²⁶ Here the covenant made by the camp earlier respecting contacts with the Indians was to be enforced, but with another tribe, the Omahas.

The Omahas were much worse to pilfer and steal than the Pottawattamies. Since they received no annuities as did the Siouxs and the Ottoes and others, they justified this stealing, saying the white man had used their timber, killed their game and made it difficult for them to survive.

President Young appointed a guard to watch and protect the cattle. William Cutler and James Cummings were appointed as captains with ten men under their command to station themselves on strategic points on the different hills and bluffs to watch the cattle, horses and sheep.²⁷

Allen Stout, after completing a log house at Council Bluffs, worked as a guard for 100 days. The people were taxed to pay for having their cattle, homes and gardens protected. Stout states that he received 75¢ per night for guard work during this period of time.²⁸

On August 31, 1846, on the west side of the Missouri River near Council Bluffs, Big Elk, then sixty-two years old,

²⁶From Cutler's Park the Mormons moved north a few miles and built Winter Quarters. This was abandoned by all the Mormons living there in the spring of 1848 when they moved back across the river into Iowa. Infra, pp. 104, 111.

²⁷Richards, op. cit., p. 105.

²⁸Allen Stout, "Autobiography of Allen Joseph Stout" (MS copied by Brigham Young University Library, 1954), p. 28.

his son, Standing Elk, thirty-two years old, and Little Chief signed their "X" mark to the following covenant:

We the undersigned chiefs and braves, representatives of the Omaha nation of Indians, do hereby grant to the Mormon people the privilege of tarrying upon our lands for two years or more, or as long as may suit their convenience, for the purpose of making the necessary preparations to prosecute their journey west to the Rocky Mountains, provided that our Great Father, the President of the United States, shall not counsel us to the contrary.

And we also do grant unto them the privilege of using all the wood and timber that they shall require.

And we furthermore agree that we will not molest, or take from their cattle, horses, sheep or any other property.²⁹

The council closed with excellent feeling. The poor Omahas were helped considerably by the Mormons, for the latter agreed to haul their corn at harvest time and assist them to build log houses as well as teach them the business of agriculture and mechanics. All this was to be in exchange for the above granted permission. On September 7, 1846, President Brigham Young wrote to President James K. Polk informing him of these agreements.

Before the spring of 1848 was over the Indian agent had told the Mormons that they must move back from their 700-settlement camp at Winter Quarters to the east side of the river. They were not permitted to tear down or take with them the log houses, so they were obliged to cut new timber and rebuild houses for the poor people.

The Omahas did not keep their pledge. Big Elk, the chief, claimed that he could not be responsible for the daring

²⁹Edward W. Tullidge, "Pioneer Sketches Illustrated," The Western Galaxy, I, 93-108.

and thieving acts of his young braves. He was reminded time and time again of his covenant, which he himself honored, but he said he could do nothing about it as the Indians felt that the Mormons owed them what they were stealing.

The winter of 1848-9 was a hard one. There was fifty-one inches of snow fell and feed was scarce. This prompted the stealing of many of the animals of the Mormon settlers at Kaneshville. In the Frontier Guardian newspaper, published at Kaneshville by Orson Hyde, the directing Elder of the church, he refers to these thefts, advising "Let every man provide himself with the 'oil of hickory,' and a few applications of it may make them [the Indians] believe that we are in earnest."³⁰

The difficulty with the Omahas became so serious by 1851, five years after the Mormons arrived, that a committee was formed from some of the leading men of Kaneshville to represent all of the scattered settlements and ascertain the total damages during this period.

Henry W. Miller at the meeting in March, 1851, nominated Orson Hyde, George P. Styles Esq., Luke Johnson, M.D., Francis J. Wheeling Esq., Jonathan Browning, Major J. E. Barrow, Indian Agent, and Samuel Allis Esq., Government Teacher and Interpreter, to act on the committee.

The committee felt that a length of time would be needed to determine with certainty the amount of damage, but

³⁰Frontier Guardian, March 7, 1849.

most of them felt that \$20,000 would no more than cover the losses by theft and killing.³¹

It was the consensus of opinion of the group present that Congress should be memorialized through their representative who might have easy access to the Indian and War Departments. It was resolved

That every citizen be incorporated in said Vigilance Committee, and suffer not an Indian to come on this side of the River; or if any do come, to apply the Hickory smartly, and make them retrace their steps. Let every citizen therefore say, 'this duty belongs to me.'³²

Apparently the Indian Agent, J. E. Barrow, was determined to have the Indians observe some degree of law and order, and he was much more strict with them than his predecessors had been. So strained did his relationships become that in October, 1851, he sent a letter to Kaneshville requesting that some fifty men and horses be recruited to come over the river and help him, as his life had been threatened. His letter stated that the Omahas were becoming so impudent and dangerous that they needed chastisement. That same morning (October 10, 1851) Young Elk had pulled his gun on Barrows and threatened his life. This was done in consequence of threatening to "iron" Young Elk for some of his and his young braves' misdemeanors toward the whites. About thirty of them loaded their guns and said that if Barrows ironed the Chief he would also have to iron the young braves as well.³³

³¹Ibid., March 21, 1851

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., October 17, 1851.

By the time help arrived at Bellevue at the Major's residence, the Indians had left on the fall hunt; consequently no steps were taken.

About this same time word came into Kaneshville from Cornelius Dunham, living about seventy-five miles northeast, that the Sioux, Omahas and Ottoes had become particularly troublesome. He claimed that these tribes had the country divided off into hunting districts and that they demanded from the settlers whatever they wanted, and if not given they took it by force. He further stated that during the January previous the Omahas had killed and carried off sixty-three sheep at one time.³⁴

So troublesome had these pauper Omahas become that F. J. Wheeling, H. W. Miller, and Joseph F. Johnson with a group of Indians left for Washington to see what the "Great Father" would do to help abate the plundering and stealing of the Indians. They felt that the Omahas were worse than any other group because they had no annuities.³⁵

Records available do not show that the Mormons received any satisfactory redress from the pilfering Indians. Up until the spring of 1852, when almost all of the Mormons abandoned their "squatters" holdings in Iowa, the writer found no evidence of indemnity payments from the government to the Mormons for their losses to the Indians.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., January 9, 1852.

By way of conclusion, it may be said that the Mormons' stay at Kaneshville, Iowa, and vicinity for six years, posed certain problems and relationships with the various Indian tribes and also the Indian agents. These relationships had to be worked out to some degree of satisfaction to all parties concerned.

There is no doubt but that the Indian tribes living directly across the Missouri River from the Mormons, and also the Pottawattamie Indians among whom the Mormons lived for a short period in southwestern Iowa, felt the pressure of white civilization. However careful the Mormons were in their relationships with the tribes, the Indians nevertheless begrudged the game, timber, and feed for animals that was being consumed by their white neighbors. The Indians justified some of their depredations in these facts.

Such annoyances, the pilfering and driving away of the Mormons' stock by these Indians, naturally caused considerable loss (an estimated \$20,000) to the Mormons and without doubt delayed emigration westward for many. Once an ox was stolen from a poor saint, a team was broken up, without which the owner could not move his wagon with his year's supplies over the thousand-mile plain that separated him from his kinsmen and brothers in the faith. Therefore it may be concluded that many saints who might have made the trip earlier had to remain in Iowa a period longer because of these great losses in property.

CHAPTER VI

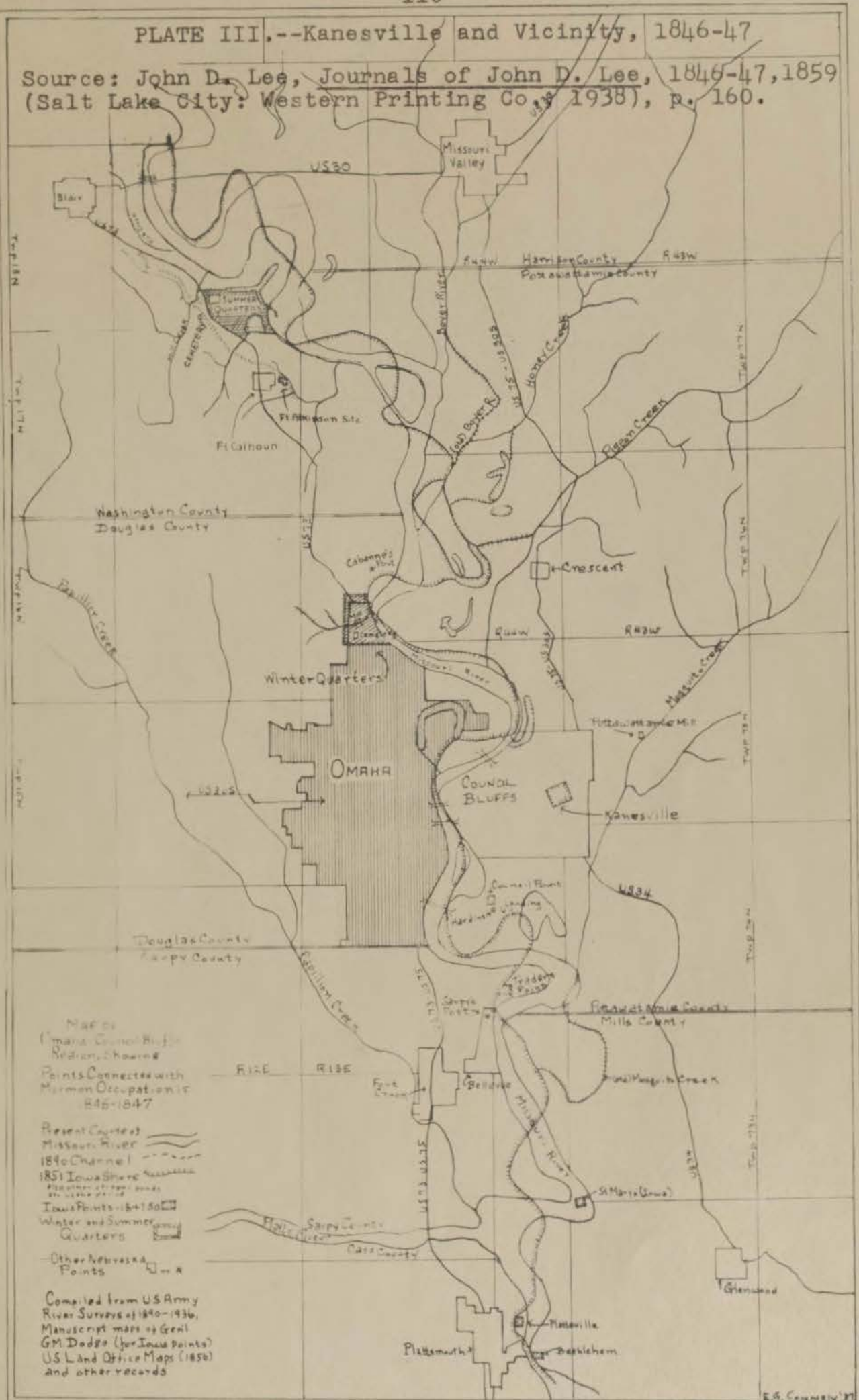
DESCRIPTION AND GROWTH OF KANESVILLE

After leaving Mount Pisgah, the vanguard camp of the Mormons began to travel in Indian country. As stated in the foregoing chapter, the Pottawattamie Tribe or nation had been settled here by the United States government. The main Indian village of the Pottawattamies was some fifty miles distance from Mount Pisgah--midway between Mount Pisgah and the Missouri River. This last leg of the journey across Iowa, though 130 miles in distance, was soon traversed. The spring rains had fairly well passed and the saints began traveling on higher ground. (Iowa is so constituted that the eastern two-thirds of the state drain into the Mississippi River and the western one-third drains to the west into the Missouri.)

