The 1848 Mormon Westward Migration

Jeff Davis Smedley
Brigham Young University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd

Part of the Religion Commons

BYU ScholarsArchive Citation
Smedley, Jeff Davis, "The 1848 Mormon Westward Migration" (2017). All Theses and Dissertations. 6277.
https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/6277
The 1848 Mormon Westward Migration

Jeff Davis Smedley

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Richard E. Bennett, Chair
Craig J. Ostler
Andrew C. Reed

Department of Religious Education
Brigham Young University

Copyright © 2017 Jeff Davis Smedley
All Rights Reserved
ABSTRACT

The 1848 Mormon Westward Migration

Jeff Davis Smedley
Department of Religious Education, BYU
Master of Arts

From the Pioneer Company of 1847 to the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, approximately 60,000 Mormon pioneers made the journey from Winter Quarters to the Salt Lake Valley. Although some years have received more attention, every footprint placed on the prairie is part of the epic pioneer story. This thesis examines the major challenges and characteristics of the 1848 Mormon pioneers crossing of the plains. The sacrifices and contributions of the 1848 pioneers are as significant to the legacy of the Mormon westward migration as any other year.

In order to explore, develop, and explain the thesis statement, this work includes five chapters. Chapter I: Introduction provides the historical setting of the 1848 Mormon pioneers. Chapter II: The L.D.S migration of 1848 in historical context. Chapter III: The general characteristics of the 1848 Mormon migration. Chapter IV: Relief efforts. Chapter V: Conclusion. The primary evidence for this thesis comes from journals of the 1848 Mormon pioneers.

This research has discovered that the 1848 pioneers had the largest company in Mormon pioneer history. It is also the only year that each member of the First Presidency led a pioneer company across the plains. The companies' immense size coupled with insufficient provisions and an unusually dry spring required sacrifice and cooperation. Topics researched include: route and distances traveled, role of women, expressions of devotion, livestock issues, Indian relations, sickness, injury, and death. The 1848 pioneers received significant relief from 1847 migrants, who returned to the trail to assist.

Keywords: 1848, Mormon pioneer, Brigham Young, Winter Quarters, Salt Lake Valley
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TITLE PAGE</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 1848 Mormon Westward Migration</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-The General Characteristics of the 1848 Mormon Migration</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Size</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Departure Dates and Organization</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Route and Distance Traveled</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Role of Women</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Expressions of Devotion</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. The Main Challenges of the 1848 Mormon Migration</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The Poor and Insufficient Supplies and Provisions</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Poor Feed and Other Livestock Issues</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Relationships with Indians</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sickness, Injury and Mortality</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Injury</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Mortality</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV. The Relief Efforts of 1848 ................................................................. 118

Relief from the Valley ........................................................................... 122

Back to Winter Quarters ...................................................................... 127

V. Conclusion......................................................................................... 132

Appendix 1......................................................................................... 139

Appendix 2......................................................................................... 142

Appendix 3......................................................................................... 145

Appendix 4......................................................................................... 146

Appendix 5......................................................................................... 149

BIBLIOGRAPHY..................................................................................... 151
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Oregon Emigrants ........................................................................................................ 15
Figure 2: Brigham Young Company of 1848 ............................................................................ 30
Figure 3: Heber C. Kimball Company of 1848 ........................................................................ 31
Figure 4: Willard Richards Company of 1848 ....................................................................... 32
Figure 5: Brigham Young Company of 1848 Migration .......................................................... 46
Figure 6: 1848 Mormon Pioneer Deaths .................................................................................. 117
The 1848 Mormon Westward Migration

I-Introduction

The Mormon migration to the Salt Lake Valley began in February 4, 1846 with the exodus from Nauvoo, Illinois. Many of the Saints crossed Iowa and spent the winter of 1846-47 in a temporary station they called “Winter Quarters” near present day Omaha, Nebraska. On April 14, 1847, Brigham Young left Winter Quarters and led the Pioneer Company to the Salt Lake Valley (hereafter referred to as the “Valley”) and declared it the new home for the Latter-day Saints.

John Pulsipher, an 1848 pioneer, wrote his feelings of this plight of the Mormons, while camped at Chimney Rock on July 17, 1848—his 21st birthday.

Twenty and one long years have past
To grief and sorrow given
And now to crown my woes at last
We’re to the mountains driven.

’Tis not for crimes that we have done
That by our foes we’re driven
But to the world we are unknown
And our reward’s in heaven.

What trouble oceans may yet encure
To strew our paths with sorrow
’tis not for us to know its true
For we know not of tomorrow.

One thing is sure, this life at best
Is like the troubled ocean
We almost wish ourselves at rest
From all its dire commotion.

But let its troubled bosom heave
It surges best around me

---

1 The official, preferred name of the “Mormons” is The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Throughout this thesis, members of the church will be referred to as “Mormons”, “Saints”, “Israel”, and “pioneers”.

2 In most 1848 journals, the word “pioneer,” is lower case when referring to the pioneers of 1848. When “Pioneer” is capitalized, it is a reference to the vanguard company. This same principle will apply throughout this thesis.
To truth eternal truth I’ll cleave
It’s waves can never drown me.³

From the Pioneer Company of 1847 to the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, approximately 60,000 Mormon pioneers made the journey from Winter Quarters to the Valley.⁴ Within this twenty-two year span, there has been significant academic work on the Pioneer Company of 1847, and the Martin and Willie Handcart companies of 1856. The faith and heroic examples of these two groups continues to influence many today.

However, these two groups combined only represent around 3,250 immigrants, leaving around 56,750 pioneers over two decades with generally less-known, or sometimes unknown stories.⁵ These pioneers also have a story to tell. In reality, every footprint placed on the prairie is part of the epic pioneer story. This argument is especially true for the Mormon pioneer movement of 1848. To this end, this thesis will answer the following question: What were the major challenges and characteristics of the 1848 Mormon pioneers crossing of the plains? The sacrifices and contributions of the 1848 pioneers are as significant to the legacy of the Mormon westward migration as any other year.

In order to explore, develop, and explain the thesis statement, this work will include five chapters. Chapter I: Introduction. The introduction provides the historical setting of the 1848 Mormon pioneers, and includes background information on their leadership. The introduction also includes a summary of the sources used in the thesis, and the key journalists.

⁴ Numbers taken from https://history.lds.org/overlandtravels/companies (accessed on 8/10/2016) and compiled by Jeff D. Smedley.
⁵ There were 2095 Saints in the Valley in 1847. The Martin handcart Co. had 647 souls, the Willie handcart Co. had 505 souls. Chronological Company List @ https://history.lds.org/overlandtravels/companydatelist (accessed on 8/10/2016).
Chapter II: The L.D.S migration of 1848 in historical context. This chapter includes historical information on all westbound emigrants of 1848, then, moves to the primary focus of the thesis, the Mormons. In this chapter, the following questions will be answered: What was the general make-up of all 1848 westbound Mormon companies? This will include their size, departure dates and organization, route and distances traveled, the role of women, and, what were their expressions of devotion?

Chapter III: The general characteristics of the 1848 Mormon migration. The 1848 pioneers were not without challenges and sacrifices. In fact, there were some who literally gave their all. Topics will include, what role did poor and insufficient supplies play? What were the major livestock issues? What was their relationship with the Indians? And, to what extent was there sickness, injury, or death within the 1848 Mormon migration?

Chapter IV: Relief efforts. This chapter answers the following questions concerning the relief efforts of 1848: What assistance did the 1848 pioneers receive from the Valley? Why did some pioneers turn back to Winter Quarters? And, what sacrifices did they make among themselves?

And lastly, Chapter V: Conclusion. This concluding chapter will provide a brief summary of the evidence presented throughout the thesis. It also includes a summary of the success of the Mormon migration of 1848? And finally, the major themes that run throughout all 1848 journals will be presented, and the thesis concluded.

When Brigham Young left Winter Quarters in the spring of 1847, the vanguard company was never intended to be a “one way ticket.” In late March 1847, Young wrote, “In a few days I start with the brethren, the Twelve, and as many more as can get ready as pioneers to find the place where a stake of Zion shall be located over the mountains, leaving all our families at this place
[Winter Quarters], with the anticipation of returning here to winter and taking our families over one year hence.” After spending just over one month in the Valley, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and the rest of the Twelve began their return journey on August 26, 1847, back to Winter Quarters to get their families.

Brigham Young described his return to Winter Quarters in a letter with, We “arrived at Winter Quarters on the 31st of October in good health, without having lost a man, or had a limb broken, or even had an animal lost, except those which were through negligence, thus making our return journey in 67 days.” However, similar to the pioneer’s arrival in the Valley, there was little time for relaxation—there was work to do. In the same letter, Young wrote, “We immediately proceeded to <get> the quorums together and obtained a list of the High Priests and Seventies who were in the city, in order to send a number of them on missions, to gather up the dispersed of Nauvoo and bring them to the vicinity of Winter Quarters,” and ultimately, on to the Valley.

During the winter of 1847–1848, another milestone in church history occurred. On December 27, 1847, in the newly constructed Kanesville Tabernacle, in Council Bluffs, Iowa, Brigham Young was unanimously sustained as the second president of the church, with Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards as counselors in the First Presidency. The opportunity to sustain the new First Presidency would eventually be carried to the Saints in England on August 14, 1848, and finally to those living in the Valley on October 8, 1848. Speaking of this historic event at the Kanesville Tabernacle, Young wrote, “The Spirit of the Lord at this time rested upon the

---

7 Young, Brigham, [Letter], in Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 17 July 1848. Hereafter cited as Journal History.
8 Young, [Letter], Journal History, 17 July 1848, 4.
congregation in a powerful manner, insomuch that the Saints’ hearts were filled with joy unspeakable.”

When Brigham Young led the Pioneers in 1847, he acted as the senior member of the Twelve Apostles. However, in 1848, he was officially the president of the church. He was their prophet. A modern Moses—called to lead God’s people to a better place. Therefore, although the same man led the pioneers both years, 1848 is officially the first and only year that a pioneer company was led by the president of the church.

The primary evidence for this thesis was provided by those pioneers who were actually on the Mormon pioneer trail in 1848. These primary sources are in journals, memories, autobiographies, and reminiscences. Although all pioneer journals are significant, it would be difficult to organize the specific events of 1848 without the efforts of those who wrote while on the trail every day. These daily journals provide the timeline, structure, and foundation of the 1848 pioneer experience. This framework is then enhanced, expanded, and built upon by the efforts of everyone else who kept a record.

There are literally hundreds of significant events that only one, or a few pioneers mention or discuss in detail. However, just because only one person wrote about it, does not mean it did not happen. Or, because someone wrote “we” had no trials on the trail, does not mean “others” did.

10 Young, Brigham, “Letter From President Brigham Young to Orson Spencer,” Winter Quarters, 23rd January 1848, *Millennial Star*, vol. 10 no. 8, April 15, 1848, 115.

11 It is common for Brigham Young and other 1848 pioneers to refer to themselves as “The Camp of Israel.” References to Brigham Young as a modern “Moses” can be found as early as 1849. On June 22, 1849, the *New York Herald* published the following: “Brigham Young seems to be the Moses of the whole concern. This expedition of the Mormons has some analogy to that of the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. Illinois, and Missouri, and Iowa have been to the Mormons a land of bondage from which they have escaped.” This article was re-printed in the *Millennial Star*. (The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star, “The Mormon Settlement in the Great Salt Lake Valley,” Vol. 11; no. 15, August 1, 1849, 233).

12 Historically, the only other person to lead a pioneer company and afterward serve as president of the church was Willford Woodruff. He traveled in the 1847 Pioneer Company, returned east, and brought his family to the Valley in the Willford Woodruff Company of 1850. He was 40 years old at the time and serving as a member of the Twelve Apostles. Two years after John Taylor’s death, Woodruff was sustained as the president of the church in 1889.
not. Each pioneer wrote about what they experienced, about events that were important to them, of how they felt, and of how the journey affected them personally. The value of each individual journal is manifest in an entry by Margaret Cahoon. She is the only person to write anything about her experience with the Carruth family, but what she wrote is invaluable. Cahoon wrote, “may we pause to pay tribute to the Carruth brothers and sisters for the unselfish assistance they gave to their new relatives and friends. They shared their provisions, wagons, oxen and all they possessed.”

Although this entry may not be historically significant, and cannot represent what others felt, it is one of many independent entries that collectively create the “complete story” of the 1848 experience—individuals recorded who, and what was important to them.

Throughout all 1848 journals, no one is more written about, mentioned, respected, and adored more than Brigham Young. Pioneers record when he passed them, where he camped, and how far they are away from him. His name is mentioned as he counsels the Saints, delivers Sunday sermons, offers individuals assistance, or in simple everyday interactions. Benjamin Ashby represented many when he wrote, “the last to leave the campground was Prest. Brigham Young who[se] fatherly care was always manifest.” Anson Call also identified Young as the “First on the Camp ground at night and the last person that left in the morning.”

Journals mention Heber C. Kimball the most often next, and he is tenderly revered by the pioneers similarly to Brigham Young. He led his company with love, hard work, and in faith. The other member of the First Presidency, Willard Richards, is often referred to as the leader of the company and identified by his medical expertise. Although journal entries universally mention him respectfully, overall, it does not appear that he earned the same admiration held by the pioneers

---

13 Cahoon, Margaret Carruth, [Autobiography], in Stella Cahoon Shurtleff and Brent Farrington Cahoon, comp. and ed., Reynolds Cahoon and His Stalwart Sons—Utah Pioneers [1960], 117-118.
15 Call, Anson, Autobiography and journal [ca. 1857-1883], 39.
in Young and Kimball’s companies. Richards is described as being in the front “seeing they find the feed on the sage plains & some places has it more profusely.”

Thomas Bullock described the efforts of the First Presidency in a letter as follows: “Thus you see the seed of the gathering has been sown, and three of the reapers are gathering their sheaves into the store-house of the Lord, to be hidden up[.]”

In addition to the First Presidency, “Father” Isaac Morley is mentioned more reverently and with greater respect than any other. He had not just earned the title Father by a few, but almost all who mentioned him used this title. Brigham Young was the accepted General Superintendent of his company and Father Morley was the President. To a unified Sunday congregation on July 16, 1848, “The meeting was opened by singing and prayer by Father Isaac Morley.” He is also the one to suggest that they break up into smaller groups on July 16, 1848. He is often quoted while exhorting the Saints, and giving blessings. He blessed “two of Stephen Taylor’s [and] blessed Richard Orlando.” He also gave complete obedience to Brigham Young, and on one occasion motioned that “Pres. Young’s mind, be our mind.” The motion was “Carried unanimously.”

In addition to the four previously mentioned leaders, there are hundreds of others who are...

---

18 In this case, the title “Father” is used almost unanimously by all pioneers to describe Father Jacob Morley. The title Father is also scattered occasionally throughout 1848 journals referencing the law of adoption. One example is Titus Billings, captain of a hundred and counselor to Isaac Morley. He is called “Father Billings” by William Thompson a number of times. On July 19, 1848, Thompson recorded that President Heber C. Kimball moved off at eight o’clock, and “Father Billings camp at half past 8.” (Thompson, William, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 20. Dated June 14, 1848). Another example comes from Daniel Davis who calls Heber C. Kimball “Father” approximately 55 times throughout his journal (Davis, Daniel, Diaries, 1846-1892, fd. 1, vol. 1, 90-101). However, there is not substantial evidence in the 1848 journals referenced in this thesis to imply that the 1848 pioneers traveled in their adopted families.
19 Bullock, Thomas, Journals 1843-1849, fd. 1-4, June 1, 1848.
21 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, June 17, 1848.

7
mentioned throughout the journals. Basically, each pioneer wrote about, or mentioned those who were directly over them, family members, friends, and those they traveled with. They often mentioned their company captains, those who stood guard, those who did the hunting, and those who repaired the wagons. In other words, every traveling circle had “key individuals,” and everyone had a “key part.”

Although it is difficult to identify all of the key individuals of 1848, it is easy to identify the “key journalists.” The most influential writers in 1848 are Thomas Bullock and William Thompson. Bullock identifies himself as, “Thomas Bullock, Clerk of Camp of Israel” for Brigham Young’s company. The specific details that he included are monumental. He wrote every day, provided total numbers of livestock and wagons, wrote letters, and included details of the route they traveled. He also described the weather and provided a great overall summary of the journey. On June 27, 1848, Bullock wrote about a conversation he had with Heber C. Kimball as follows: “On my meeting Elder Kimball he took me warmly by the hand, and said, ‘Tommy, blessed art thou of the Lord, yea and thou shalt be blest eternally, it shall never be taken away, and if thou write it, it shall be as an Eternal blessing upon thee for what thou hast done” and I cried out with my Soul—Amen, so mite it be.” On July 13, 1848, Bullock wrote a letter, Young approved it and asked him to make “up a mail of 52 copies [,] 50 for States, [and] 2 [for] England.” In addition to traveling day by day, Bullock’s efforts in keeping an accurate journal were tiresless.

The introduction to William Thompson’s journal identifies himself as the clerk to Heber C. Kimball and Captain of the Second Division. Thompson is unequivocally the greatest contributor to the record of Heber C. Kimball’s company. He wrote every day and included details

---

concerning the wind, temperature, roads, and specific names of individuals present in multiple
events. He focused on leadership meetings, the outcome, and included the sacrifices made within
Kimball’s company, as well as the assistance they received from the Valley. He also included the
spiritual aspect of meetings, daily prayers, who prayed, and who spoke at many of the meetings.
The spiritual aspect of the journey is a noticeable priority for William Thompson.

Robert Campbell was the historian for the Willard Richards’ company.25 He wrote in
outline form and includes the basics about wind, temperature, and various leaders. His short
additions are specific and accurate. Also, Catherine Woolley’s journal is crucial to understanding
the 1848 pioneer experience. She described her daily routine and chores, and included the social
aspect and friendships that existed on the trail more than any other 1848 journalist. After traveling
all day, she occasionally backtracked up to two miles just to see a friend. She provided important
insights to the separate roles of men and women on the trail. Richard Ballantyne’s journal is well
written, informative, and detailed. He also adds significant spiritual commentary, including a
powerful sermon by President Young on July 16, 1848.

Oliver Huntington wrote extensively. Huntington focuses on people, hunting buffalo and
other animals, and what was happening as they traveled. He described the breathtaking views, the
weather, and the feed available for livestock along the trail. John Pulsipher described the rivers,
water quality, river depths, river banks, terrain, and vegetation with focused precision more than
any other 1848 pioneer. His entries add a dimension of “full color” to the journey.

Hosea Stout is another major contributor. He described the landscape, weather, and

---

25 Campbell’s wife and child died during the exodus of Nauvoo on October 16, 1846 when he was 21 years old. His
clerical skills would be used before traveling west, in 1848, and after arriving in the Valley. After serving a mission in
Scotland from 1850-1854, where he married Mary Stewart, he led a company to the Valley. After arriving in the
Valley, he would serve in the historian’s office until his death on April 11, 1872. (Taken from Jeffry S. Hardy in
problems with teams. He offers invaluable insights on how the teams and pioneers were constantly passing one another. At night, there was an individual who was over the evening watch, referred to as “having charge of the guard duty,” for each coral—Stout held this position. This person in charge had to ensure the watches were filled, and filled in themselves when problems arose. After a few consecutive nights of filling in, and getting very little sleep he wrote, “I was growing very tired of my ‘Exalted Station.’” Stout provided multiple insights on the sacrifices of Young’s company to assist Kimball’s—including many trips into the night. He provided considerable insights about their interactions with the Indians, and rebukes some Saints for wasting meat. He and his wife were often sick throughout the journey.

Alexander Neibaur’s journal adds immensely to the 1848 experience. He recorded injuries and deaths more often than other journalists. This may have been an interest to him because of his medical and dentistry background, but one thing is certain, he is more conscious of those experiencing heartache than most. Lorenzo Brown includes details of where they camped, specific dates, as well as the issues with cattle. This was one of his main trials in 1848 while crossing the plains.

One of the largest journals of 1848 is that of John D. Lee. Although his journal is important to understanding 1848, as all journals are, there is a different feel in his writings than any other 1848 Mormon pioneer’s journal. He records anything positive anyone says about him—including mainly Brigham Young. He shoots a lot of animals—occasionally too many. He is very aware of and ready to protect against the Indians, and is often “saving the day.” He also portrays himself as being absolutely obedient and is willing to cite those who are not. He is also mentioned in others journals as someone who had a hard time getting others to travel in his company, but you would never glean that from his writings.
There are a few secondary sources that have played a key part in this thesis. They are presented in the order of their importance of understanding the historical context of the pioneer trail in 1848. The greatest contributor is, *The Great Platte River Road*, by Merrill J. Mattes. Although Mattes does not focus on 1848, he covers the historical context of the Platte River Road from the Missouri River to Fort Laramie from 1804–1866. He refers to 1866 as the “last significant year of civilian travel by wagon up the Platte River.” Also, Mattes does not focus on the Mormons but he provides the historical context of 1848 by describing the forts, camping areas, routes traveled, and river crossings more extensively than the Mormon pioneer journals. Together, the historical background and maps provided by Mattes, and the pioneer journals, help create a clear picture of the westward migration from the Missouri River to Fort Laramie.