And so it was with much less difficulty that the pioneer camp reached the Missouri River on June 14, 1846. Brigham Young, sensing the possibility of too much intercourse with the Omaha Indians on the west side of the river, and realizing the lack of good culinary water, advised the camp to move back to the east on the higher bluffs where a beautiful spring of good water was located. Here, rules were drawn up and voted on by all the camp, wherein willingness was signified not to trade or have anything to do with the Indians. If anything needed to be done in the way of dealings with

PLATE III.--Kanesville and Vicinity, 1846-47

Source: John D. Lee, Journals of John D. Lee, 1846-47, 1859
(Salt Lake City: Western Printing Co., 1938), p. 160.



them, it should be done by special appointment. The camp was further advised by Brigham to "be wise and say little."¹

Under the direction of Fredrick Kessler, a company of men, about one-tenth of the men of the camp, was dispatched to the Missouri River to build a ferry. After several weeks the ferry was ready and most of the emigrants moved over the river and settled in a grove of trees about three miles from the river. This was given the name of Cutler's Park after Alpheus Cutler, who was chosen as the President of the Municipal High Council composed of twelve men to govern both in ecclesiastical and civil matters.

The camp was formed in a hollow square with wagons forming the outside border and tents set beside the respective wagons. A strong fence was built around the whole camp to keep the cattle outside. As they had some 3,000 cattle, horses, mules and sheep, men were encouraged to cut the long prairie grass and get it into stacks for winter forage for the animals.

On September 11, a site for building Winter Quarters was selected. It was located on the west bank of the Missouri, several miles north and a little to the east of Cutler's Park. A committee of twelve was to lay the city out into Wards after which a bishop would be selected to preside over each. Nineteen new bishops were nominated by the bishops already ordained. This was to eventually make twenty-two wards. In about three

¹"Journal History," June 15, 1846.

months' time there were about 700 log huts built, mostly covered with clapboards or with willows and dirt. Some 150 dug caves in the bluffs and fashioned very comfortable dwellings for themselves. Men pledged themselves to give one day out of every ten to help the wives of the departed battalion members. Archibald Gardner says, "We hauled wood for the wives of those that went in the army."²

When Captain James Allen arrived on the Missouri early in July and it was finally agreed by the Council to raise the 500 men for the Mormon battalion, it became evident that a trip to the Rocky Mountains by their wives and families would not be made that season. In the first place, the very "flower" of the camp had been taken and with this shortage of manpower it would be difficult to make the journey. Secondly, the season had become so far advanced that such an undertaking at this late date into a new and strange country would be contrary to wisdom. Furthermore, many were stricken with sickness; Kane says that over 600 were buried there that winter.

Brigham Young had hoped all along that just such a company could be raised and sent West as an advance expedition to seek out a new home and plant crops for the coming season.

The Indians, at first, were very favorably disposed to the Mormons.³ They sensed in their plight a similar one to

²Archibald Gardner, "Journal of Archibald Gardner" (MS copied by Brigham Young University, 1944), p. 19.

³Bloomer, "The Mormons in Iowa," op. cit., p. 593; Aitchison, op. cit., p. 280; Tullidge, "Pioneer Sketches Illustrated," op. cit., p. 95.

their own--a nation driven westward. Major R. B. Mitchell, Indian sub-Agent at Trading Point, entertained President Young and others. The band of Captain William Pitt played for entertainment and a dance was held after. Relationships were at first very good and a fine spirit existed between the Mormons and the Indian officers.

Sometime later, however, Major T. H. Harvey, superintendent of Indian Affairs with office at St. Louis, Missouri, called upon Brigham Young at Winter Quarters on November 1, 1846. He informed President Young that he had received letters from the Department of Indian Affairs stating that no white men were to settle upon the Indian lands. His office was thus countermanding the permission granted the Mormons to settle on Indian lands. Captain James Allen, representing President Polk, had previously come to an agreement with the Indian chiefs of two nations, thus allowing the Mormons to settle here for at least two years.

This misunderstanding of not being able to occupy the Indian lands until such time as they were prepared to move westward was the result of the following circumstances. Captain Allen had a document drawn up between the Indian Chief Pied Riche (surnamed Le Clerc) for the Pottawattamie Indians and the Mormons, and between Big Elk of the Omahas on the west side of the river. The Federal government had already purchased the Iowa land and the Pottawattamies had agreed to move to the Kansas River but had been given two years hunting privileges in southwestern Iowa. Captain Allen had placed

copies of these agreements into the hands of Brigham Young and Colonel Thomas L. Kane, who was a lone emissary of the President. He, himself, was going to forward the report of the draft of this agreement to Washington to the War Department advising them of his steps on and in behalf of the government,⁴ for were not the Mormons showing their patriotism in sending 500 of their best men to fight for their country? Captain Allen and Colonel Kane felt that the least the country could do would be to offer them the right to sojourn on these lands until such a time as they could muster strength enough to move West. But Captain Allen's illness and untimely death prevented his report from reaching Washington. Colonel Kane also fell ill at Cutler's Park and very nearly succumbed to the fever; had it not been for the solicitous care and tender mercies of the saints he would have laid down his slender body of barely over one hundred pounds. His report, too, was detained from reaching its intended objective. As a result, misunderstanding arose which entered in to change the picture.

By the fall of 1846 there were some 10,000 saints scattered up and down the "Misery Bottoms,"⁵ as Colonel Kane writes. And as cold weather approached most of the 37 per cent of the people who had been stricken with ague and fever and that strange scorbutic disease called Black Canker were

⁴Roberts, op. cit., pp. 133-46.

⁵Kane, op. cit., pp. 47-50. He states that many saints who had suffered severe sickness along the Missouri River bottoms called it "Misery Bottoms." While the cholera or black canker ranged among the Mormons it also raged among the Indians; it is estimated that about one-tenth of them died.

beginning to improve. But were they now to be forced to leave this crude home too?

About this time "Journal History" records some important events. On June 27, 1846, the apostasy of Elder John E. Page was taken into consideration and George A. Smith motioned that he be cut off from the Church. This was seconded by John Taylor and two days later Ezra T. Benson was ordained an Apostle to fill the vacancy.⁶

Also during the summer at a meeting of the Council July 14, 1846, it was voted to establish colonies on the Iowa side of the Missouri. It was to be plowed, harrowed and sowed to buckwheat and winter wheat.⁷

In the spring of 1847, as soon as weather and grass conditions would permit, Brigham Young in company with 143 men, three women and two children, started for the Rocky Mountains. Before the summer was over some 2,000 saints had arrived in Great Salt Lake Valley.⁸

When Brigham Young with a majority of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles returned to Winter Quarters in October, 1847, he found that Major Miller, Indian Agent for the Omaha Indian Reservation, had stirred up much trouble, stating that the Mormons had used the wood, killed off the game, and were in general making it difficult for the Indians to live, also

⁶"Journal History," June 27-28, 1846, p. 1.

⁷Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Utah (San Francisco: The History Co., Publishers, 1889), p. 249.

⁸Roberts, op. cit., p. 291.

that other troubles had arisen out of the contact with the Mormons.

The Quorum then considered the necessity of moving all the saints over the river, from Winter Quarters to the east side. It was decided that all who could not leave in the spring for the Valley would be moved back over the river. The Council considered making a temporary settlement at Miller's Hollow, in the valley at the head of Indian Creek. Henry W. Miller had purchased the improvements of an Indian Chief⁹ and settled there beside this small creek, which at the time could be spanned with a plank.¹⁰ Miller's Hollow was located about five miles east and just a little north of the Missouri River where the upper ferry was located. (This ferry was established near Council Point or Steamboat Landing.)

Before the end of August that first year, Henry W. Miller had proved without doubt that the land was productive.¹¹ In the course of his stay here in western Iowa between 1846 and 1852, he acquired and improved 400 acres of ground.

On December 5, 1847, an unusual event took place at

⁹"Journal History," August 24, 1846.

¹⁰Jenson, Iowa Settlements (from article by Franoher Stimson, Annals of Iowa, October, 1922, pp. 403-06).

¹¹On August 24, 1846, President Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Dr. Willard Richards, and Amasa M. Lyman paid Henry W. Miller a visit. It was noon time and he invited them to dine with him. They were served green corn, cucumbers, suckatash, water and muskmelon. Miller also sent a load of melons to the camp of the sick. "Journal History," August 24, 1846.

Hyde Park. (Orson Hyde had settled here in a very beautiful grove of trees, situated some eight miles south of Miller's Hollow and about seven miles east of the river. Hyde subsequently acquired some fifty acres of good ground.) Present on this occasion were Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Amasa M. Lyman and Ezra T. Benson. Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor were in the Valley and Lyman Wight in Texas. President Young had called the quorum together especially to consider the subject of reorganizing the presidency of the church. He had broached the subject and discussed it with his fellow-Apostles on his return trip from the Valley. After each of the quorum members had voiced themselves on the subject, Orson Hyde moved that Brigham Young be sustained as president of the church and that he be permitted to nominate his counselors. This vote carried unanimously and President Young named Heber C. Kimball his first and Willard Richards his second counselor, and all were in favor.¹²

Speaking on this subject October 7, 1860, in the old Bowery, Salt Lake City, and reported by G. B. Watt, Orson Hyde said:

I feel not a little proud of the circumstances and also very thankful, on account of its happening in my own little retired and sequestered hamlet, bearing my own name. We were in prayer and council, communing together; and what took place on that occasion? The voice of God came from on high, and spoke to the council. Every latent feeling was aroused, and every heart melted. What did it say unto us? "Let my servant Brigham step forth and receive the full power of the presiding priesthood in my

¹²Roberts, op. cit., pp. 315-17.

church and kingdom." This was the voice of the Almighty to us at Council Bluffs before I removed to what was called Kaneshville. It has been said by some that Brigham was appointed by the people, and not by the voice of God. I do not know that this testimony has often, if ever, been given to the masses of the people before; but I am one that was present, and there are others here that were also present on that occasion, and did hear and feel the voice from heaven, and we were filled with the power of God. This is my testimony; these are my declarations unto the Saints--unto the members of the kingdom of God in the last days, and to all people.

We said nothing about the matter in those times but kept it still. (After seating myself in the stand, I was reminded of one circumstance that occurred which I omitted in my discourse. Men, women and children came running together where we were and asked us what was the matter. They said that their homes shook and the ground trembled, and they did not know, but there was an earthquake. We told them that there was nothing the matter--not to be alarmed. The Lord was only whispering to us a little, and that he was probably not very far off. We felt no shaking of the earth or of the house, but were filled with the exceeding power and goodness of God.) We knew and realized that we had the testimony of God within us. On the 6th of April following, at our annual Conference, held in the log tabernacle at Kaneshville, the propriety of choosing a man to preside over the church was investigated. In a very few minutes it was agreed to, and Brigham Young was chosen to fill that place without a dissenting voice; the people not knowing that there had been any revelation touching the matter. They ignorantly seconded the voice of the Lord from on high in his appointment. (Voice from the stand. "That is vox. Dei, vox populi.") Yes, the voice of God was the voice of the people. Brigham went right ahead, silently to do the work of the Lord and to feed his sheep and take care of them like a faithful shepherd, leaving all vain aspirants to quarrel and contend about lineal descent, right, power and authority.¹³

Bathsheba W. Smith gives further evidence of this manifestation when Brigham Young was selected by revelation at Hyde Park, residence of Orson Hyde on December 5. She also records:

¹³"Journal History," October 7, 1860 (containing newspaper clipping from Deseret News, 10:266, as reported by G. B. Watt).

After the location of Winter Quarters a great number of our people made encampments on the east side of the river, on parts of the Pottawatomie (six) lands. The camps, thus scattered, spread over a large tract. On one occasion my husband and I visited Hyde Park, one of these settlements (Orson Hyde recrossed the river, settling here July 23, 1846), in company with the Twelve Apostles. They here held a council in a log cabin, and a great manifestation of the holy spirit was poured out upon those present.¹⁴

The action taken by the quorum of Twelve was later ratified by a vote of the conference of the church held at Kanesville from December 24 to 27. At this time the people of the church at Miller's Hollow (Kanesville) unanimously accepted the aforementioned brethren as their leaders. John Smith, an uncle to the Prophet, was selected to be the patriarch of the church.

This ratification took place at Miller's Hollow in a log tabernacle especially constructed for this purpose. President Young, three weeks before, had tried to hold the conference in a double blockhouse occupied by one of the brethren but many were disappointed in that they could not be admitted. Brigham Young therefore dismissed the conference. In the intervening three weeks the brethren erected a tabernacle 65 x 40 feet inside dimensions, capable of seating a thousand people.¹⁵

In a letter written about a month later to Orson Spencer in England, Brigham Young speaks of the spirit of the Lord being poured out in abundance on this occasion and then

¹⁴Little, From Kirtland to Salt Lake City, pp. 62-7.

¹⁵Roberts, op. cit.

he adds, "nothing more has been done today than what I knew would be done when Joseph died."¹⁶ Thus Brigham Young somehow realized all along that eventually the Lord would allow the reorganization of the First Presidency, and he later speaks of it as untying the hands of the twelve Apostles whose special calling is to go into the world and proclaim the gospel to the nations thereof. Thus Kaneshville had the distinction of providing the setting for the reorganization of the church.

Because of the severity of the weather and bad roads throughout the western part of Iowa, a general conference of all the people in the Pottawattamie country was called for April, 1848. And on the 8th of that month the action of the two previous bodies of the church was sustained. Some 10,000 members here were to sanction the action and in October of 1848 the 5,000 members in Salt Lake Valley would follow suit. This would leave only those in the British Isles to sanction the move by the vote of common consent in the church. This was subsequently done.

At this last conference at Miller's Hollow it was moved that the place designated Miller's Hollow should henceforth be known as Kaneshville in honor of Colonel Thomas L. Kane, who had befriended the church on every hand wherever he went. At the same time Orson Hyde and George A. Smith were appointed as a committee to move the poor saints from Winter Quarters as soon as those who could leave for the west had

¹⁶Letter from President Brigham Young to Orson Spencer in England, January 23, 1849, Millennial Star, X, 114.

departed.¹⁷

The council also decided that Orson Hyde, now president of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles, George A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson, members of the Twelve, be appointed to take charge of the affairs on the Pottawattamie Indian lands of Iowa. This would involve presiding over some 15,000 members residing along a strip some fifty or sixty miles north and south along the east side of the Missouri River and reaching back inland from the river about thirty or forty miles.¹⁸ It would also include Mount Pisgah, one hundred thirty miles to the east with over 500 people, and Garden Grove, twenty-seven miles beyond Pisgah, with over 500 people.

Among other things accomplished at this conference at Kanesville in December was the selection of a High Council for the east side of the river. One had presided on the west side but now the organization would be broken up. This Council was to have jurisdiction over civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs among these scattered settlements. Since there was no county government yet extended to include them, some regulation and administration had to be set up. They were to function directly under the presidency of Pottawattamie. James Allred was selected as the president of this Council. Other members included William G. Perkins, William Snow, Evan M. Greene, Benjamin F. Bird, Noah S. Bulkley, George Coulson,

¹⁷"Journal History," April 8, 1848, p. 1.

¹⁸Roberts, op. cit., p. 307. During this same period Brigham Young, in Salt Lake Valley, presided over 5,000 members.



Orson Hyde



George A. Smith



Ezra T. Benson

PLATE IV

Pictures of Presidency of Pottawattamie

Andrew H. Perkins, Lyman Stoddard, Henry W. Miller, Heman Hyde and Ira Oviatt. James Cragun and Philemon C. Merrill were sustained as marshals.¹⁹

President Young left Winter Quarters on May 26, 1848, one company having preceded him. Heber C. Kimball was to follow close after and then Willard Richards. From the Missouri camp they were to take about 2,500 members with them, the others to move to Iowa, east of the river.

George A. Smith, one of the committee to move the saints to Iowa, wrote Patriarch John Smith, his father, on July 3, 1848, describing the picture as Winter Quarters was evacuated:

This day closed the starting from Winter Quarters of the second company and the city is a perfect desolation for a place once so thickly inhabited of flies, flees, bugs, mice, and lots of other vermin, abound in the ruins. I left home yesterday morning /he moved to Carbonca, near the Missouri River just below Kanessville/. A great number of merchants, 6 or 7, have moved into the county /Pottawattamie County was organized in September, 1848/. Miller's Hollow or Kanessville, as it is called is quite a humming place of business. The winter wheat is ready for the cradle and very fine. Spring wheat looks well as does all the other crops. . . . Elder Hyde has gone to the East and expects to be gone about three months.²⁰

It was with difficulty that the remaining poor saints were removed from their "burrows" at Winter Quarters, for the Indian Agent would not allow them to remove the log houses. They had to locate the timber and re-saw logs for their homes. Orson Hyde had moved from his home at Hyde Park to one built

¹⁹Jenson, "Iowa Settlements."

²⁰"Journal History," July 3, 1848, p. 2.

at Kanesville; and George A. Smith had built him a place at Carbonca, located on the river a little below Kanesville. Ezra T. Benson, who was in the east visiting the saints, was soon to bring money which he had gathered up to help the poor at Kanesville. Already the saints in St. Louis had forwarded some \$2,000 to help relieve the poor and suffering in Winter Quarters and Kanesville.²¹

Among other responsibilities of those directing affairs was the locating and caring for newcomers. During the ensuing years there would be people arriving from the eastern states, from the south, from the Scandinavian countries, England and from the Iberian Peninsula. Many of these had come from factory towns where they had specialized in only one trade. They knew nothing of frontier life. They had to be taught in the ways of plowing, harrowing and planting. And as Horace Whitney so aptly put it, they had to be schooled in "oxology."

Speaking of conditions similar to those presided over by these three brethren, Wilford Woodruff had this to say:

The Saints assembled at that time Sept. 1846 were gathered from all parts of the states and from Great Britain. That community consisted of men and women of all shades of thought, all traditions, beliefs, and customs. The grave and austere, and devoted Saints mingled with the light-minded and indifferent, and the gay. There was much drift wood in this community.²²

Kanesville had now become the leading star in the

²¹"Journal History," April 12, 1848 (Letter of Orson Hyde to Elder Nathaniel H. Felt, St. Louis, Missouri).

²²Matthias F. Cowley, History of the Life and Labors of Wilford Woodruff (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1909), p. 258.

cluster of settlements covering that area.²³ The other branches of the church began to look to Kaneshville for direction. This was the place where the ferry was located and where the merchants were stocking their shelves for the emigrants.

Clyde B. Aitchinson, writing on the settlement of the Mormons in the Missouri Valley, gives the census for Pottawattamie County:

A year after the last company left Winter Quarters for Utah, the church had thirty-eight branches in Pottawattamie and Mills Counties. The census from 1849 to 1853 gives Pottawattamie County a population varying from

²³The Guardian and Iowa Sentinel (newspaper published at Kaneshville succeeding the Frontier Guardian, edited by Jacob Dawson), April 15, 1852, describes Pottawattamie County in which Kaneshville and the other settlements of Missouri Valley were located. The county is bounded on the south by Mills and Montgomery Counties, on the east by Cass County, on the north by Shelby and Harrison and on the west by the Missouri River which separates it from Nebraska Territory. The soil is rich and is well drained by numerous streams and small water courses which run to the southwest, draining into the Missouri River. The county contains 864 square miles or 552,960 acres of land. The main streams are the Boyer, Musquito Creek, two Pigeon Creeks, Honey Creek, Nishnabotna and others. There are besides many beautiful springs of water. Its land along the river is level bottoms and back from there is high, undulating prairie land. The two are separated by bluffs which vary from fifty to three hundred feet. It is fairly well timbered.

During the first year or two of the saints at Kaneshville and vicinity there was much wild fruit such as plums, cherries, blackberries, strawberries and hazel nuts, hickory nuts and black walnuts.

Joseph Holbrook records that when he first came to the Missouri River that first year his son-in-law, Judson Tolman, caught 200 pounds of cat fish, twelve in number. One weighed 40 pounds and they were all caught with a hook. Holbrook, op. cit., p. 86.

However, game was not too plentiful. It could be had if one would take several days' journey to the north. Many times the men left their families and went into the woods hunting bee hives and would often return with sufficient honey to last throughout the winter, trade for grain or other groceries.

5,758 to 7,828, reaching the maximum in 1850 and showing a loss of 2,500 from 1852 to 1854, the years of final Mormon exodus.²⁴

Much of this population increase came after 1849 when the gold rush to California began. New shops, dealing in the merchandise of the plains traveler, came into existence.

Aitchinson says further of the character of the building at Kaneshville:

Its inhabitants all looked forward to an early departure; the buildings they erected were temporary make-shifts, and their home-made furniture was rude and not intended for permanent use.²⁵

Among the important events of the time was the birth of a son to George A. Smith on September 18, 1848, at Carbona. He had married Sarah Ann Libby some three years before at Nauvoo. She was a "plural" wife and now became the mother of John Henry Smith, the father of President George Albert Smith.²⁶

Another unusual event which happened at Kaneshville was the coming back into the church of Oliver Cowdery, one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon. During the Missouri period he had, along with many others, been excommunicated because he digressed from the commandments of the church. After some eleven years of practicing law in several states he

²⁴Aitchison, op. cit., pp. 276-89.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Preston Nibley, "Crickets Devour Crops Planted by the Pioneers," Deseret News, Church Section, Salt Lake City, May 16, 1951, p. 16.

returned to the church. Reuben Miller, who was present and heard Oliver's remarks as he stood before the church in Kanessville, gives this verbatim story after eleven years. On that occasion Oliver arose and said:

Friends and brethren: My name is Cowdery--Oliver Cowdery. In the early history of this Church I stood identified with her, and one in her councils. True it is that the gifts and callings of God are not without repentance. Not because I was better than the rest of mankind was I called, but to fulfill the purposes of God he called me to a high and holy calling. I wrote with my own pen the entire Book of Mormon (save a few pages) as it fell from the lips of the Prophet Joseph Smith, as he translated it by the gift and power of God by means of the Urim and Thummim, or, as it is called by that book, "holy interpreters."

I beheld with my eyes and handled with my hands the gold plates from which it was transcribed. I also saw with my eyes and handled with my hands the holy interpreters. That book is true. Sidney Rigdon did not write it. Mr. Spaulding did not write it. I wrote it myself as it fell from the lips of the Prophet. It contains the everlasting gospel, and came forth to the children of men in fulfillment of the revelation to John, where he says he saw an angel come with the everlasting gospel to preach to every nation, kindred, tongue and people. It contains the principles of salvation; its precepts; you will be saved with an everlasting salvation in the kingdom of God on high.

Brother Hyde has just said that it is very important that we keep and walk in the true channel, in order to avoid the sand-bars. This is true, the channel is here. The holy priesthood is here. I was present with Joseph when an holy angel from God came down from heaven, and conferred on us, or restored, the lesser, or Aaronic priesthood, and said to us at the same time that it should remain upon the earth while the earth stands.

I was also present with Joseph when the higher or Melchizedek Priesthood was conferred by the holy angel from on high. This Priesthood was then conferred on each other, by the will and commandment of God. This Priesthood, as was then declared, is also to remain upon the earth until the last remnant of time.²⁶

Oliver was accepted by the church at Kanessville and

²⁶"Testimonies of Oliver Cowdery and Martin Harris," Millennial Star, XXI, 544.

was baptized by Elder Orson Hyde on Sunday, November 12, 1848. Shortly after his baptism he left with his wife and daughter for Richmond, Missouri, to visit with her father, Peter Whitmer. While there the following year, Oliver took cold and died of consumption on March 3, 1850. He was then forty-four years of age.²⁸

Bishops were ordained to preside over the temporal affairs of the church in the different branches. They were to care for the needy, widows and orphans. They were to be the fathers of the branches. Orson Hyde, in instructing the bishops of their calling, had this to say:

There will be many calls on you for assistance and aid, because you are the men appointed to receive the tithing, and from it to administer to the wants of the poor. It is desirable that the honest and virtuous poor should receive succor from the Church; but such persons as waste their time in bed in the morning when they should be up and at work if they are healthy, have no claim on you for support. That family who are guilty of profanity or suffer the name in their house, have no claim on the tithing for support. Parents who have boys and girls large enough to earn their living, yet instead of working, idle away their time, have no claim on you for aid. . . .