Next, is *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1860*, by John D. Unruh Jr. Unruh’s work, as the title suggests, focuses solely on the years 1840–1860. He provides an overview of all emigrants who traveled to Oregon, California, and the Salt Lake Valley from west of the Mississippi River for this time period. He includes factors that influenced migration and the overall history of the westward movement. His work helps to provide an understanding of how the three westward trails were separate, yet in many ways, connected. Unruh’s work is key to understanding westward migration.

Another helpful resource to 1848, is, *Emigrants on the Overland Trail: The Wagon Trains of 1848*, by Michael E. LaSalle. LaSalle is the only secondary source used in this thesis that focuses solely on 1848—referring to it as one of the “lost years.” LaSalle’s work is not historically comparable to Mattes, or Unruh, but he primarily focuses on the Oregon bound pioneer journals of 1848. However, he does include one chapter on the Mormon pioneers of 1848. LaSalle’s book

---

was used as a comparison to understanding the commonalities, and the differences, between two very different groups of people who were traveling very close to one another.

Although there were scores of other books gleaned for anything about the Mormon pioneers of 1848, the evidence was usually summarized in a paragraph, a few pages, or part of a chapter. One exception is, *Brigham Young: American Moses*, by Leonard J. Arrington. Arrington includes a fourteen page chapter on 1848, titled, “To Zion, 1848.” The first four pages provide an overview of the events leading up to the 1848 migration, and the last ten provide a summary from the time Brigham Young leaves Winter Quarters to his arrival in the Valley. Arrington pulls his information from some of the same 1848 pioneer journals used in this thesis. His chapter on 1848 is a great summary of the overall experience, and would have been relied on more if it were not for the Church History Library’s electronic efforts.

Although these secondary sources were vital to understanding the historical background of 1848, the heart of this thesis is taken from the Mormon pioneer journals of 1848. These journals are mainly held by the Church History Library, with some at the Family History Library, The Daughters of the Utah Pioneer Museum, and the Harold B. Lee Library Special Collections. Approximately thirty years ago, the staff at the Church History Library began the Overland Trails database to make pioneer diaries, journals, letters, and reminiscences more easily accessible. Many of these historical artifacts have been copied, digitized, and filed for easy accessibility. This database was used in this thesis to obtain information on all 1848 companies, departure dates, company participants, ages of pioneers, and in accessing pioneer journals. This website can be accessed at [https://history.lds.org/overlandtravel](https://history.lds.org/overlandtravel). The footnotes for the 1848 pioneer journals used throughout this thesis contain the references assigned by the Church History Library from this
website. These citations can also be used to access the journals in person at the Church History Library.

One difficulty in citing pioneer journals comes in the form of pagination. However, because the journals are consistently written chronologically, occasionally it is easier to find a quote by date rather than by page. Hence, each footnote throughout the thesis will contain either a date, or page number for easy accessibility.

All journal quotations contain the original spelling of the diarist—despite grammatical errors. The only exception to this rule is an occasional bracketed interpolations added for clarity.

Combined, these secondary sources and approximately 130 primary source journals are used in this thesis to present the Mormon pioneer experience of 1848. This work is intended to build on existing scholarship, and allow the pioneers of 1848 to tell their own story—in their own words. It is from these sources that the historical background, and main challenges and characteristics of the Mormon experience of 1848 will be identified and presented forthwith.27

---

27 There are more pioneer journals written in 1848 than 130. However, that number is approximately how many were deemed significant for this thesis, and either used for quotations or as background information.
II-The General Characteristics of the 1848 Mormon Migration

For many Americans, 1848 was a year of westward expansion. The purpose of this chapter is to provide the historical setting for one of these groups, the Mormon pioneers. To accomplish this, this chapter begins with a brief comparison between the Mormons and other westbound emigrants in 1848. Topics include, beginning or “get off” points, separate and shared portions of the trail, western outposts, and who the Mormons encountered on the trail in 1848. After providing the historical context of the 1848 migration, the general characteristics of the 1848 Mormon migration will be presented in the following five sections: 1) the size of the 1848 companies, 2) their departure dates and organization, 3) the route and distances they traveled, 4) the role of women, and 5) their expressions of devotion.

According to John Unruh, in 1848, the pioneer trail had 1,300 emigrants to Oregon, 400 to California, and 2,400 to Utah.1 Although the Mormon, Oregon, and California trails were separate, emigrants commonly mention many of the same sites and the same landmarks. Each trail had emigrants who mentioned the same main bodies of water. They also often used the same titles for camping sites, river crossings, and all referred to the same forts. Almost all westbound emigrants passed by or near Ash Hollow, Chimney Rock, Scott’s Bluff, Devil’s Gate, and Independence Rock. Many journals mention passing, or camping near the “Old Pawnee Mission.” On June 12, 1848, Lorenzo Brown of Young’s company wrote, “Passed the Missionary station of 1846. Stopped at noon on Plumb Creek P.M. Passed the remains of old Pawnee village which [was] burnt and plundered by the Sioux in the summer of 1846.”2

There were five main areas from which the 1848 westbound emigrants began their

---

1 Unruh, John D., *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-60*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago, 1979, 119. As background information, according to Unruh, in 1847, there were 4,000 emigrants to Oregon, 450 to California, and 2,200 to Utah.

journeys. The modern equivalent of these areas are; “Kansas City [including Independence], Weston-Leavenworth, St. Joseph (St. Joe), Nebraska City, and Council Bluffs – Omaha. There were also several minor crossings along the center of the arc, between St. Joe and Nebraska City.” After moving west of Council Bluffs, the Mormon journey officially began at the Elkhorn River, or “the Horn”. In 1848, there were a documented 166 wagons that embarked from St. Joseph, with 96 wagons leaving Independence. Most of these companies in 1848 left considerably earlier than the Mormons and traveled in smaller companies. The following numbers of non-L.D.S. companies in 1848 is taken from LaSalle’s, *Emigrants on the Overland Trail*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company Name</th>
<th>Numbers of Wagons</th>
<th>Departure Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wambaugh (Root)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>April 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gates</td>
<td>40 est.</td>
<td>April 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller (Anderson)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>April 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walker, Bristow</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>May 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purvine (Porter)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>May 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watt (Belknap)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>May 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone (Lempfrit)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>May 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allsopp</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>April 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>April 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly</td>
<td>20 est.</td>
<td>April 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiles</td>
<td>30 est.</td>
<td>May 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hensley</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>May 20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 Occasionally, the Mormon pioneers record seeing other emigrants on the south side of the river. On July 12, 1848, while crossing Crab Creek, Young’s Company saw “2 wagons on South side the River with a number of horses and mules.” (Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, July 12, 1848).
7 LaSalle, *Emigrants on the Overland Trail*, 57 and 85. Numbers taken from LaSalle, format created by Jeff D. Smedley.
Although an exact comparison of all 1848 westbound emigrants is not possible because of the varied routes, it is possible to get a glimpse into the efficiency of their travel. For example, the non-Mormon Allsop Company left Independence, Missouri on April 10, 1848, with 25 wagons, and arrived at Fort Laramie on June 3, totaling 54 days. Brigham Young’s company of 100’s of wagons left the Elkhorn on June 5, and arrived at Fort Laramie on July 22, 1848, totaling 47 days. An additional comparison is the Smith Company that left Independence on April 28, 1848, and arrived at Ash Hollow, on June 3, making the journey in 36 days. In comparison, Young’s company left the Horn on June 5, and arrived at Ash Hollow on July 8, taking 33 days.

John Unruh, also observing the efficiency of the Mormon pioneers added the following:

The journey of the Mormon emigrants was considerably shorter, [and] normally much less difficult . . . The Mormon emigrants sought separation from the Gentile hordes, hence their route followed the north side of the Platte River. This route, which has come to be known as the Mormon Pioneer Trail, was quickly improved by Mormon pioneers for the benefit of oncoming Saints. By contrast, overlanders on the Oregon-California Trail less frequently made improvements specifically to benefit those in the rear; on rare occasions attempts were even made to hinder those behind. In addition to these contrasting attitudes toward the trail, the Mormons traveled much more consciously as a cooperating community: their emigration was more disciplined, more systematic, better organized.

Unruh’s observation is validated by multiple Mormon pioneer journal entries such as, on October 14, 1848, Robert Campbell wrote, “fixing roads,” and again on October 16, 1848, “Fixing roads up mountains. removing rocks. leveling hollows.” Perhaps the significance of these two short journal entries comes by understanding that Robert Campbell is in the Willard Richards company,

---

8 The Elkhorn is 27 miles west of Winter Quarters. Some 1848 pioneers took up to a week getting there as they were training teams, waiting for family or traveling companions, while others were still acquiring necessary supplies and making wagon repairs. It was also a considerable task to get across the Elkhorn River. Hence, the journey officially began at the Horn.
9 These numbers were obtained from compiling information from LaSalle (LaSalle, Emigrants on the Overland Trail, 57, 85, and 109), 1848 pioneer journals, and Thomas Bullock’s Journal (Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, Sept. 8, 1848).
the last to cross the plains in 1848.

Occasionally, there are journal entries where the Oregonians and Mormons describe seeing the same people on the trail. The Oregon bound “Chiles Company had reached the Platte on June 2, [1848] then traveled twelve miles on the third, when they encountered the Colonel L.E. Powell and three companies of his Oregon Battalion. They had just arrived to begin building Fort Kearney.”12 A few weeks later, Heber C. Kimball’s company encountered the same group. On Sunday, June 25, William Burton wrote the following: “we were also visited this day by Leut[enant] Craig and ten privates belonging to the Oregon Battalion[.] Stationed near the head of Grand Island . . . after partaking of some refreshment and remaining 3 or 4 hours they returned to their encampment, apparently much pleased with their reception.”13 Then, almost a month later, Robert Campbell, a member of Willard Richards’ company wrote, “passed about 20 Soldiers from Fort Child [Fort Kearney]14 who had been hunting. Col Powell Commands fort expected to be relieved in few days.”15

However, there are also camp sites, creeks, and crossings that are individually found on the Oregon – California trail, and not on the Mormon trail. For example, although unmentioned in Mormon journals, the Oregonians camped at “Pumpkin Creek” which emptied into the south side of the North Platte near Courthouse and Jail Rocks. On the other hand, the Mormons mention

13 Burton, Diaries, 1839-1851, June 25, 1848. Norton Jacob verified the same date, and wrote, “Remained encamped and were visited by Eight Soldiers from where they are building a fort 10 or 12 miles below here on the South side of Grand Island.” (Jacob, Norton, Reminiscence and journal, 1844 May – 1852 Jan., 113-114. Dated June 25, 1848).
14 Fort Kearney, or Fort Child was the first settlement in Central or Western Nebraska. On May 19, 1846, Congress approved a fort to be built to facilitate communication with the Utah, Oregon, and California Territories. Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny led an expedition to choose a site. After spending the winter of 1847-48 in Table Creek, on April 24, 1848, troops marched to the site on the Platte River Valley. They named it Fort Child, in honor of Brigadier General Child. However, it ended up being named Fort Kearney after the man who discovered it. Interestingly, they added an “e” to his name. (Root, Frank A., and Connelley, William E., *The Overland Stage to California*, Topeka, Kansas, 1901, 235).
“Heber Springs,” which is 565 miles from Winter Quarters, 43 miles past Fort Laramie. In summary, the trails “get off points” were different, they came near one another around Fort Kearney, and from Fort Kearney to Fort Bridger they were separated by a River—most of the time.