Let your disbursements prove that the Church does not tolerate idleness in any shape or form, neither crime, nor immorality.²⁹

During Orson Hyde's trip to the east he had purchased a printing press. He had also arranged with John Gooch of St. Louis to come to Kaneshville and print the paper. Because

²⁸Nibley, "Oliver Cowdery Bears Testimony of Gospel," Deseret News, Church Section, May 23, 1951.

²⁹Frontier Guardian (semi-monthly organ of the L.D.S. Church at Kaneshville, Iowa, edited by Orson Hyde), August 8, 1849.

of the heavy winter and deep snows the printer was delayed in reaching Kaneshville and when he did arrive it was with a frozen face and fingers. His family could not come until the following spring.

The paper was to be called The Frontier Guardian and was to be what its name implied, a veritable guardian over those within the church residing on the fringe of civilization. It was the only church organ published in the United States for over a full year, and it enjoyed a healthy circulation. It was distributed in Canada, all of New England, in New York City and throughout the state, in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Ohio, Michigan, Arkansas, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, in Scotland, England and Wales, as well as rather extensively in St. Louis and St. Joseph and other parts of Missouri where the Saints had lived.³⁰

The price of the paper was \$2 per year in advance. It was first published February 7, 1849, at Kaneshville, Iowa. It was a four-paged super-royal sheet, issued semi-monthly and was edited by Orson Hyde for three years and one month from the above date. He then sold it to Jacob Dawson, a non-Mormon for \$2,000, after which it was issued under banner of The Frontier Guardian and Iowa Sentinel once each week.

In each of the forty-odd settlements in Iowa was a staunch church Elder who acted as agent in securing subscriptions for and distribution of this paper. As its prospectus

³⁰Ibid., Vol. I, No. 5, April 4, 1849 (Complete on microfilm at the L.D.S. Church Office building).

outlined by Orson Hyde, it was to be devoted to religious matters, matters of the arts and sciences, literature and poetry, the establishment of common schools along the frontier and to the news of the day. It was to play no part in the political strife but was to reserve the right of recommending such men to suffrages of the people that he felt would prove faithful and true to the cause of liberty and justice.³¹

Orson Hyde recognized the difficulty of printing a paper so far from the "circle of intelligence" in such a remote section. But the church must be guided both as to that which pertained to emigration conditions and also church administration in the Pottawattamie branch.

Orson Hyde grew up in a family of eleven and knew what it meant to work for a living. His mother passed away while he was very young so the children were distributed to relatives and acquaintances. Orson was a good student and availed himself of what study he could during the winter months.

As an example of his poetical and literary ability, the following is quoted from a letter dated January 1, 1842, from Trieste, to the Brethren of the Twelve:

I have just been upon deck to witness the king of day retiring in his robes of state to the western portions of his kingdoms, to proclaim there, in propria persona, the advent of 1842, after opening and lighting up the glory of the new year in the east. As his golden disk was sinking behind the western rim of the deep blue waters of the Adriatic, and throwing back, in rich profusion, his soft and glowing beam upon the clear blue sky, with a radiance and splendor peculiar to none but him, thought I, oh, that thou couldst take a thought or good wish from me and bear

³¹Ibid., February 7, 1849.

it on the pathway of one of thy golden beams to my dear little family, which perhaps at this moment is pouring his noon day splendor obliquely upon the home where they dwell. But another thought succeeded--I will not be a Parsee. There is a Being whose throne is high, and whose glorious image shines forth in the mirror of all his works to feast the mental eye and heal the wounded heart. "His ear is not heavy that he cannot hear, neither is his arm shortened that he cannot save;" to Him, therefore, I will send a thought on the wing of my evening devotion, and breathe an aspiration that his favor may gladden and cheer the cot where dwell all my earthly hopes and earthly riches; therefore, tarry not for me thou glorious orb of light, but speed thy course onward in the circuit of the heavens, to dye the sheen of other climes, and to roll in the hour when the dead, small and great, shall stand before God.³²

Orson Hyde had just returned from his history-making trip to Palestine where he had dedicated the Holy Land for the return of the Jews.

Showing his sense of humor and his ability to capitalize upon developments as they arose he printed the following. It was in the April 18, 1949, issue, shortly after the fever-crazed gold spirit had penetrated the minds of the people of the United States. This is the advertisement and the timely comment of Orson Hyde:

Gold diggers will please prepare now, to see themselves and their washbowls flashed through the air, to Eldorado, starting from New York at day-break, say, and dropping down, in time for supper, at the dry diggins on the Sacramento. If you do not believe it, read the following announcement posed to-day around the city, and which, we are assured, is made in good faith:

³²Times and Seasons, July 15, 1842, p. 850. (This paper was published at Nauvoo, Illinois, between 1839 and 1846 as a monthly periodical advocating the principles of the gospel of the Latter-day Saints.)

AIR LINE TO CALIFORNIA

For San Francisco

Through by daylight, without stopping

The Aerial Locomotive will leave the city on the 15th of April, on its first trip to the Gold Mines. Passage \$50; wines included. Baggage extra. For freight or passage apply to PORTER & ROBJOHN, New York

Wines included, indeed! As if mortal man were in a fit state to wine going through the air like a Flying Dutchman, at the rate so many hundred miles an hour.-- (New York Express)

The first would have been a much better day than the 15th of April, on many accounts, for the commencement to this aerial voyage. Won't they drop the latest Eastern news as they pass?³³

George A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson started for Utah with emigrant trains in the spring of 1849 and this left a tremendous burden upon Elder Hyde. During the next three years he presided alone and speaks of being the principal preacher, presiding officer and counselor at Kaneshville for five years. He traveled among the branches, attended all the conferences, sat in conference on all important matters as well as farming land enough to support his own families.³⁴

On April 6, 1851, Elder Hyde in speaking in conference to the people said that he had acted in the capacity of judge between the people but now that a successor in the judgeship had been appointed for Pottawattamie County, he wanted to leave that capacity with the good feeling of the people. He

³³Frontier Guardian, April 18, 1849.

³⁴"Journal History," April 27, 1850.

desired that any individual injured or aggrieved by his action, raise his hand. But the congregation was silent. He then asked for a vote of uplifted hands from those who felt that he had tried to be judicious and fair in his responsibility. They all raised their hands.³⁵

Even the gentiles in Kanesville acknowledged his stand on matters of morals. He had been opposed to those engaged in the "bogus business" and he spared no words either from the pulpit or the newspaper in decrying such vices. Grog shops, which had been opened by the gentiles, were unwelcome. And during the winter of 1849-50 and until the saints left Kanesville in 1852 the High Council had ruled against dances, for they did not want the association of those who could not comply with the standards of the church.

As outlined in the prospectus of the Frontier Guardian, the Mormon leaders at Kanesville favored the establishment of good schools. Wherever possible, schools were opened in the meeting houses of the saints. At Kanesville a school was opened and the people generally were happy about it.

In the Frontier Guardian an article appeared about this school. It reads:

We are glad to hear that our old and tried schoolmaster, friend Grant, is about to engage again in our town. We shall expect something done now. The way he tutors his scholars is the right way. He does not whip much, but makes them mind--makes them learn, and keeps them in order. We heartily wish him success in his undertaking, believing him worthy of a liberal support.³⁶

³⁵"Journal History," April 6, 1851.

³⁶Frontier Guardian, June 13, 1849.

This school, taught by Elder Grant, was started in June, 1849. However, the year before Josiah Merritt had taught school at the log tabernacle in Kanessville. And in October, 1848, he wrote to the Presidency in Great Salt Lake saying:

The next subject to which I shall briefly call your attention is our institution of learning, and I will say that since I commenced in May I have had nearly 100 students and that Brother Hyde and my patrons are well satisfied; we have the best classes here, I say, in the state of Iowa, for the time they have studied. . . . I now have a vacation and the people are putting up a large house for the school. Nancy Green has been in the school most of the summer as my assistant. . . . I expect as soon as the house is done, which will be a short time, it will employ three of us for the next term. If it should be considered boasting as to our institution of learning, we say that we have a right to boast. I never saw scholars that could learn equal to the scholars in this place.³⁷

Early the following September (1849), three schools met at the log tabernacle. One came from Council Point, taught by Mr. Brown, and two from Kanessville, taught by Mr. Grant and Mr. Poulterer. The students carried banners and marched into position before the tabernacle, accompanied by the band. After a fine dinner served to about 200 students they gave orations, shouted the names, boundaries and capitals of every country on the globe, "and then to hear some of the dissection and analysis of the compound personal and relative pronouns without confusion or embarrassment," was a joy to all present.³⁸

Another worthy enterprise was that of assembling people for a choir. All who could sing were invited to attend.

³⁷"Journal History," October 5, 1848, p. 4.

³⁸Frontier Guardian, September 5, 1849.

It was the intention that this choir be accompanied by instruments of various kinds. The saints also felt that a music hall could be constructed for about \$500 which would give them all an incentive to support the music enterprise. This hall was later constructed.

The following spring the residents of Kaneshville were requested to meet in the music hall to try and arrange for another term of school.³⁹ Orson Hyde had already ordered enough school books for not only the settlement of Kaneshville but for Salt Lake as well. Parents were advised to get the books and begin to do what they could at home to help their children to learn the rudiments of the various courses of study.

During the summer of 1848 crops were very good in the county of Pottawattamie. Feed on the prairies surrounding the settlements had grown waist deep and as Thomas L. Kane said, it looked like "a Red Sea of grass." Orson Hyde said that the "land fairly groans under the burthen of corn and other products that wave over its surface by the western breezes."

Silas Richards sent a report for the fall of 1848 to the First Presidency in which he gave the amount of acres of different products grown by some twenty branches of the church. The twenty branches reporting were Blockhouse, Macedonia, Council Point, Springville, Centerville, Big Bend, High Prairie, Big Pigeon, Big Spring, Old Agency, Mill Branch,

³⁹Frontier Guardian, June 1, 1850.

Ferryville, Indian Creek, D. D. Hunt's, Pleasant Valley, Highland Grove, Pleasant Grove, Lake, McOlney's, and Honey Creek. They had raised, among these twenty branches, 1,207 acres of wheat, 3,557 acres of corn, 164 acres of buckwheat, 203 acres of potatoes and there was sown to fall wheat 648 acres. Only half of the branches had reported to Silas Richards. The ones which did not report were mostly the outer branches and supposedly would not have grown so much.

Silas, in his letter of report, says further:

We did not take an account of the beans, turnips, cabbage, pumpkins, squashes, onions and etc. but there is all we can need or desire, and crops are all excellent except buckwheat and some late corn which is injured by the frost, but you know that the "Mormons" are in the habit of putting seed into the ground all summer, consequently must expect to get a little frost bitten sometimes.⁴⁰

Despite this glowing report of the High Council, there were always those individuals who lacked sufficient for their needs. Many were under the necessity of depending on the goodness of others for their well-being.

On Sunday, the last day of December, 1849, the saints living at Kanesville were together for their services. When the meeting was about concluded, Orson Hyde arose and said that he had received a "revelation" from the Lord. Immediately the interest of all was aroused and it called forth an anxious inquiry as to what this revelation could be.

He then proceeded to say it was that the people on the following morning, before the sun rose upon the birth of

⁴⁰"Journal History," October 12, 1848 (?).

a new year, should come and deliver unto the bowery, for the benefit of the poor, a goodly portion of their flour, corn-meal, beef, mutton, pork, chickens, cheese, butter, eggs, bread, pies, cakes, potatoes and vegetables. He also called upon the merchants of Kaneshville to liberally contribute of their calicoes and dry goods, as well as their tea, coffee and sugar.

He also prophesied at the same time in the name of the God of Israel, that whosoever should have these things delivered before the sun should dawn on the year 1850, should be blest beyond measure, and that it should return upon their heads four-fold in what they should set their hands to do, and that they should prosper exceedingly.

The writer of this article was present on that auspicious morning, and witnessed the great tide of offerings that came pouring in. The farmer, the artisan and all who could contribute, cheerfully brought into what might then be called the Lord's store house, of the good things they possessed.

Many came a distance of five or six miles, until it seemed at last that every requisition made upon them was fully responded to.

Even our outside friends, the merchants, were not slack in answering this call. The dry goods and groceries were on hand also, for all appeared to be moved by the influence of Elder Hyde's prophetic declarations--that they should have four-fold, and should be prospered exceedingly.⁴¹

Many looked forward to, but doubted whether such a promise of a four-fold enrichment could ever be possible. But when the following spring came, after the saints had been admonished to store away their large crops, hundreds of gold-seekers flocked into Kaneshville waiting the better weather and grass to make a start across the long plains. As the following spring was wet many caravans had to remain over for a month or so. Grain which had been selling for forty and fifty cents a bushel, such as corn, now commanded \$2.00 and almost everything else was raised proportionately. Those who

⁴¹"Fulfillment of Revelation and Prophecy," Juvenile Instructor (Salt Lake City: 1881), XVI, 51-52.

had nothing to sell except services such as the blacksmith, received increased trade as well as payment for work done. They also made wagons, put shoes on horses and oxen, and trade generally was animated to a considerable degree. The emigrants were under necessity to trade their old wagons for newer ones and auctioneers could be seen in the streets of Kaneshville, giving summons to the residents by the ringing of a bell. Stoves, tables, chairs and many other unnecessary items were unloaded here, once the gold seekers learned of the long distances and the difficulties of mountain passes.

Jonathan C. Wright wrote to President Brigham Young, complaining of the influx of so many gold diggers. He speaks of their being 2,000 of them spread out in chequered fashion over the countryside; but more than that, they were belligerent toward the Mormons and had committed a number of depredations. And as already mentioned, corn was selling for \$2.50 per bushel, flour \$5.00 per hundred, bacon from 8¢ to 10¢ per pound. Thus things were in an unsettled condition.⁴² Hay was worth \$25.00 per ton, oxen from \$40 to \$80 a yoke and cows from \$12 to \$20 apiece. Horses were commanding from \$60 to \$100 each.⁴³

At this time the health of the people of Kaneshville was good. After they began tilling the soil and getting a better balance of vegetables they rid themselves of the scurvy

⁴²"Journal History," April 23, 1850.

⁴³Ibid., April 27, 1850.

and black canker which so plagued them the first winter. Furthermore much of the pestilence which the saints first suffered from the rank vegetation and decaying organic matter resulting after the subsiding of the high waters of the Missouri River, was overcome.⁴⁴ The saints soon had moved to higher ground. Luke Johnson was recommended as the physician for the saints. Orson Hyde said that the people generally were so healthy that Dr. Johnson's practice was, at times, confined to cases of a chronic and long-standing nature.

Dr. B. Y. Shelly commenced practice as a physician in Kaneshville in 1850, and in the fall of that year S. E. Williams, then a medical student, arrived there. He was followed in 1851 by Dr. P. J. McMahon, who later in connection with Dr. Williams built up an extensive practice in the county and also opened up a drug store.⁴⁵

Along with Dr. Johnson and the above named medical men, came other doctors to help serve the medical needs of the various communities. The Frontier Guardian publishes the account of one operation taking place at Kaneshville, May 13, 1851:

Early this morning, Tuesday 13th, at this place a son of Mr. Dooly Ruddle, an emigrant from Schuyler Co., Missouri, had his leg amputated above the knee. The operation was performed by Dr. Daniel Roberts in thirty-two seconds, assisted by Dr. Warren of this place. Dr. Roberts appears to be noted as a quick and successful operator in surgery.⁴⁶

⁴⁴Aitchinson, op. cit., pp. 281-82.

⁴⁵Bloomer, "History of Pottawattamie County, op. cit., pp. 672.

⁴⁶Frontier Guardian, May 16, 1851.

This same summer there was also a health committee organized at Kaneshville. The purpose of this committee was to promote the health and general well-being of the citizens of Kaneshville. Streets were to be kept clean and all general refuse kept picked up and disposed of. The committee included C. C. Pendleton, Luke Johnson and Joseph E. Johnson for Main Street; Daniel Machintosh and Charles H. Bassett to watch Hyde Street.⁴⁷

The cholera did, however, break out in exceedingly violent proportions in 1850, in the various settlements. And since the roads were bad connecting these far-flung communities, it was oftentimes difficult to get medical aid to them. There was also a scarcity of medicine so that the saints had to rely upon the interposition of the Divine Providence to ward off the terrible scourge. And so a great many deaths resulted and the victims were buried on the high rounded bluff, overlooking the valley of the Missouri. These graves are today included within the confines of the Fairview Cemetery.⁴⁸

The sojourn of the Mormons in western Iowa was one of peace. Orson Hyde said that the church had never done so well as it was doing in Iowa. People outside the church, too, maintained that the Mormons were guilty of very few offenses. They were law-abiding, and always did the leaders strive for

⁴⁷Ibid., August 8, 1851.

⁴⁸Bloomer, "Mormons in Iowa," op. cit., pp. 586-602.

for honesty and fair-dealing among the membership.⁴⁹

Hyde was continually counseling the saints to pay their legal taxes to the state. Above all, he wanted the membership to be law-abiding and good citizens. Couples were sometimes tempted to cross the river into Indian territory to get married. These, too, were cautioned with full argument, for Hyde said:

You may get married beyond the limits of the State upon Indian lands, and avoid expense and penalty; but you may see the time when you would give thousands of dollars if you could prove a legal marriage, and thereby become heirs, perhaps, to large estates, dowers and legacies, in England, as well as in this country.⁵⁰

Many of the church leaders at Kanessville and other settlements of western Iowa adhered to the practice of "plural" marriage. Since they felt that this was a command divinely instituted, they subscribed to it even though it invoked serious ridicule from those with a strict monogamous philosophy of marriage. Only the well-to-do who were in good standing within the church practiced such marital relations.

It is said that Henry W. Miller had several wives who worked on the bottoms in the fields adjacent to Stringtown during the summer months.⁵¹ Orson Hyde had several wives as well as George A. Smith, whose son John Henry has already been referred to as born to one of his wives at Carbonca, Iowa.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Frontier Guardian, March 21, 1849.

⁵¹Bloomer, "Mormons in Iowa," op. cit., p. 599.

Helen Mar Whitney speaks of an incident in which "two or more" of the wives of her father (Heber C. Kimball) were walking behind the wagons when night overtook them and they were lost. They had to secure lodging at a farm house and then be brought into the camp next morning.⁵²

Thus we have established at the Missouri River, Kaneshville along with about forty other settlements spread over a sixty-by-forty mile area. The name "Kaneshville" seems to have included greater geographic proportions than just the immediate location of Kaneshville, Iowa.

The importance of Kaneshville and vicinity in church history must not be overlooked. Here the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was reorganized after an uncertain period of three and one-half years. The saints were now given complete confidence in the leadership of Brigham Young; the hands of the quorum of Twelve Apostles were now untied to go into the world and fulfill the specific calling to which they were appointed--that of being special witnesses in word to the resurrected Christ.

Kaneshville, though at first thought to be a poor location, now came to be a gathering place on the frontier for saints from all parts of the world. Here the leaders were confronted with the problems of locating the newcomers upon lands and training for farming and gardening many of the European saints who had been mill hands and did not understand "how to hitch an ox." Thus, life at Kaneshville padded the transition from one extreme way of life to another--from the

highly urban to the complete rural.

Here Oliver Cowdery, one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, came back into the church, thus adding strength and weight to Brigham Young's leadership.

The Frontier Guardian, a newspaper of considerable import, was published by Orson Hyde, giving advice and counsel to the scattered saints. It helped to direct and hold the saints together though separated geographically. It was the only Latter-day Saint publication in America for over a year.

Schools were established and children taught the rudiments of grammar, mathematics and geography. All of these things contributed either directly or indirectly in helping the saints to remain faithful and to prepare themselves for their journey westward in 1852.

More will be said in the following chapter concerning the birth of political life in Kanesville and the final stages of abandonment of these settlements in the Mormon exodus to Salt Lake Valley.

CHAPTER VII

KANESVILLE'S CONTRIBUTION TO MORMON EMIGRATION

Between 1846 and 1852 there were some seventy settlements of Mormons in Iowa. Many of these settlements included only a cluster of a few families living together near a fine spring or wooded area.¹ Although Mount Pisgah and Garden Grove had rather large settlements, the greatest concentration of settlements was directly along the east side of the Missouri River and back to the east some forty miles.

The saints were holding this land under "squatters' rights." Such rights gave them the right of occupancy and the privilege of improving and cultivating the land pending their coming into the market. Besides, it gave them first right of purchase of the land when it was finally opened to public purchase at \$1.25 per acre. If someone else purchased the land which had previously been "squatted," such improvements as were already made had to be paid for by the purchaser at a fair valuation.² So the occupancy of these lands by the Mormons was to them a valuable asset, both from the standpoint of political developments and also from the fact that

¹Jenson, "Iowa Settlements" (in these writings Andrew Jenson has catalogued and written briefly on each one).

²Roberts, op. cit., pp. 321-28.

Kanesville (Council Bluffs) was to gain prominence as an embarkation point to the west.

Already hundreds of farms were being improved and fenced. The long prairie grass was rapidly being turned under by the plow and fine crops and gardens were taking its place. Fabulous claims had been forthcoming by some expert gardeners. Martin L. Benson presented to the staff of the Frontier Guardian a watermelon weighing twenty-two pounds.³ From Little Pigeon, another settlement, came the report in October, 1851, of a carrot weighing three and one-half pounds, a beet weighing seven pounds, one raddish weighing six and a half pounds. Says Henry A. Terry, "My carrots yielded at the rate of one thousand six hundred and eighty bushels to the acre."⁴

George A. Smith, writing from Carbonca, Iowa, October 2, 1848, to the First Presidency in Salt Lake City, mentions Jerome Benson's mill and Cooley's mill, both in full operation grinding wheat for the saints.⁵ At Keg Creek there was an excellent grist mill and a wonderful saw mill surrounded with a heavy timbered area.⁶ Other scattered communities boasted fine improvements.

The Bluff Store at Kanesville advertised for November, 1850, such items as broadcloths, jeans, tickings, gingham,

³Frontier Guardian, September 1, 1850.

⁴Ibid., October 31, 1851.

⁵Ibid., October 2, 1848.

⁶Ibid., April 3, 1850.

hats, bonnets, mosquito bars, fans, parasols and umbrellas, gloves, boots, shoes, leather, hardware, iron ware, bracelets, beads, rings, silk, worsted, brushes and fancy soap, needles and pins, clocks, violins, threads, buttons, shawls, groceries. All of these items were sold by Brown and Miller of Kaneshville.⁷

Ferry privileges had been granted to Messrs. Clark, Townsend and Brophy, across the Missouri River at Council Bluffs. This grant protected the interests of these men for ten miles each direction.⁸

Along with these land privileges, most of these men and women could soon claim the constitutional franchise for voting. The Mormons were soon to have county organization. The Iowa legislature of 1847 had provided for the organization of counties out of the Pottawattamie lands. This organization procedure was to be under the supervision of the judge of the 4th judicial district of Iowa whenever he deemed it expedient.

Early in January, 1848, a Seventies' Jubilee of the settlements was held in the log tabernacle at Kaneshville. At this Jubilee William W. Phelps read a petition to the legislature of Iowa, praying for a county organization. The meeting also adopted a Memorial to be sent to the Postmaster General requesting that a post office be established here. The post office petition was signed by some 1,800 male members

⁷Ibid., November 13, 1850.