In 1848, the first military fort west of the Missouri river was Fort Kearney. This fort was under construction as the 1848 Mormon pioneers passed. Fort Kearney was 203 miles from Winter Quarters. Although there were other fort west of Kearney, they were not military outposts, but trading outposts. The next fort, after Fort Kearney, was Fort Laramie, 522 miles from Winter Quarters. Unlike fort Kearney, fort Laramie had been used as a trading post for years previous to 1848. Historian Merrill Mattes described Fort Laramie as follows: at “Fort Laramie military post there were the trading posts of Fort John, Fort Platte, and Fort Williams. Before these, even, were many camps, trading sessions, and councils.” One 1848 pioneer wrote, after passing Scotts Bluff, we arrived at “Fort Platte which had been abandoned and was fast crumbling to decay. It is situated on the south bank of the north Fork of the Platte and about a half a mile east of the Laramie Fork where it empties into the Platte. Fort Laramie [formerly Fort John] is distant about two miles west of Fort Platte.” The final major fort/trading post was Fort Bridger.

16 Named after Heber C. Kimball, in 1847. He was not the first one to discover the springs, but he was the first Pioneer in 1847 to discover them.
17 “By June [1848] all officers and men of the Missouri Volunteers had arrived at the ‘Head of Grand Island.’ To erect the ‘1st military station on the route to Oregon[,]’” (Mattes, The Great Platte River Road, 169).
18 Historian Merrill J. Mattes wrote, “On the frontier of the Great American Desert all roads led to Fort Kearney on the Platte. Here at the head of fabled Grand Island all of the trails radiating from the Missouri River border towns converged to form the main line of the Great Platte River Road.” (Mattes, The Great Platte River Road, 103).
19 Mattes, The Great Platte River Road, 480.
20 In 1848, Daniel Wood wrote, “Fort Laramie is situated on the left bank of Laramie Fork about one and a half mile from its confluence with the North Fork. Its walls are built of clay or unburnt brick being about 18 feet high and of a rectangular construction measuring on the interior 111 by 168 feet[,] Rangers of houses are built in the interior adjoining the walls leaving a central yard of above 100 square feet. This post belongs to the American Fur Company and is now occupied by about eighteen men with their Families under the charge of Mr. Bordeau.” (Wood, Daniel, Journals [ca. 1862-1900]. MS 1488, Box 2, Fd. 2, 40).
21 “Ft. Bridger is a wooden Fort about 4 rds. square inside made of log houses joining and the Property and trading Post of the Celebrated mountaineer Jim Bridger.” (Pulsipher, John, Cache Valley Historical Material, reel 4, item 88, 33-46, Sept. 6, 1848). As early as 1848, Jim Bridger had developed a friendship with Brigham Young. On July 16, 1848, Jim Bridger wrote a letter to Brigham Young and addressed him as the “President of the Church.” After settling a few
miles from Winter Quarters, where the trails part.\textsuperscript{22} At the time Willard Richards company arrived at Fort Bridger, on October 5, 1848, a man referred to as W. Vasquez was in charge of the fort and had employed a few Mormons. There was also a woman there whose husband had “died on the road & she left on the Prairie with her team.”\textsuperscript{23} After Fort Bridger, the Mormons had 113 more miles to the Salt Lake Valley (to view map, see page 48).

Along with those living at or near Fort Kearney, Laramie, and Bridger, the 1848 pioneers encountered a number of Indian traders and other posts. For example, just before Fort Bridger, John Pulsipher mentioned the Bates Trading Post, operated by a French mountaineer who owned a few log cabins and “traps, hunts and trades with Indians.”\textsuperscript{24} On July 10, 1848, Young’s company encountered about 30 Indian traders “on horseback on the south side of the River going East.”\textsuperscript{25} There was another Indian Trader named “Mr. Reshaw” who came to see Heber C. Kimball with “several Frenchman and some Indians.” Reshaw had “formed an acquaintance with him last year while with the Pioneers. Mr. Reshaw informed H.C.K. that he saw P. Young's camp crossing the river one mile above his camp.”\textsuperscript{26} Oliver Huntington mentions passing a mountaineer named “Goodyear” who was heading for the States with “his large drove of horses” for market. He had “lived for many years in the same valley we were then going to. Had many cattle horses mules

\textsuperscript{22} There are great variations in the Mormon’s experience at the forts. Some pioneers camped near them, others went in and looked around, others traded, while others did not even get off the trail. Robert Campbell wrote, “selling skin pants & Coats. Few trades effected. In an hour move on.” (Campbell, Journal extracts, 30 June – 19 Oct. 1848, Aug. 19, 1848). There are also records of trading moccasins (Stout, Hosea, Reminiscences and journals 1845-1869, vol. 3, 376-79 and vol. 4, 1-41, July 12, 1848), and buck and antelope skins (Thompson, [Letter], 23 July 1848, 2-3). One final interaction with soldiers from the forts is recorded by Robert Campbell who recorded, “Two soldiers in from Fort after lost horse found by Captn. Flake.” (Campbell, Journal extracts, 30 June – 19 Oct. 1848, July 24, 1848).

\textsuperscript{23} Campbell, Journal extracts, 30 June – 19 Oct. 1848, October 5, 1848.

\textsuperscript{24} Pulsipher, “Journal and autobiography,” Sept. 3, 1848.

\textsuperscript{25} Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, July 10, 1848.

\textsuperscript{26} Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 34-35. Dated July 20, 1848.
goats and some land improved, all which, one of the brethren had bought . . . . He had been so long among the Indians, that he had nearly become one also.”

Occasionally, 1848 journals mention seeing others on the trail, with limited interactions. For example, Mormon blacksmiths occasionally halted at river crossings of the North Platte for work. Also, the Mormons built and operated a ferry at the North Platte River crossing in 1847 and re-opened it in 1848. On June 15, 1848, Oregon bound Riley Root wrote, “At this place the river is about 40 rods wide, and has considerable current. The Mormons from Salt Lake had arrived a few days previous, and prepared a raft for crossing.” Also, Oregon bound Kitturah Belknap wrote, “We are coming near to the Green River; will have to ferry it with the wagons. The cattle will be in[yoked and swim over; some Mormons are here. They have fixed up a ferry and will take us over for a dollar a wagon. It will take all day to get over.” One unique interaction between the trails came on Sunday, July 2 1848, when Mormon Pioneer “John Pack baptized a man and his wife, that started from McDonough County, Illinois, for the Bay of San Francisco.” John Pack crossed the plains three times. He served in leadership positions in 1847, 1848, and 1852.

There are also journals indicating that the Mormons and Oregonians encountered the same

---

27 Huntington, Oliver Boardman, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., 20-43, Aug. 26, 1848.
29 LaSalle, Emigrants on the Overland Trail, 193. LaSalle also included that the ferry was built by the Mormons in 1847, and had been quite lucrative. Hence, in the spring of 1848, the Mormons came back and re-assembled the ferry and the Wambaugh Company was one of the first to use the ferry in 1848. The Mormons charged 1.50 for Gentiles to use the ferry, and the price was usually collected in items such as flour and bacon.
31 Thompson, William, [Letter], Journal History, 23 July 1848, 2-3. Thompson latter added that their names were “Jasper Twitchel & Sarah. They were baptized by John Pack and confirmed onder [under] the hands of John Pack, Joseph Fielding, William Burton.” (Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 27-28. Dated July 2, 1848). William Burton offers the same date for the baptism and added, “this evening two persons were baptized, belonging to the Second fifty. there were a number of families going with us who did not belong to the Church.” (Burton, William, Diaries, 1839-1851, fd.8, July 2, 1848). Toward the end of the journey, Thompson recorded that Heber C. Kimball had also “baptized 4 young men that did not belong to the Church; their names is William Mathews, George Clawson, John Hopper & James Steel.” (Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 40-42. Dated Aug. 6, 1848).
people on the trail. The Oregon bound “Chiles Company had reached the Platte on June 2, [1848] then traveled twelve miles on the third, when they encountered the Colonel L.E. Powell and three companies of his Oregon Battalion. They had just arrived to begin building Fort Kearney.”

A few weeks later, Heber C. Kimball’s company encountered the same group. On Sunday, June 25, William Burton wrote the following: “we were also visited this day by Leut[enant] Craig and ten privates belonging to the Oregon Battalion[.] Stationed near the head of Grand Island . . . after partaking of some refreshment and remaining 3 or 4 hours they returned to their encampment, apparently much pleased with their reception.”

Then, almost a month later, Robert Campbell, a member of Willard Richards’ company wrote, “passed about 20 Soldiers from Fort Child [Fort Kearney] who had been hunting. Col Powell Commands fort expected to be relieved in few days.”

While on the trail to the Valley, the pioneers of 1848 encountered other Mormons who were eastbound—headed back to the States. These included Mormon Battalion veterans returning for their families, church members from the Valley returning on business, and some who had chosen to leave the Valley and the church.