⁸Ibid., February, 1850. (This was granted by the State Legislature.)

of the church. Arguments for a post office here were set forth as follows:

There are many thousand inhabitants in the vicinity of the log tabernacle, which is situated on the Government Purchase of the Pottawattamies and in the State of Iowa whose interest is materially injured, and whose journey, business and improvements are retarded or destroyed by non-intercourse, there being no post office within forty or fifty miles of said Tabernacle, and the public good requires a convenient office.⁹

It was further decided by the meeting that Andrew H. Perkins and Henry W. Miller go to Iowa City, the seat of state government, with the petitions. When they arrived there they learned that Judge Carolton of the 4th judicial district had already appointed Mr. Townsend to begin to organize Pottawattamie County as the legislature had previously designated.¹⁰

In March, 1848, a post office was established and Evan M. Greene, a Mormon, was made postmaster. However, it was some time before regular mail service was established between Kaneshville and the nearest post office in Missouri. "And it was four or five years later before mails began to arrive regularly across the state from the east."¹¹

Messrs. Perkins and Miller, the two delegates to Iowa City, were graciously received and introduced to the Secretary of State. Whig and Democrat parties were fairly equally divided in the state. "Politicians" were anxious to make

⁹"Journal History," January 20, 1848, pp. 1-3.

¹⁰Roberts, op. cit.

¹¹Bloomer, "History of Pottawattamie County," op. cit., p. 530.

promises to these men that state roads would be built, bridges made, and other improvements provided. The August election was nearing and they wanted the Mormon vote. It was to be a presidential as well as state election. They also wished these people in transit to remain in western Iowa.

Soon after the visit of Perkins and Miller to Iowa City, the Whig Central Committee dispatched Sidney Roberts and Winsor P. Lyon to Kaneshville to meet in caucus with the people. Lyon, on account of illness, could not go but Sidney Roberts bore his credentials as well as his own. Mr. Roberts also bore a long letter prepared by the Whig Central Committee of the State. It set forth in length the malicious persecutions suffered by the saints in Missouri, the martyrdom of Joseph the Prophet and his brother, Hyrum, in Illinois, and the awful expulsion in the dead of winter from the state of Illinois.

The Mormons were suspicious of such sudden attraction. They questioned the friendly personal interest of the Whig Central Committee and their sincere tone of sympathizing with the Mormons' past persecutions.

The Whig letter pointed out the weaknesses of the Locofocos (Democrats). It said that they would try to inveigle the vote of the Mormons again. Had not the saints already cast their lot with the Democrats in past elections only to suffer at their hands later? The Whigs assured them that their party was

pledged to them and the country to a firm and unyielding protection to Jew, Gentile and Christian of every name and denomination, with all other immunities rightfully

belonging to every citizen of the land.¹²

As further pledge of good things to the Mormons, Mr. Lyons went on to the point, in his own personal letter, of suggesting that the Federal government purchase a region to the west with sufficient land where the Mormons could settle and receive the protection of the government from the "scalping knife" of the savages. He was certain that General Taylor, the Whig candidate for president, would receive the majority vote, and the Mormons would be kindly remembered by the "old hero" once he received their support.

A preamble was then drafted and adopted setting forth the outrages and persecutions endured by the Latter-day Saints. Also was another resolution adopted declaring that if

the Whigs of Iowa would lift up their hands towards heaven and swear by the Eternal Gods that they would use all their powers to suppress mobocracy, insurrection, rebellion, and violence, in whatever form or from whatever source such might arise against the Latter-day Saints and the citizens of Iowa, even to the sacrifice of all their property, and their lives if need be, and that a full share of representative and judicial authority should be extended to the Saints, then the Saints would pledge themselves to unite their votes with the Whigs of Iowa at the election of the current year, and would correspond with the Whigs as solicited.¹³

The agreement was carried out and the Mormons generally voted the Whig ticket. The voting for state and national candidates took place on August 6, 1848, at Kaneshville precinct. The Whigs carried the national ticket but the Democrats won out by a 1,200 majority in the state. The political

¹²Roberts, op. cit.

¹³Jenson, Historical Record, V, 889-900.

reverberations in the capital city of Iowa were about as loud as those in Kaneshville with their 163 gun salute for President Taylor, which jarred out the "chinking and daubing" of the log houses in town.¹⁴

On September 21, Pottawattamie County was organized with Andrew Perkins, David Yearsley and George D. Coulson as the first County Commission. They held their first meeting at the home of Hiram Clark at Kaneshville, Thomas Burdick acting as Clerk of the Board at this meeting.

At a later meeting of this body Isaac Clark was chosen Probate Judge; Josiah Merritt, Prosecuting Attorney; John D. Park, Sheriff; James Sloan, District Clerk; Thomas Burdick, Clerk of the County Commissioners; Abel Lamb, Surveyor General; Calvin C. Pendleton, Sealer of Weights and Measures; William Snow and Jacob G. Bigler, Justices of the Peace.¹⁵

At the opening of the next legislature, a bill was introduced to disorganize Pottawattamie County. The bill passed the lower body but failed by a small margin in the Senate. The arguments presented in this body caused a great deal of furor. The charge of "corruption" was brought against the voters of the county in that they had been bribed by the Whigs for a solid vote. They were further declared to be "fanatics and outlaws,"¹⁶ as well as "aliens," "foreigners"

¹⁴Frontier Guardian, March 7, 1849.

¹⁵Jenson, "Iowa Settlements."

¹⁶Roberts, op. cit.

and "minors."¹⁷

Commenting on the very high feeling which was present, as well as the emotion attached to the whole business when this problem of the Mormon vote was discussed in the Senate, B. H. Roberts, the historian, says:

Feeling ran very high during the discussion in the legislature; the senator from Davis and Appanoose counties, Mr. Selman, who was also the president of the senate, declared his willingness "to put himself at the head of a mob and drive them [The Latter-day Saints] from the state by the hands of violence." In appointing the 27th day of April as a day of fasting and prayer, among the several persons to be prayed for was this same Dr. Selman, president of the Iowa Senate. "Ask the Lord," said the communication of Elders Hyde, Smith and Benson--constituting the presidency at Kanesville,--"Ask the Lord to make him ashamed of his hard speeches made against a people that never injured him, neither wish to."¹⁸

Most of the above mentioned difficulty arose from the contest between Daniel Miller, a Whig, and William Thompson of Mount Pleasant, a Democrat, for election to Congress from the First District, of which Monroe County was a part. Miller carried the Kanesville precinct with more than three hundred votes to only just a few for Thompson. With the votes from Kanesville, Miller won the seat in the legislature but without them Thompson would have been seated.

By political "slight-of-hand" the poll books of the Kanesville precinct never reached the destination for counting. They were later found in Judge Charles Mason's possession. Had they gone in to be counted, Daniel Miller would have been

¹⁷Frontier Guardian, March 20, 1850.

¹⁸Roberts, op. cit.

victorious. They were never counted and Mr. Thompson of Mount Pleasant was awarded the seat.

Sometime later, when Daniel Miller challenged Judge Mason on his authority to act for Thompson, he reached into his saddle bag to get his "authority" and by mistake pulled out the "stolen" poll book. Miller immediately, by the signatures on it, recognized it and demanded an accounting. The Monroe County History says:

On the basis of the Kaneshville returns, thus presented, the District Court awarded the Congressional seat to Miller. Thompson, who had already taken his seat in the opening session of the Thirty-first Congress, protested. The court thereupon ruled that neither candidate had been legally elected, and an election should be held in September 1850 to fill the vacancy.¹⁹

In the election which followed in September, 1850, Daniel H. Miller was victorious and took his seat in Congress for the rest of the session.

Before the poll book was retrieved, charges were made by the Democrats that Pottawattamie County lay north of Monroe County and therefore the voting was illegal. According to law, all counties west of Monroe County were to be attached to this county for judicial and taxing purposes. If the counties west of Monroe County were north of Monroe's north line, then they were to be in the other congressional district. But everyone thought that Kaneshville was due west of Monroe. The commissioners of Monroe County had set up the voting district, think-

¹⁹Monroe County History: American Guide Series (Iowa Writers' Project, Works Project Administration, sponsored by County Superintendent of Schools, Monroe County, 1940), pp. 30-36.

ing Pottawattamie due west of Monroe County. These commissioners of Monroe County were Dudley C. Barber, Clerk, Andrew Elswick, William McBride, and George Holiday (all Democrats).

When the dispute arose and Judge Mason and Judge Weber, a surveyor, determined that Kanesville was twenty miles north of Monroe County, then a basis of disqualification was had. The party claimed the vote to be illegal. But the situation is as argued by Mr. Evans of Maryland:

It was the common understanding of that entire county, both Whigs and Democrats, both residents at Kanesville and in Monroe County--that Kanesville was attached to Monroe County; that both Whigs and Democrats did vote there as the case, their votes were legally entitled to be received and canvassed in Monroe County, even if subsequent developments proved that Kanesville was not due West of Monroe.²⁰

Certainly this argument was good. Both Whig and Democrat solicitors had been to Kanesville to win their votes, and some were at the polls with an "inducement" in the form of spirits to win adherents.

On December 12, 1849, a public meeting was held in St. Francis for the purpose of considering the quickest and most feasible way to get a Circuit Court organized. The circuit was to embrace Pottawattamie and Fremont Counties. The following week a meeting was held in Kanesville for the same purpose. This objective was agitated for about a full year by the citizens of these counties.²¹

In February, 1851, the General Assembly of the State

²⁰Rives, op. cit., XXI, Part II, 1295, 1300-3, 1307.

²¹Frontier Guardian, December 12, 1849.

of Iowa enacted a law whereby the counties of Ringgold, Taylor, Page, Fremont, Mills, Montgomery, Adams, Union, Adair, Cass, Pottawattamie, Harrison, Shelby, Audibon, Carrol, Crawford, Cherokee, Plymouth, O'Brien, Clay, Dickinson, Occala, and Buncombe became the Sixth Judicial District of Iowa.²² Thomas Burdick was its first judge. The first term of the district court was held on May 5, 1851. James Sloan presided as district judge. Evan M. Greene was clerk, and Alexander McRae as sheriff. The records of this court term are of much "curiosity" since the clerk recorded all of the proceedings. He recorded at full length the entire proceedings of the court, including testimony of the witnesses, arguments of the counsel and the various charges which the judge gave. Orson Hyde was one of the first attorneys admitted to practice in the county under Judge Sloan's court.²³

After about one year James Sloan resigned his judgeship of the Sixth Judicial District in a letter to Stephen Hempstead, governor of Iowa. The resignation was to be effective on March 3, 1852. Governor Hempstead then appointed Judge Bradford to fill the unexpired term until the vote of the people could fill the vacancy. Judge S. H. Riddle was then elected by the people.²⁴

By an act of the legislature in early 1851, the boundary lines of Pottawattamie County were determined. It was

²³Bloomer, "History of Pottawattamie County," op. cit., p. 530.

²⁴Frontier Guardian, February 20, 1852.

to extend about thirteen miles north and eleven miles south of Kanesville. Its east-west extent was to be twenty-eight miles, and the voters were given the right to vote for the place of the county seat.²⁵

One of the final gestures of the Latter-day Saints at Kanesville was the petition to Congress that a town-site a mile square in the heart of the Kanesville area be given to Kanesville. The committee representing the citizens of Kanesville was selected from a large gathering on December 27, 1851, in the courthouse. The committee to spearhead this movement was Orson Hyde, Evan M. Greene, Archibald S. Bryant and Mr. Keltering.²⁶

Thus the Mormons at Kanesville had taken an active part in political affairs, in building their community and county organizations. They had also been responsible for securing the organization of a judicial district encompassing the western counties which they had already settled. But their activities were not to culminate at Kanesville; they were to repeat this mission in another frontier wilderness, in the West. Their saga of habitation in Iowa was to end shortly--it was time to move on, to emigrate.

Orson Hyde said at one time, upon seeing the emigrants pouring through Kanesville, that if Uncle Sam should gain some territory on the Moon, the ingenuity of the Yankee would con-

²⁵Ibid., March 21, 1851.

²⁶Ibid., January 9, 1852.

trive some means of getting to it. Some of the less fortunate Mormons were, however, having enough difficulty in getting 1,000 miles across the plains without any "aerial assignments." They were stranded here at Kaneshville. Some were destitute but they had hopes for a brighter day. Kaneshville was to serve as a means to an end. It must not be the end in itself.

On March 3, 1849, a letter was sent by George A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson to "The Saints in Iowa." Its content reminded the scattered saints that these two brethren were now ready to fulfill a pledge made earlier in the log tabernacle. The promise made was that all worthy saints who needed help should receive it come time for emigration. That time had arrived. These two brethren took the lead since Orson Hyde was busy with editing the paper.²⁷

Charles Bird at Council Point was appointed by the church to give information relative to the needs for those who emigrated. The minimum food for the journey was to be 200 pounds of foodstuff per person. Milk cows should be taken. They would give milk to assist with the food problem and in case of the injury or death of an ox, could be substituted in the team.²⁸

The merchants were instructed to stock the right kind of heavy canvas. Leaky covers would allow spoilage of food, groceries and provisions. These had to be preserved.

People of means, taking the poor along to the Valley,

²⁷Ibid., March 21, 1849.

²⁸Ibid., February 7, 1849.

were cautioned to provide for them for a few months upon arrival. Already food was scarce in the Valley and each person there must be cared for somehow.

Periodically the First Presidency would send general epistles to the saints in all the world. Their counsel was always the same with respect to emigration. The scattered saints were admonished to hurry to Zion. If conditions were not such as to come immediately, then they were to work, plant and reap until such time when conditions did open up for such a move. The saints in Canada, Europe, Asia, Africa, and those scattered in eastern United States were advised to gather to the Pottawattamie lands.

The third general epistle, dated April 12, 1850, said "the welfare of scattered Israel lies near our hearts; it is our theme by day and by night; in mediation, in council, in prayer, in action."²⁹

Orson Hyde made a trip to the Valley in 1850 and again in the summer of 1851. He returned to Kaneshville in the fall of 1851, having made the return trip in thirty-nine and one-half days. He now had first-hand information of conditions in the Valley, and he could advise as to what was most needed there. He had, at the close of his second trip, eaten of the lush peaches grown in the Valley by pioneers of 1847. Now he was advising the new emigrants to take with them seeds of all kinds.

Jesse C. Little had purchased 2,000 fruit trees,

²⁹Ibid., June 1, 1850.

consisting of walnut, chestnut, apple, pear, plum, white and black currants and superior Isabel grape. These were available for those anticipating an early spring departure.³⁰

As a result of the calls made by the First Presidency for the saints to gather at Kanesville, hundreds were arriving. May 12, 1848, saw the arrival of 120 saints from St. Louis on the steamer "Mustang." Brothers Samuel W. and Franklin D. Richards were at the head of this group.³¹

The following spring William I. Appleby arrived at Kanesville with seventy Philadelphia saints and a week later Elder Jesse Haven left Boston (April 19, 1849) with twenty souls bound for the upper Missouri at Kanesville.³²

Towards the end of April, 1849, the steamer "Dahcota" ran against a snag and sank in the Missouri River eighteen miles below Fort Kearney (Nebraska Territory). On board were forty members of the church under the charge of George P. Dykes. All the baggage of these saints was lost. Teams were sent from Kanesville to assist them.³³

Sixty deaths occurred on board the steam "Mary" coming from St. Louis to Kanesville. This large company was under the charge of Captain Dan Jones. Most of the victims were from England and Wales, members of the church on their way to the Valley. Some died after arrival at Kanesville.

³⁰Ibid., May 28, 1852.

³¹"Journal History," May 12, 1848, p. 2.

³²Ibid., April 19, 1849, p. 2.

³³Ibid., April 25, 1849, p. 1.

Cholera was very severe along both the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers the spring of 1849. Whole towns were made desolate of their inhabitants.³⁴

Most of the Mormon emigration assembled at the lower ferry which was about twenty miles below Kaneshville near Bethlehem. This small settlement was about one and one-half miles east of the river and afforded ample room for the many teams to assemble for crossing. Across on the west side, twelve miles back, was also a Mormon settlement known as Council Grove. Usually the teams assembled in the near vicinity of this place before taking their leave for the Elk Horn River, twenty-seven miles from the Missouri River.

One important cargo prepared for shipment to the West was the carding machine, printing press, type, box of cases, glue, stationery, printing ink, 872 bundles of paper, etc. Elders Hyde, Smith and Benson, presidency of Pottawattamie, had worked hard in carefully packing this shipment. It was important that this shipment reach the Valley. This company was to include 700 wagons, 4,000 sheep, 5,000 head of cattle, horses and mules.³⁵

Concomitant with the movement of the Mormons over the plains trail to the west of the Missouri River was that of the gold-seekers. This group became so great and their circumstances so dire that relief efforts were prompted. John Shiel, living in St. Clair County, Illinois, accepted chairmanship on

³⁴Ibid., May 30, 1849, p. 1.

³⁵Ibid., May 7, 1849, p. 1.

April 13, 1849, to direct a resolution to the Federal government for help to these gold-seeking emigrants.³⁶

Up to June, 1850, it was estimated that 4,500 wagons, averaging three men to the wagon (13,500 men), and 22,000 head of horses, mules, oxen and cows, had passed through Kanesville.³⁷ So cluttered up were the streets and by-ways that the citizens of Kanesville longed for the time once again of seclusion and tranquility. Many of these emigrants had little regard for the property of others and settlers living here were advised to watch their property carefully.

By the spring of 1850 the First Presidency were becoming rather exercised over the fact that there were still more saints in Pottawattamie than in the Great Salt Lake Valley. A letter from the First Presidency to these saints ended by saying "push the saints to Zion, and persuade all good brethren to come, who have a wheelbarrow, and faith enough to roll it over the mountains."³⁸

Brigham Young was becoming more emphatic about this problem of getting all the saints to the Valley. In four days during the middle of May, 1851, there had been ten packet ships arrive from England bringing a total of 4,067 members.³⁹ Many of these English saints were arriving and then doing very

³⁶Frontier Guardian, February 7, 1849.

³⁷Ibid., June 1, 1850.

³⁸Ibid., July 19, 1850.

³⁹Ibid., May 16, 1851.

little to help themselves across the plains to the West. Brigham Young had said that "if the English saints would work for themselves as hard as they had for their masters they could walk 10, 15, or even 20 miles per day, for a few days, and this is all that separates Kaneshville from this valley."⁴⁰

The sixth general epistle dated September 22, 1851, which was sent by Brigham Young to these saints read:

Yes, if you have the same desire, the same faith, families might start from Missouri river, with cows, hand-carts, wheel-barrows, with little flour, and no unnecessaries, and come to this place quicker, and with less fatigue, than following the heavy trains, with their cumbersome herds. . . . [then speaking of Ancient Israel when journeying toward Canaan] They were traveling forty years, but the Saints can walk from Kaneshville here, in twice forty days, and harm no one.⁴¹

Some were circulating the rumor in different places that the Gentiles and Mormons were not getting along together at Kaneshville. The Mormons got along fine with the Gentiles who came to western Iowa to live and make their homes. But after 1849 men of all stations came. Some tried to provoke trouble.

George A. Smith told in Salt Lake how the Gentiles of Kaneshville tried to get him to wrestle with these "outsiders." He was a large man, weighing 350 pounds. He was adept at wrestling but said that he did not feel disposed to wrestle any "low, degenerate character" just because someone proposed a match. He did add that if he was provoked he would show

⁴⁰"Journal History," September 13, 1851.

⁴¹Ibid., September 22, 1851.

them that he could "end them up" a few times.⁴²

On January 7, 1852, a meeting was held at Kaneshville in which the Gentiles denied a report going around that difficulty existed, for, as they reported, no difficulty existed "nor is there likely to be any disturbance. . . . We further represent, that the Mormons in this county, are a peaceful, industrious and law-abiding people."⁴³

During the winter and early spring of 1852 most of the farms and improvements of those in Pottawattamie and Mills Counties were up for sale. Orson Hyde had urged all along that the saints put their places in saleable order. This would include fixing fences, barns, and making other necessary improvements.

In the November 14, 1851, issue of the Frontier Guardian, under the caption "Pottawattamie County For Sale," the many merits of the country were outlined. Soil was choice. There was ready market for produce grown. The location was excellent since this seemed to be the general place of embarkation to points to the extreme West. The intention was that the Mormons would move out the next spring.⁴⁴

During the winter months, intensive preparation went on. Wagons were repaired. Oxen were purchased as well as milk cows. All activity was geared to an early departure for

⁴²Ibid., August 28, 1852. (George A. Smith tells this in a speech in Salt Lake City.)

⁴³Ibid., January 7, 1852.

⁴⁴Frontier Guardian, November 14, 1851.

the Salt Lake Valley.

The authorities had looked upon these lands of Pottawattamie merely as temporary habitations and preparation grounds until such time as the inhabitant was in position to move on to the new Zion. Ezra T. Benson and Jedediah M. Grant were appointed to return to Kaneshville and assist the saints to move to Salt Lake the following spring (1852). The Authorities had issued instructions that there was to be no more stopping-over at the Missouri River. European emigrants would have to make the trip in one journey.

As a result of this policy by the Presidency, Kaneshville and the surrounding country was within the next year almost wholly abandoned by the Mormons. Fine improved farms fell into the hands of others. Some were paid for in the transaction, but many were not.

E. T. Benson, writing to George A. Smith from Kaneshville, says:

Elder Orson Hyde was present and delivered a good discourse and all seemed determined to gather to the mountains the following spring. A report was filed from every company and when footed up amounted to five thousand souls and upwards with property enough, if properly applied, to carry them all over the mountains, and . . . Elder Hyde has sold his press, building and fixtures for two thousand dollars to Jacob Dawson and Co. (a non-Mormon), of Fremont County, Iowa.⁴⁵

This would indicate about five thousand saints from the vicinity of Kaneshville yet to go West. Four days later he wrote to the First Presidency at Salt Lake to report to them:

⁴⁵"Journal History," March 12, 1852, p. 2. (Letter sent from Kaneshville to Salt Lake City.)

You may expect a heavy emigration of our people. From the best information I can gather, there will not be less than five or six thousand souls from this county and about ten thousand in all. Our brethren from Pottawattamie County will be able to procure comfortable outfits.⁴⁶

The two reports give some idea of the great task before the leaders. All of these saints had to be contacted, brought to the Missouri River and organized into companies with captains over each ten wagons. Then ten of these captains were organized under a captain responsible for a hundred.

After George A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson left Kaneshville in the spring of 1849, a great load was put on Orson Hyde's shoulders. He did a magnificent job in holding the church together here. He kept up their spirits. He passed the news on to them through his paper and built up a considerable influence among them. There was some feeling that he was trying to influence these settlements against going to the Valley. Such a feeling was not found by Ezra T. Benson, for he says:

I take great pleasure in saying to you that in visiting the different branches of the Church in this district, I have not learned that he (Orson Hyde) attempted to build himself up or cause any division or separate influence from the main body of the church. To my knowledge he has not been guilty of any disgraceful or offensive conduct, but his moral course and character are unexceptionable. He has fought manfully through the "Guardian" since his return. He has handsomely whipped out every slink that has dared to yelp against us or any of the authorities in the Valley. He has forced the enemy boldly without yielding an inch of ground. Our situation has been critical indeed and we were forced to walk as though we were treading on eggs.⁴⁷

⁴⁶Ibid., March 16, 1852, p. 3.

⁴⁷"Journal History," March 16, 1852, p. 3.

Orson Hyde left Kaneshville with many hundreds of others on May 5, 1852. Joseph E. Johnson, Esq., was appointed as general claims agent for the saints. His duty was to settle the unfinished business and collect due accounts on sales made by departing Mormons.

John Taylor returned to Salt Lake from his mission to Europe in the summer of 1852. He reported to the conference his labors and incidents of his return trip through the Pottawattamie lands. Part of his report follows:

It gave me great joy, on my way home, to find the Saints leaving Kaneshville. It seemed as though they were swept out with a besom almost. When I was there, I rode out in my carriage one day to a place called Council Point. I thought I would go and visit some of the folks there, but, when I got there, behold, there were no folks there, to see. I hunted round, and finally found a place with something like "grocery" written upon it. I alighted, and went into the house, and asked a person who presented himself at the door if he was a stranger there. Yes, says he, I have only just come. And the people have all left, have they? Yes, was the answer. I next saw a few goods standing at the side of a house, but the house was empty, these were waiting to be taken away. I went into another house, and there were two or three waiting for a boat to take them down the river, and these were all the inhabitants I saw there.⁴⁸

When the Mormons left, the people of Kaneshville petitioned and the name was changed to Council Bluffs.⁴⁹

Commenting on the rough element that had moved into Kaneshville in the last years that the Mormons were there and those that came in following, Elder James Bond says:

⁴⁸Journal of Discourses, p. 18 (a periodical of the L.D.S. Church reporting discourses delivered by General Authorities of the church and others. It commenced in 1854 and closed in 1886.).