---

33 Burton, Diaries, 1839-1851, June 25, 1848. Norton Jacob verified the same date, and wrote, “Remained encamped and were visited by Eight Soldiers from where they are building a fort 10 or 12 miles below here on the South side of Grand Island.” (Jacob, Norton, Reminiscence and journal, 1844 May – 1852 Jan., 113-114. Dated June 25, 1848).
34 Fort Kearney, or Fort Child was the first settlement in Central or Western Nebraska. On May 19, 1846, Congress approved a fort to be built to facilitate communication with the Utah, Oregon, and California Territories. Colonel Stephen Kearny led an expedition to choose a site. After spending the winter of 1847-48 in Table Creek, on April 24, 1848, troops marched to the site on the Platte River Valley. They named it Fort Child, in honor of Brigadier General Child. However, it ended up being named Fort Kearney after the man who discovered it. (Root, Frank A., and Connelley, William E., *The Overland Stage to California*, Topeka, Kansas, 1901, 235).
36 These Mormon Battalion veterans had left California for the Valley that spring. On April 12, 1848, Henry Boyle wrote the following: “35 Souls in the company Porter Rockwell for our guide . . . one wagon . . . 36 mules & horses . . . we arrived at the old Fort Salt Lake Valley on the 5th of June 1848.” (Boyle, Henry Green, *Reminiscences and diaries*, 1846-1888, fd.1, 40-41). Additionally, there were two other companies who traveled from California to the Valley in 1848. These companies consisted of Mormon Battalion veterans and church members who had sailed on the Brooklyn with Samuel Brannan. The Jonathan H. Holmes/Samuel Thompson company left on July 2, 1848 and arrived in the Valley on September 6, 1848. They had a total of “forty five men and one woman…seventeen wagons
It is apparent from the 1848 pioneer journals that the Mormon Battalion veterans were revered. In the 1848 journals, they are most commonly referred to as the “Battalion Brethren,” or the “California Brethren.”37 As they passed one another, one westbound pioneer wrote, they “had charge of the mail & brought us Letters & Papers,”38 as well as copies of the California Star “published by Sam Brannan at San Francisco on 1st April last on which day they left there.”39 They had also brought an impressive parcel of “about 30 horses & mules in excellent order”40 to go and bring their families to the Valley. Fortunately, one Mormon Battalion veteran did not have to travel all the way to Winter Quarters to be reunited with his family. On October 15, 1848, Robert Campbell simply wrote, “George Allen came into Camp. his wife here.”41 The pioneers enjoyed visiting with the Mormon Battalion veterans about those living in the Valley and the status of their crops.42

In addition to the Mormon Battalion veterans, other eastward emigrants of 1848 included a number of families who passed the westbound pioneers. Most of these interactions are mentioned briefly, and occasionally there is a thread in the westward journals as they pass certain eastward emigrants. For example, although it is uncertain if the following three entries are connected, they certainly appear to be: On September 12, 1848, while Brigham Young’s company was camped at

and about four hundred head of stock, including horses, mules, oxen, cows and calves.” ([Bigler, Henry W.], Henele Pikale, “Recollections of the Past, Juvenile Instructor,” 21, no. 23 (1 Dec. 1886); 365-66). And, the Ebenezer Brown Company left California on August 12, 1848 with 62 souls. Company list @ https://history.lds.org/overlandtravel (Accessed on 9/7/2016).
37 Most entries that described the Mormon Battalion veterans leave out names and generically wrote something like, “We met several of the brethren from California,” or “met 7 of the California brethren.” (Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 38, 53. Dated July 28, 1848, Sept. 20, 1848). However, occasionally actual names are mentioned. Thomas Bullock mentions on July 27, 1848 passing “William Hawk, Nathan Hawk, Sandford Jacobs, and Richard Slater.” (Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, July 27, 1848).
38 Brown, Lorenzo, Reminiscences and Diaries, July 27, 1848.
the Bear River, Catherine Woolley wrote, “Amos Neff and wife and John Dilworth camped here also; they came from the valley, are going east. They took supper with us.”\(^{43}\) On September 13, 1848, Hosea Stout, also in Young’s company wrote, “We met Several returning to the States to day.”\(^{44}\) Then, on September 14, 1848, William Thompson, in the Heber C. Kimball company, mentioned “several of the brethren from the Valley came up with 4 horse wagons going to the States on business, among the rest Brother & Sister Louis.”\(^{45}\) And finally, just one week later on September 21, 1848, Robert Campbell, of the Willard Richards’ company wrote, “met several wagons. & about 30 horses. some Saints going back to the States & some in the employ of American fur Coy[..] Say left valley 2 weeks ago. met B[ Brigham]. Y[oung]’s. Coy[company] 60 miles this side”\(^{46}\) So, if these entries are describing the same group, each entry adds to the understanding of this eastbound company. If they are separate groups, there is a little more eastbound traffic to account for in 1848.

It is clear that there were also some eastbound emigrants in 1848 who had decided that the Salt Lake Valley was not for them—they had “seen the elephant.”\(^{47}\) On July 8, 1848, at Ash Hollow, Young’s company met six wagons “returning from the Salt Lake Valley, because they say, their provisions gave out and they were not able to stay.”\(^{48}\) Oliver Huntington also observed “six wagons camped on that side. 2 were Indian traders loaded with buffalo skins tanned, and the other four were Mormon runaways from the valley, though brother Fields was with them going back on business.”\(^{49}\) Thomas Bullock added that the Indian Trader’s name was “Mr. Rashian” and

\(^{44}\) Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, Sept. 13, 1848.
\(^{46}\) Campbell, Journal extracts, 30 June – 19 Oct. 1848, Sept. 21, 1848.
\(^{47}\) This expression, “seen the elephant,” was used as an expression for those who had seen the need to quit and return home.
\(^{49}\) Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., July 8, 1848.
that James Field, Sears, Stodham, and Waters were among the group.\textsuperscript{50} Another July 8 entry included, “Opposite to us was a company of traders and Mormon Apostates who were returning to the States with their families”\textsuperscript{51} Again, it is not certain, but these entries appear to be describing the same group, and if not, they are still numbered among those who were eastbound on the trail in 1848.

The most detailed description of how President Young felt towards those leaving the Valley was written on September 3, 1848, as he met two members of the church, James D. Shockley and Richard D. Shockley, returning to Missouri with their families. Thomas Bullock witnessed this firsthand and wrote the following: President “Young gave them a very severe lecture on their going to serve the Devil, among our enemies. On finishing told them to go in peace . . . [and] he gave them 25 lb Meal to feed them.”\textsuperscript{52} It is probable that the Willard Richards’ company met the same group. On September 9, 1848, Robert Campbell wrote, “met 2 Wagons <with> families apostatizing[.]”\textsuperscript{53} Although those who were eastbound on the trail in 1848 were few, they did exist.

The numbers of those who were leaving the Valley in 1848 were insignificant compared to the wagon trains that would cover the trail for miles at a time as the pioneers worked their way to the valleys of the Great Salt Lake Basin. It is also clear that the Mormons shared significant portions of the trail with other emigrants, mountain men, and traders. Even in 1848, while passing Independence Rock, one Mormon pioneer wrote, “There are hundreds of names painted & cut on the S. side next the road.”\textsuperscript{54} These hundreds of names would turn into thousands over the next years as the westward movement progressed.

\textsuperscript{50} Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, July 8, 1848.
\textsuperscript{51} Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, July 8, 1848.
\textsuperscript{52} Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, Sept. 3, 1848.
\textsuperscript{53} Campbell, Journal extracts, 30 June – 19 Oct. 1848, Sept. 9, 1848.
\textsuperscript{54} Brown, Lorenzo, Reminiscences and diaries, Aug. 10, 1848.
Size

In 1848, the Mormon pioneers were organized into three large companies. These companies were not composed of mountain men, or explorers, rather, they were composed primarily of families. The leaders of these three companies, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards were all in the Pioneer Company of 1847. However, the characteristics of 1848 produced a very different experience than the previous year. One bonus of ’48 was the relief of knowing the primary trail and the ultimate destination. At the beginning of the 1848 journey, and surely reflecting on the previous spring, Thomas Bullock wrote, we “hitched up and again pursued our way over hills and dales covered with short grass, which is quite a pleasure, in comparison to what it was last year when pioneering.”

However, in other aspects, 1848 was more difficult than 1847. The first half of the journey took approximately the same time in 1848 as it did in 1847, although their rate of travel was considerably different. Although reasons for the variant rates of travel for the first half of the journey are unspecified, it would seem that the efforts spent “pioneering” and the difficulties brought by the characteristics and challenges of 1848 equaled out. However, for Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball’s companies, from Fort Laramie to the Salt Lake Valley, 1848 was much more difficult and took about 10 additional days. These challenges are presented in chapter three.

55 The only other year to have three Companies of pioneers is 1857. However, there were only 299 pioneers combined that migrated that year. https://history.lds.org/overlandtravel/companies (accessed on 10/13/16).
56 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, May 24, 1848.
57 Thomas Bullock recorded the distance, days traveled, and days rested. The first example is “The Pioneer Camp was 30 days travelling from the Horn to this place [. ] This Camp (B.Y’s) also 30 days travelling from the Horn to this Place. Pioneers travelled 27 days [ ,] lay by 3[ +27 =] /30[. ] This Camp travelled 21 days average 14½ miles per day lay by 9[21 + 9 =]/30.” So, initially in 1848, they traveled faster and rested more. Another example from Bullock is on July 22, 1848, “The Pioneer Camp was 48 days from Elk Horn to Laramie [line] This camp is also 48 days from Elk Horn to Laramie [line] Pioneers travelled 42 days [line] lay by 6/[+ 42 =] 48 including Sundays [line] This Camp travelled 36 days [line] lay by 12/[+36 =] 48 including Sunday”. (Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, July 22, 1848).
58 The Pioneer Company of 1847 was on the trail for 96-99 days by using a departure date of April 16, 1847, and arrival dates of July 21-24, 1847. The Brigham Young Company of 1848 was on the trail for 107-111 days by using a departure date of June 5, 1848, and arrival dates of September 20-24, 1848. Heber C. Kimball’s Company of 1848
Preston Nibley wrote, “This second trip across the plains proved, in a measure, to be more wearisome and difficult.” These difficulties will be presented throughout the thesis, but all stem from the topic at hand—the 1848 companies’ size and make-up.

The immense size of the 1848 companies and the consequential challenges were anticipated by the leadership of the church. In fact, this challenge was the very reason why Brigham Young and other Church leaders went back to Winter Quarters in the first place. 1848 pioneer, Aurelia Rogers wrote, Brigham Young “had returned for the rest of his family, and to see after the poor Saints who could not help themselves.” In other words, Young went back for more than his family, he had returned to assist the poor.

A quick comparison between the size of the 1847 and 1848 companies provides a greater appreciation for what took place in 1848. In 1847, the original Pioneer Company included “142 men, 3 women, and 2 children, and 72 wagons.” The largest company in 1847 was led by Abraham O. Smoot and George B. Wallace with 232 souls. In stark contrast, the pioneers of 1848, began their journey under the leadership of Brigham Young with 1,220 souls, and 397 wagons; Heber C. Kimball with 662 souls, and 220 wagons; and Willard Richards with 526 souls. In summary, the smallest company in 1848 was over twice the size of the largest company in 1847, and Brigham Young’s 1848 company was over five times larger. For those who traveled in the vanguard company, Young’s company of 1848 would be eight times larger.

---

was on the trail for 109 days by using a departure date of June 7, 1848, and arrival date of September 24, 1848. The Willard Richards’ Company of 1848 was on the trail for 99 days by using a departure date of July 3, 1848, and arrival date of October 10, 1848. Numbers accessed @ https://history.lds.org/overlandtravels/companies and compiled by Jeff D. Smedley (9/6/2016).

60 Rogers, Aurelia, “Rogers, Aurelia Spencer, Life Sketches [1898],” 76.
62 Numbers taken from https://history.lds.org/overlandtravel/companies (accessed on 10/13/16).
63 Chronological Company List, @ https://history.lds.org/overlandtravels/companies (accessed on 8/25/16).
It was not just the size that made 1848 different for those who were on their second trip, but the make-up as well. Three women and two children cannot even be compared to experience of 1848. Another key factor was the number of livestock they brought. These additional challenges, and others, will be discussed in chapter three. Oliver Huntington, an 1848 pioneer wrote, “Soon after we were started all the wagons topped which formed a string near 3 miles in length.”

Although it was an impressive sight, another pioneer adds, “Our train being large as a consequence our motion was slow.”

Brigham Young’s company of 1848, was not only large in comparison to 1847, but will make history as the largest company in pioneer history—by hundreds. Additionally, to make 1848 even more impressive, after Loup Fork, Young and Kimball’s companies traveled in tandem with one another and even enter the Valley together. 1848 pioneer Howard Egan wrote, “The camp consisted of over six hundred wagons, the largest company that had yet set out to cross the plains, and were under the care and supervision of Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball.” When these two companies were together, this would have been around 1882 souls.

The Loup Fork ford was 114 miles from Winter Quarters. After this point, Young and Kimball’s company continued to travel under their individual “company head,” but in many ways, as one company. The most significant factor in this “one company” argument is because the companies traveled very close together, or at times, together. Throughout the remainder of the journey there was a steady stream of communication between them. They wrote letters to each

---

64 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., June 5, 1848.
65 Wood, Journals, 37.
66 Although the numbers are not exact because of the “unknown” pioneer category, the second largest companies in pioneer history would have from between 6-700 emigrants. Companies of this size included the Heber C. Kimball Company of 1848, Edward Martin Company of 1856, John G. Holman company of 1868, John R. Murdock Company of 1862, and the Joseph Horne company of 1862. Numbers taken from https://history.lds.org/overlandtravels/companies (accessed on 8/26/16).
67 Egan, Howard, Pioneering the West, 1846 to 1878, ed. and comp. William M. Egan [1917], 140.
other, sent messengers, traveled to each other’s camps, and occasionally Young and Kimball traveled in the same carriage. One of these messengers was Daniel H. Wells.68 On June 27, 1848, Thomas Bullock wrote, “Pres. Young & Isaac Morley rode out in the Coach to meet brother Heber—and returned about 10—about noon H.C.K’s Camp arrived <&> passed, and encamped on our West[.]”69 One month later, the two companies were still in tandem with one another. On July 28, 1848, Hosea Stout wrote, “Heber came in sight while we were on the hill. & Brigham passed one mile beyond us to night.”70 They also often met together for Sunday services. On July 16, 1848, “The camps met together at 4 o’clock between B Y & H.C.K. camps,”71 and, “Brigham & Heber preached to the Saints.”72 These two companies not only traveled together for the rest of the journey, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball also entered the Valley together.

Some additional challenges that the size of 1848 brought were the ruts and the dust that was caused by following the same trail. One pioneer described the dust as being so thick it affected their visibility.73 Also, as the trail was used, the easily accessible wood supply was depleted, and the grass on and near the trail was quickly eaten. In 1848, the camps were forced to leave the trail, sometimes for miles, looking for feed for the animals and a place to camp. The immense size also created problems with livestock being mixed and insufficient feed, and occasional “traffic” jams. On July 25, 1848, Kimball’s company was detained until Young’s camp could get “out of our way.”74 Similarly, on July 29, 1848, Bullock wrote, “had to stop half an hour in order to allow

---

69 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, June 27, 1848.
70 Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, Aug. 12, 1848.
71 Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 32-33. Dated July 16, 1848.
72 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, July 16, 1848.
73 On August 6, 1848, Thompson wrote, “The road was very dusty to-day as there was a strong wind from the west. Part of the time we could not see the teamsters ahead of us for the dust.” (Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 40-42. Dated Aug. 6, 1848).
Pres. Young, and several other Camps to move out of the way.” These crowded areas were found near good water, green grass, and as the trail narrowed its way into the Rocky Mountains. Hosea Stout, on August 12, 1848, wrote “the Sweet Water Valley is now most beautiful looking meadow and an excellent grazing place and camps are now to be see all along as we travel.” Oliver Huntington wrote, it was “much to our disadvantage to travel in so great a body.” These challenges will be discussed in chapter three.

The ages of the pioneers in 1848 was also significant. These ages included everything from a new born, to seventy-six years old. The following three Tables include the ages and numbers of each 1848 pioneer: Table 1, represents Brigham Young’s 1848 company; Table 2, represents Heber C. Kimball’s 1848 company; and Table 3 represents Willard Richards’ 1848 company.

75 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, July 29, 1848.
76 Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, Aug. 12, 1848.
77 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., June 15, 1848.
78 There are currently 228 pioneers who migrated in 1848, but their company is “unknown.” These individuals can be viewed at https://history.lds.org/overlandtravel/companies/366/company-unknown.
Figure 3: Heber C. Kimball Company of 1848

Table 2
Heber C. Kimball Company of 1848

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Pioneers</th>
<th>Number of Pioneers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3
Willard Richards Company of 1848

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Pioneers</th>
<th>Number of Pioneers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4: Willard Richards Company of 1848

Table 3
Willard Richards Company of 1848

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Pioneers</th>
<th>Number of Pioneers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This study of the 1848 pioneer’s age shows that there were more children, youth, and teenagers than there were adults. Brigham Young’s company had 518 pioneers who were 19 or younger, and 437 who were 20 or older. The average age in Young’s company would have between 17 and 18 years old. Heber C. Kimball’s company had 330 pioneers who were 17 years old or younger, and 303 pioneers who were 18 or older. The average age in Kimball’s company was between 16 and 17 years old. Willard Richards’ company had 295 pioneers who were 19 years old or younger, and 268 who were 19 years old or more. The average age in Richards Company was between 18-19 years old.

With over one half of the 1848 pioneers being under 18 years old, the youth were not exempt from being active participants. Joseph F. Smith, at nine years old, drove a team of oxen across the plains. In addition to young Joseph, hundreds of youth tended livestock, drove animals, cooked, tended younger siblings, and contributed according to necessity. With approximately 153 children under the age of five in Brigham Young’s company, 94 in Heber C. Kimball’s, and 96 in Willard Richards, all who were able were required to help.

In summary, the three companies of 1848 total 2,408 Mormon pioneers migrating to the Salt Lake Valley in 1848. Over half of these pioneers were under twenty years old. Having such young companies required sacrifices by all—young and old. In addition to recognizing the leadership of 1848 in leading such a diverse group, Brigham Young’s company of 1848 holds the record for the largest company in pioneer history. 1848 also makes history as the only year in pioneer history that all three members of the First Presidency led a company from Winter Quarters to the Salt Lake Valley in the same year.

**Departure Dates and Organization**

“On the 24th of May, 1848, the First Presidency organized the main body of the Saints on
the Elk Horn, preparatory to the second journey to the Rocky mountains.” After being organized, the main body of Brigham Young’s company left the Elkhorn on June 5, 1848; Heber C. Kimball’s company left the Elkhorn on June 7, 1848; and Willard Richards Company left the Elkhorn just under one month later on July 3, 1848.

However, because of the 1848 companies’ size, it was not always possible to leave, travel, or camp as a unified body. On July 25, 1848, when Kimball’s company was passing Young’s, William Burton wrote, “in the evening we got to Bitter Creek and passed several Small companies belonging to Pres Young part of the camp of Israel[.] We Camped about 3 Miles from Bro Brigham[.]” Also, on June 13, 1848, when Kimball’s company was approximately six days in to their westward journey, William Clayton wrote, “This evening all the companies consisting of about 220 wagons formed in our Coral for the first time.”

So what were these “several small companies?” The 1848 pioneers were not only organized into one of the First Presidency’s companies, they were also organized in companies of 100, of 50, and of 10. The genesis of this camp organization was given by revelation to Brigham Young on January 14, 1847. Young wrote, “Let the Captains be organized with captains of hundreds, captains of fifties, and captains of tens.” However, just because they were called a company of 100, 50, or 10, does not mean there were that exact number of people enlisted. The number “100,” was more of a title rather than a specific amount. Pioneers often recorded what company they were in with their assigned leaders, but offer very few details of the particulars of what a company of 100, 50, or 10 looked like. One exception to this is Thomas Bullock who provided a detailed census of

---

79 Egan, *Pioneering the West*, 1846-1878, 140.
82 Doctrine and Covenants 136:3.
what a company of 100 looked like in Brigham Young’s 1848 company. Bullock recorded that this organization was “necessary to manage so large a body of people” and wrote the following census: “Allen Taylor's 100: 190 Wagons [wagons], 597 Souls . . . . Lorenzo Snow's 100: 99 Wagons, 321 Souls . . . . Wm. G. Perkins's 100: 57 Wagons, 155 Souls . . . . Zera Pulsipher's 100: 51 Wagons, 156 Souls . . . . Total: 397 Wagons, 1229 Souls.”\textsuperscript{83} It can be assumed that the other companies followed a similar pattern.

The greatest details of what a company of 10 looked like in 1848 are provided by a captain of 10, Joseph Hovey. In addition to his description of a company’s make-up, he also included evidence that some individuals changed companies while on the trail. Just three days into the journey, Hovey wrote, “my Company Cons[is]ts of 11 males and 6 Females and 11 wagons[.]”\textsuperscript{84} Apparently, this was smaller than he started with, because on the same day he added, “my Company being brok up on a Count of [a]Commodating some[.]”\textsuperscript{84} Over a month later, on July 16, 1848, he again took inventory of his 10. He wrote, “I tuck [took] the List of names in my ten this morning for the old organizeation was not made out aright an since that time my ten is enlarged[.] it Composed of Br Hebers Hole [whole] Famley[,] the number of males 33 an the number of females 28 the [w]hole toto [total] 61 soles and the number of wagons 25.”\textsuperscript{85} There are other examples of individuals changing companies. Although rarely mentioned, reasons included not getting along, being left behind, or being invited to travel with someone else. The main reason seems to be, “to accommodate.”