⁴⁹Bloomer, "History of Pottawattamie County," op. cit., p. 672.

The place is altered greatly since I left it three years since, and is improving rapidly, if drunkenness, blasphemy, corruption, debauchery and crime may be called improvements. The name of the town was rightly changed, as it is unworthy of the name of Kanesville. There are a few, very few Saints remaining here, mostly through unavoidable circumstances; but those who retain the spirit of the work are preparing to move west as fast as possible. . . . I trust we shall be pardoned for our impatience to get out of such a hell-hole.⁵⁰

Many things had transpired in Kanesville since June 14, 1846, when the first company arrived at the Missouri River. Log houses were built. Land was cleared and plowed and fine crops were grown. A city had begun to take shape. New businesses were brought in and set up. A fine paper was published. Kanesville took the lead in shipping carding machines, printing presses, bundles of paper, sugar, machinery, etc. to the valley. These leaders knew where oxen and wagons, canvases, chains, etc., could be had for the cheapest. This had become the stopping place for thousands of emigrants. It had become the headquarters for the saints on the frontier preparatory for making the last long step. Kanesville had been the home of thousands for about six years. It had been the office, as Brigham Young had said, through which all correspondence from Salt Lake and to Salt Lake had to come.

After Kanesville had become established, church government regulated the people. They were taught to respect the rights and privileges of others. Offenders were brought to justice. But as soon as a county government could be had,

⁵⁰"Journal History," August 12, 1852 (Elder Bond directed a letter from Kanesville with this comment).

they organized it. Most of the officers were Mormons during their stay in these counties.

Kanesville had also secured a post office by the petition of 1,800 male members of the church. This settlement was fast becoming the last outpost for the great plains travel.

Kanesville, too, served to organize in orderly fashion those Zion-seekers arriving daily from parts of Europe. Charles Bird was appointed at Council Point to give information and direction to emigrants. These new saints from Europe did not understand the difficulties of travel, nor the amount of provisions to adequately take them over the one thousand mile stretch to Zion.

It was inevitable that the church population was to be transferred to the new Zion--the city by the salt sea. The importance of these way-stations must not be underestimated. They served their purpose for six years and they served it well.

Without all of these contributions at Kanesville and vicinity, under the careful direction of Orson Hyde, certainly the Mormon emigration problem, though difficult and mammoth in its scope, would have been one of even more complexity.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study has been to determine the contribution which the temporary settlements Garden Grove, Mount Pisgah and Kaneshville, Iowa, have made to Mormon emigration.

Over the years the writer has been teaching the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to the young people of this church. Each time he covers this history, the narrative runs thin at this point, between 1846 and 1852 in Iowa. Yet during this period of church history, Orson Hyde and his counselors presided over more people on the Pottawattamie lands of western Iowa than did Brigham Young in Salt Lake Valley.

The question naturally arises why church historians have spent so little time and given so little space to a consideration of these way-stations in Iowa. Perhaps the answer can be found in the fact that Salt Lake City had been established as the new gathering place of the saints. Therefore the spotlight of interest had turned to the new Zion because the leaders generally were there and this new land was isolated and would provide the setting for a home away from the enemies of the church. Another reason may be the lack of space and time to cover all essential items of church history by those

who write.

The fact must not be overlooked, however, that without these stopping-stations or temporary settlements the transfer of the saints to the new location would have been nearly impossible. These settlements contributed in manifold ways to the Mormon migration to the valleys of the Rocky Mountains.

Generally speaking, there is no doubt but that in the minds of most people within the church these settlements have been grossly underestimated in importance. Little do most people realize that these settlements, and especially Kaneshville on the Missouri River, became the immediate point from which all of the Mormon emigration took embarkation to the West during the period under study. This place was the last outpost and consequently assumed more importance than is generally ascribed to it. Writers generally have spotlighted Salt Lake City, Winter Quarters and Nauvoo; consequently we have here in Iowa a neglected chapter of Latter-day Saint Church history to the average church member.

It was with this in mind that the writer set out to re-focus attention upon the manifold contributions of Garden Grove, Mount Pisgah, and Kaneshville, Iowa. Many incidents by way of contribution to the westward movement have been overlooked. The writer has been desirous of searching for pertinent historical data in the old journals and diaries which have not been published into books. From these diaries, journals and personal reminiscences have come revelations of the happenings at these Iowa centers during 1846 to 1852. The day-

by-day account of church happenings recorded in the "Journal History" has contributed much. From the pages of The Frontier Guardian, a newspaper published by Orson Hyde during the years 1849 to 1852, have come many valuable items of interest. Microfilm strips and some private letters and diaries were used through special permission from the Latter-day Saint Church Historian's Office. Place these alongside the works of Brigham H. Roberts, Joseph Fielding Smith's historical works, and many others and a more complete and finished picture of these settlements is forthcoming.

This study of these settlements and their contributions to Mormon emigration has been organized in the following way: Succeeding the Introduction, Chapter I presents generally the hardships and difficulties of travel across the raw state of Iowa; it did not become a state until December, 1846. Being driven from fine homes in mid-winter, the Mormons suffered severely. As many saints had made no preparation to leave so early, they were poorly organized. Others could not dispose of their property at Nauvoo. They had been promised by the mob that they could wait until "grass would grow and water run" before evacuating the city. This promise had later been disregarded. Add to the inclemency of the weather, poor organization, lack of teams, heavy snow and as the snow melted later, gumbo mud, fierce winds, long strips of prairie without wood for fire, lack of forage for horses and oxen, sickness and death, you have a picture of real pioneering.

Chapter II anticipates the need for, and the establish-

ment of, a temporary camp at Garden Grove, Iowa. This settlement was 145 miles from the Mormons' enemies in Nauvoo, Illinois. Yet it was not so far that poor saints without means could not somehow get there. This center was settled especially to help the poor saints already there who because of lack of means could not go farther, and also to help those yet to come. Some were almost constantly leaving for the West and some arriving from the East. Mormon leaders of this settlement organized the people and built churches and grist mills, planted crops and organized for work to help offset poverty and provide means to move on toward the land of the setting sun--Utah. Thus Garden Grove contributed her bit toward the movement of the church westward.

Mount Pisgah, a similar way-station with comparable objectives, became the consideration of Chapter III. Besides giving succor and help by way of a home and place to plant crops for the saints to sustain themselves, it was the place where the first contact by Captain James Allen of the United States Army was made to recruit the help of the Mormons in the war against Mexico. Part of the contingent of 500 men making up the famous Mormon Battalion was raised at Mount Pisgah. Pisgah, too, with her 500 Mormon settlers gave the saints a place to live. The leaders here fenced in some one thousand to fifteen hundred acres, and planted crops which were not only used by those coming to Mount Pisgah at first, but for those later to come along the trail. Its high ridge served as a burial place for several hundred trail-weary people whose

bodies, being overexposed to the weather, succumbed to the final call. Blacksmith and wagon shops were established here to repair a wagon wheel or mend an ox chain for the pioneers wending their way toward the Missouri River and ultimately to the Great Basin.

Chapter IV tells the story of the dependence of the Mormons of these settlements as well as those saints traveling across Iowa upon the Missourians for work, food and supplies. Fifteen thousand Mormons were to cross Iowa, sometimes within a few miles of the border of Missouri. (Missouri had become a state in 1821.) Heads of families and organized groups made excursions into Missouri to build barns, clear lands, put up hay and construct bridges in exchange for pork, beef, beans, flour and other needed items. Yet barely a decade before this the Missourians had driven the Mormons from their state. Now they were to help feed the saints, thus aiding in their eventual exodus to the Rocky Mountains.

As the Mormons approached the western half of the to-be state of Iowa (Iowa became a state in December, 1846), they encountered the red man. They had now come into his domicile. To more fully understand the Mormons' problem in connection with several tribes about the Missouri River, Chapter V considers the background and disposition of these Indians and speaks of their relationships with the Mormons. Much stealing and pilfering by the Indians, especially the Omahas, resulted in an estimated \$20,000 damage to the Mormons during their six year stay on the river. The Indian agent, too, caused the

Mormons much uncertainty and trouble while they sojourned in this area. In fact, in the initial contacts, the Indians welcomed the Mormons as real friends, but much of the subsequent trouble came as the result of the policy of the Indian agent; he sometimes acted out of capacity. Certainly many Mormons were retarded in leaving for the West because an ox had been stolen. The only way to replace one was to go into Missouri to buy another one or, if lucky, purchase one from someone else.

In the next two chapters, VI and VII, the writer describes the founding and settlement of Kaneshville and, in general, the other thirty-nine settlements scattered upon a sixty-by-forty mile section directly adjacent to the Missouri River in southwestern Iowa. As Presidents of the Pottawattamie Indian lands among the Mormons, Orson Hyde, George A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson presided over more people for six years than President Brigham Young and his counselors did in Salt Lake Valley during this same period. They were to direct the saints in the construction of grist- and sawmills, in planting crops, caring for animals by way of cutting the long prairie grass and putting it into stacks for the winter, and preparing generally for the move westward.

Since Kaneshville, Iowa, was the last outpost for the trek to the mountains, information and data pertaining to the trip were always ready for those saints fortunate enough to be able to make the journey to Salt Lake. Hundreds of saints would arrive here by boat up the Missouri River from New

Orleans or from Saint Louis or by wagon across the state of Iowa. This was the general outfitting headquarters for not only Mormon emigration but for Gentile emigration as well. Gold-seekers poured into Kanesville by the thousands preparatory to leaving for California as soon as weather and grass on the plains permitted.

Mill hands from the English factories who had joined the Mormon church came to Kanesville. Sometimes they were forced through circumstances to remain a year or so. They had to be taught the rudiments of farming and gardening. The science of "oxology," as Horace Whitney said, had to be taught them. One could not plow without knowing how to hitch an ox and properly drive him. Thus Kanesville served as a transition from the urban to the completely rural way of life for these European members of the church.

At Kanesville the Presidency of the church was organized after absence of such an organization for three and one-half years. President Brigham Young was sustained with Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards as his counselors.

Oliver Cowdery, one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, came back into the church in Kanesville. His re-joining the church naturally removed considerable doubt created by apostate leaders among church membership. The people became settled in their feelings, with full conviction that to follow Brigham Young's leadership had been no mistake.

Without these settlements in Iowa and especially the constellation of settlements in western Iowa, of which Kanes-

ville was the most important, what would have happened to church emigration? Could it have been carried out as successfully? The answer is, "No!" Kanesville stood as the directing force on the Missouri River for Mormon emigration. Brigham Young said that all of the directives and correspondence of the church in Salt Lake Valley had to be done through the post office at Kanesville, Iowa. Its import is of considerable weight. Kanesville along with Garden Grove, Mount Pisgah, and the other scattered settlements along the Missouri River, must take their place in importance in the chronological history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Without these settlements Mormon emigration to the Great Basin could not have been so successfully carried out.

These settlements did accomplish the needs and objectives for which they were established. They were to serve and help the needy by way of giving a home, furnishing means to subsist, direct the emigration of others, and, above all, to hold the people together in their religious devotions. This they did! Therefore Kanesville, Mount Pisgah and Garden Grove must claim their proper and due place among the other beloved settlements of the Latter-day Saints. Their contribution to the Mormon movement westward during 1846 to 1852 must not remain an eclipsed period of Latter-day Saint history for they fully accomplished the objectives set up for them-- to help all saints west to the Rocky Mountains. In 1852 almost all the saints in these forty odd settlements abandoned their homes, farms, and improvements, crossed the Missouri

River and set their faces steadfastly toward the new Zion--
Salt Lake Valley.

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