On Sunday, July 16, 1848, while meeting as a unified body, Young and Kimball’s companies decided to travel in smaller groups. As the trail became narrower, and the feed became

\textsuperscript{83} Bullock, \textit{Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star}, 313-15.
\textsuperscript{84} Hovey, Joseph Grafton, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1856, vol. 1, 130-75, June 10, 1848.
\textsuperscript{85} Hovey, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1856, July 16, 1848.
scarce, this seemed like an obvious necessity. One 1848 pioneer wrote, “Before we traveled a great distance on the plains it was evident that it was not good policy to travel in very large companies as there was a great many hindrances incidental to a large company which would not occur in a small one . . . which proved to be a great improvement.”86 Willard Richards’ company did something similar on July 30, 1848.87 After this decision to travel in smaller groups, companies of 10 would pull out with the slow teams starting an hour earlier then meeting in larger companies to coral at night. Thomas Bullock wrote, “go by Tens—first from one fifty—then from the other.”88 These various departure times are recorded by William Thompson, who on July 19, 1848, wrote, “Brother Egan's & Brother Higbee's camps moved off at daylight. P. H. C. Kimball's camp moved of at eight o'clock & Father Billings camp at half past 8.”89 One problem that arose with the temporary smaller camps is noted by Oliver Huntington. On July 24, 1848, he wrote, “Our camp moved on under a new organization. Each ten to take care of itself but this partly fell through, as all wanted and would be near Brigham.”90 This is one of many examples that show how the pioneers adored their prophet.

As the 1848 pioneers left the Horn, the companies of a hundred staggered their departures dates in order to spread things out as they began the journey. Within Brigham Young’s company, the first to leave the Horn was a company of 100 led by Lorenzo Snow on June 1, 1848.91 Concerning this, on May 31, 1848, Young wrote,

I commenced organizing the people into One Hundreds Fifties and Tens. The first company led by Lorenzo Snow left the Horn <(Elkhorn)> on the 1st day of June, the 2nd company led by Zera Pulsipher, on the 2nd[,] the third company led by

86 Wood, Journals, 39.
88 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, June 6, 1848.
89 Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 34. Dated July 19, 1848.
90 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., July 24, 1848.
91 Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, June 1, 1848.
William Perkins on 3rd of June <and> the fourth company <led> by myself on Monday 5th. The fifth company <which> was left at the Horn under the direction of Elder Heber C. Kimball.92

There are only a few accounts of this staggered departure date throughout all 1848 journals. In addition to Young’s entry, and on the same day, Richard Ballantyne wrote, “A meeting was Called in the forenoon at 10 oclock to determine upon the order in which the camps should move. Bro. Lorenzo Snow Co. to travel first in advance. Bro. Pulsivers [Pulsipher’s] next. Bro. Brigham Youngs next, and Heber C. Kimballs in the Rear.”93 Lorenzo Brown, a member of William Perkin’s company of 100, wrote the following on June 3, 1848:

Left the Elk Horn & drove about 11 miles to the Big Platte. Befor[e] leaving the Horn we were organized into companies of 100 wagons these were subdivided into fifties & again into tens[,] Wm G Perkins was captain of 100. Eleaser Miller of 50 & George Alley of 10[.] One Company left yesterday one the day before 1 of Brighams & all of Hebers companies are in the rear.94

There is no record of this staggered start with Heber C. Kimball’s company. However, it was clear that Heber C. Kimball was to travel at the front of his company to be near Brigham Young who was at the rear of his company. Richard Ballantyne wrote, “Brigham Young to travel in the rear of his Company and Heber C. Kimball in advance of His, so as they may be near together for Counsel.”95 William Burton, a member of Kimball’s company, provided helpful information pertaining to their organization. Burton wrote the following: “Henry Heriman [Harriman], Capt of the Hundred, John Pack Capt of the fifty, Caleb Baldwin Capt of first Ten[,] Wm. Burton 2nd C.[orneilius] Lott 3rd. Francis McKown 4th, Jasper [Harrison] Twichel[l] 5thWm.

---

92 Young, [Letter], 17 July 1848, Journal History, 6.
93 Ballantyne, Journal, 1848 May-Aug., June 18, 1848.
94 Brown, Lorenzo, Reminiscences and diaries, 37-38, June 3, 1848.
95 Ballantyne, Journal, 1848 May-Aug., June 18, 1848.
[William] McKown[,] Capt of the guard and Wm. [William] Burton[,] Clerk.”96 From Baldwin, it is clear that the organization was uniform.

There were two separate starting times within Willard Richards’ company. Richards’ company was divided into half into the Amasa Lyman, and Willard Richards sections. Although they were one company, they often traveled independently throughout the entire journey—more independent than Young and Kimball. Amasa Lyman left the Horn on July 1, 1848, and Willard Richards left on July 3, 1848. Apparently, the Lyman section was made of Saints he had brought from his “Southern mission.”97

Although the 1848 pioneers had staggered starts, they did not keep the same distance between themselves throughout the day. As the miles rolled on, some teams moved quicker than others. As teams became sick, wagons broke, variant routes, resting, and a host of unknown circumstances, they passed one another. Despite the independence pioneers camps experienced throughout the day, their leaders still supported, assisted, and guided them. Even as they were organized into smaller companies for easier traveling, the element of the unified companies never faded. Throughout the journey there was a dependence on, and recognizable trust in their company leadership.

Route and Distance Traveled

The companies of 1848 were officially organized and began their journey after crossing the Elkhorn River (the Horn), 27 miles west of Winter Quarters.98 The Elkhorn river “is the first river west of Missouri[,] it is not very wide but deep and difficult to ford.”99 “The Mormons had

96 Burton, Diaries, 1839-1851, June 8, 1848.
97 Lyman, Eliza Maria Partridge, Life and Journal of Eliza Maria Partridge Lyman [n.d.], 43-45.
established a ferry at the Elkhorn in 1848,”100 and raised the “liberty pole,”101 to mark the beginning of their journey into the wilderness. In 1848, they did not leave Winter Quarters as a group, but trickled in as they were ready to the Horn. After crossing, they assisted others and camped while waiting to be organized into companies.

The 1847 Pioneers used Lansford W. Hastings’s *The Emigrants Guide to Oregon and California.*102 However, the 1848 companies universally used *The Latter-day Saints Emigrants Guide*, by William Clayton, published in 1848. Although there are only a handful of 1848 journals that record following *The Emigrant’s Guide*, they refer to information it contained daily. The Guide lists creeks and other identifiable landmarks, the number of miles between landmarks, total miles traveled from Winter Quarters, and the number of miles remaining to the “City of Great Salt Lake.” The Guide also contains helpful information to ensure efficiency with information such as, “Forks of road to new and old Pawnee villages. The left hand road leads to the Pawnee location of 1847; the other to the old village. The latter is your route.” There were also invitations to try variant routes. For example, 322 ¼ miles from Winter Quarters, “If a road can be made up the bed of the river, it would save at least two miles of travel.”103 In a very general, directional sense, the 1848 pioneers followed the Emigrants Guide and the same route as in 1847. In Erastus Snow’s words, “we traveled the same route (but with trifling variation.)”104 In addition to the Clayton’s guide, the

---

103 Other examples of the helpful information contained in the Emigrants Guide are as follows: “Plum Creek, 110.5 miles from Winter Quarters, 920.5 from the C of GSL. . . not a very good place to camp, being near the Pawnee cornfields. The creek was dry, October 16, 1847,” or, “You will find no more timber on the north side the river for two hundred miles, except one lone tree[,]” and, the pioneers certainly appreciated knowing they would cross Kanyon Creek, “thirteen times,” and Last Creek, “nineteen times.” (Clayton, William, *The Latter-day Saints’ Emigrants’ Guide*, Republican Steam Power Press–Chambers & Knapp, St. Louis, Missouri, 1848).
1848 pioneers also benefited from mile markers “all measured by the Pioneer Company from Winter Quarters to the Salt Lake, and posts set up every 10 miles.”

Following an existing trail was an advantage at times, and a disadvantage at others. In 1848, the group successfully pioneered routes that were better, easier, or more efficient. Some disadvantages were the more a road was used, by wagons and livestock, the rougher it became. Curtis Bolton writes, “This road was smooth and good when the first company [1847] passed over it.” Another 1848 pioneer wrote, “We traveled over trackless prairies, made bridges, and made our own roads except some few when we could find and follow pioneers tracks, who traveled the same road in 1847.” In reality, the roads, and trails were a series of paths, weaving back and forth across the prairie. Sometimes, these variant paths would cross one another, and at other points, run parallel. This was necessary because of the ruts and the dust that was caused by following the same trail, especially with large numbers of livestock. Also, as the trail was used, the easily accessible wood was used for fires and the grass on, or near, the trail was quickly eaten. In 1848, because of the number of livestock, alternate routes were also taken just to stay out of the way of each other.

The natural features on the pioneer trail at the Horn were very different than those encountered as they dropped into the Valley. Initially, after leaving the Horn, the 1848 pioneers traveled with great variant routes as “The river flats are from 1 to 5 miles wide and covered with

---

105 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., June 10, 1848. It should be noted that these “mile markers” are only referenced a few times in 1848 journals. Apparently, they were not a significant factor.
106 Alternate routes were often described by Thomas Bullock. For example, “found that a higher and better road might be made, by turning round the highest bluff about a mile sooner, then take a strait line to the top of the hill, near the Rocky Ridges,” or, “arriving at the Junction of the Oregon and California roads – took a more Southerly course towards a high square bluff,” and, “left our Pioneer trail, bearing away to the left[.]” (Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, Aug. 30, 1848, Sept. 4, 7, 1848).
grass.” Louisa Pratt recalled, as the journey began, we traveled “three abreast. as we made our own road, we could as easily make a wide one.” On a similar note, Oliver Huntington wrote, “The Camp traveled in two strings making two roads where there was not already, there being from one to four tracks considerable of the way.” However, as they traveled closer to the Valley, the trail became narrower, and in some instances, a single track.

On June 18, 1848, in an effort to spread things out, Young suggested, “I propose that these camps make 4 roads . . . and traveling as close as possible. Brother Snow first & Brother Pulsipher & Perkins put their companies together and I will go next - Brother Kimball next.” This entry shows that at the beginning of the journey, the original running order was still followed. Thomas Bullock quoted Young saying, “that the camps have in 4 roads or 4 abreast—and keep near together until we pass Grand Island—when the time comes to break up into 100s and 50s. he will tell them of it.”

There were many variations in the scenery and the routes they traveled. John Pulsipher, described the trail as follows: “We had quite a variety of scenery and of climate on this journey. Some of the way the whole country was covered with grass, and some of the way there was none at all. A great portion of the way there was no timber, then we would find it so thick we could hardly get through it.” As far as variant routes were concerned, overall, it appears from the 1848 journals that they were “off” the Pioneer trail as often as they were “on” it. Although the 1848 pioneers were not “blazing” a new trail, they were constantly looking for smoother, shorter, and alternate routes. On August 14, 1848, Thomas Bullock wrote, “A warm clear day. The Companies

109 Pulsipher, Journal and autobiography, June 4-11, 1848 [one lengthy paragraph covering seven days].
111 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., June 11, 1848.
112 Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 21-22. Dated June 18, 1848.
113 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, June 17, 1848.
114 Pulsipher, Journal and autobiography, 46.
ahead of us move away…Several small camps pass, during the day.” 115 It was not only common for the 1848 pioneers to search for different routes, but also for different camp sites. On July 29, 1848, the final company of the year, the Richards’ company “stoped about 7 miles west of wood river in an entirely new camping place.” 116 With no fences, the pioneers were constantly looking for shorter, smoother, easier routes.

In other words, the Pioneer road was used as a landmark, and a guide, but not exclusively followed. Phrases such as “leave the Pioneer trail to the left,” 117 or, “went thro’ a new road going thro’ Willow patch—a strait line then to the River passing by all the Camps that ought to be ahead of us,” 118 or, “bore to the left for our old Camp ground on 2 May for some distance, then took a strait shoot for the Timber on Elm Creek”, 119 are common. While crossing the North Fork of the Platte on July 21, 1848, Richard Ballantyne of Young’s company wrote, “Bro. Kimballs Company crossed about 20 miles below this, and other small parties crossed between the place we crossed and where we have crossed.” 120 On September 7, 1848, John Pulsipher wrote, “we traveled a new road camped at a little spring creek 12 miles a few large cottonwood trees and plenty of cedars—all the men of camp turned out and worked a few hours making a road down a mountain that we have just descended.” 121 Proud of one of his shortcuts, William Thompson wrote, “President Young is three miles further west, on the Platte bottom. I consider that by crossing the river, six miles above Chimney Rock, we saved about ten miles travel, and the road is much the best.” 122

Another example of these variant routes, and the amount of passing one another, comes from the

---

116 Crosby, Caroline Barnes, Memoirs and diary, 1851-1882, fd. 2, 7-24, July 29, 1848.
117 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, July 3, 1848.
118 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, July 4, 1848.
119 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, June 24, 1848.
121 Pulsipher, Journal and autobiography, Sept. 7, 1848.
122 Thompson, [Letter], 23 July 1848, 2-3.
following three entries by William Thompson: On June 27, 1848, he wrote, we camped “about half a mile west of P. Young's camp,” and the very next day, wrote “P. Y. camp is 11 miles west of us this evening,” and then 2 days later, on June 30, 1848, they were close enough to write, “Here President Young took H.C.K and lady in to his carriage and they rode together to Scunk [Skunk] Creek.”123 Apparently, the ride was simply to enjoy one another’s company.

Robert Campbell described a number of these variant routes in 1848. The following phrases are all from his journal: “Strike for river on a bye road,” “move angling back to road,” “took the left hand road over the hills,” “Dr R & Captn Kay Pioneering & fixing roads,” and “Leave the old road & ford the river.”124

The following phrases from Thomas Bullock’s journal also show variant routes: “left our Pioneer trail, bearing away to the left . . . finding a better & nearer route . . . passed our Camp ground, went round a very ugly turn in the road (worse than the Pioneer made road) . . . camped near where the Road leaves the River about 4 P.M,” and, “continue round the high land to our old camp ground of July 5 last,” and, “found that a nigher & better road might be made, by turning round the highest bluff about a mile sooner, then take a strait line to the top of the hill, near the Rocky Ridges,” and, “kept nigher the river than Pioneers,” and lastly, “on arriving at Carion Creek—our line had to dig a new road over it.”125

When the 1848 pioneers came to the Oregon Trail, on July 21, 1848, Bullock wrote, “we came to the Oregon trail—then had a good road.”126 However, this does not mean they followed it exclusively, or camped on it. On August 17, 1848, Robert Campbell wrote, “Move on to Oregon

---

125 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, July 1, 1848.
126 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, July 21, 1848.
road. & haul a few hundred yards when strike for river banks to encamp.” 127 On September 4, 1848, Bullock wrote, “on arriving at the Junction of the Oregon & California roads—took a more Southerly course towards a high square But[t]e, which we pass on our right side, then over several small gullies—then bore again to the left, the road more Sandy, & descended to the Little Sandy, where we arrived about 4 P.M” 128

On one occasion, these multiple roads caused someone to get lost by taking the wrong road. Those herding the sheep, would leave earlier than the main company. After leaving Fort Laramie, Caroline Crosby wrote, “The herdsmen took a different road and staid out all night with nothing but milk to eat from one morning until the next excepting a little bread which sister Merkley sent them by Nelson who went in search of them after sunset in co with br Luces [Lucas] boy and staid untill morn. They arrived at the camp about breakfast time.” 129 Another example comes from the same journal. On August 26, 1848, Crosby wrote, “Yesterday we accidently left the river road[.] came on the hill again, passed Dr Richards co”. 130

The most reliable, concise, detailed record of the 1848 pioneer’s travels is recorded by Thomas Bullock. Bullock recorded the distances traveled daily, weekly, and monthly, and the days they traveled on and the days they rested. He also included where they camped and a running number of total miles traveled for Brigham Young’s company. As a sample, the first, and the last week of this record are included here as follows: 131

[June]
Monday 5, Camped Liberty Pole on Platte, 12 Miles
Tuesday 6, Camped R.R.& T—same, 13¼ Miles
Wednesday 7, Camped Shell Creek, 10 Miles

128 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, Sept. 4, 1848.
129 Crosby, Memoirs and diary, 1851-1882, Aug. 22, 1848.
130 Crosby, Memoirs and diary, 1851-1882, Aug. 26, 1848.
131 To view Thomas Bullock’s record in its entirety, see Appendix 1.
Friday 9, Camped Lake South of the road, 18¾ Miles
Saturday 10, Camped Mouth of Looking Glass, 13¼ Miles
[Total] 67¾ Miles . . .

[September]
Monday 18, Camped Red Fork of Weber, 17 Miles
Tuesday 19, Camped Kanyon Creek, 15½ Miles
Wednesday 20, Camped Near Brown’s Creek, 12¾ Miles
Thursday 21, Camped Last Creek, 9 Miles
Friday 22, Great Salt Lake City, 7¾ Miles
[Total] 61½ Miles
[Total] 86 / 1031 Miles
Average 12

86 travelling days at an average of 12 miles per day 1032 [Miles]
36 days lay still
Total 122 days from Winter Quarters to Great Salt Lake City”\textsuperscript{132}

Although this travel log is specifically for Brigham Young’s company, the information is similar to what Heber C. Kimball’s company would have looked like. For the Willard Richards’ company, as earlier noted, the last half was considerably faster.

To help visualize the 1848 experience, a map has been created. The map is for Brigham Young’s company of 1848, and highlights some of the events discussed thus far.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{132} Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, Sept. 8, 1848.
\textsuperscript{133} Information gathered from pioneer journals and compiled by Jeff D. Smedley, 2/20/17.
To see the 1848 pioneers gathering themselves together at the Horn was an impressive sight. There truly had not been, nor would there ever be, anything like it in Mormon pioneer history. Speaking of this gathering at the Horn, Thomas Bullock wrote, “If any person enquire, ‘Is Mormonism down?’ He ought to have been in the neighborhood of the Elkhorn this day, and he would have seen such a host of wagons that would have satisfied him in an instant, that it lives and flourishes like a tree by a fountain of waters.” These Latter-day Saints had endured the persecutions against them thus far, and were committed to westward to the promise of refuge in the Rocky Mountains.

Role of Women

Within the three companies of 1848, and not including the unknowns, there were at least 1,102 women. These women came from a number of different backgrounds and individual circumstances. Because of the challenges discussed thus far, effort was required by all to make it safely to the Valley. Men and women both sacrificed, working side by side. The women of 1848 who kept a journal, as well as the men who wrote about women, have contributed immensely to the modern perception of pioneer life on the trail.

The pioneer men and woman of 1848 had different daily tasks. The men primarily tended the animals, drove the livestock, hunted, and fixed the wagons. The women tended children, mended and washed clothes, and baked. Margaret Cahoon wrote, "Sometimes we stopped and camped on the road a half day or sometimes a whole day and the brethren would go out and kill game, buffalo and other wild animals for the company to use as food. While they were hunting, the sisters stayed at camp and washed clothes, baked bread and prepared to start on the journey the

---

following day.”\textsuperscript{135} Aurelia Rogers wrote, “During the journey the company would stop once in awhile for a few days to recruit their teams and give the women a chance to wash, iron, bake, etc.”\textsuperscript{136} A few journal entries from Catherine Woolley included the following: “I did some baking this afternoon; the hunters back, got two antelope;” “washed and ironed. I made a pair of shoes for Bub. The hunters came home this evening; got one buffalo; made a bonnet for Bub[;]” and “mended Arthur’s pants.”\textsuperscript{137} There are scores of entries that show these gender specific roles.

Normally, company Captains, or the male leadership preached, but there are entries that included women speaking as well. For example, on September 11, 1848, “Camp met for prayer, Joseph Fielding mouth. Several of the brethren & sisters spoke[,]” and on September 19, 1848, “Camp met for prayer Brother Myers is mouth. Several of the brethren & sisters spoke their feelings.”\textsuperscript{138} William Thompson recorded the evening rituals with, “All is still except where the brethren and sisters meet together to sing and pray, or, where the father is calling upon the Lord by the side of the wagon, with his family around him.”\textsuperscript{139}

However, there are also many examples of men and women working side by side. Agnes Douglas wrote the following: “spring of 1848 during that time my husband [William Douglass] and I worked almost night and day and accumulated an outfit of provisions, clothing, etc.”\textsuperscript{140} On June 18, 1848, Joseph Hovey wrote, “we travled this day 15 miles through mud and sand[.] As we Got at Camp at 10 oclock at knight the teems, men and women and all hands perfectly used up[.] some did not get in untill midnight[.]”\textsuperscript{141} Oliver Huntington wrote, “The women were as well drove

\textsuperscript{135} Cahoon, [Autobiography], Utah Pioneers, 117-118, 121.
\textsuperscript{136} Rogers, “Rogers, Aurelia Spencer, Life Sketches,” 76-77.
\textsuperscript{137} Woolley, [Journal], Salt Lake Telegram, 11 Jan. 1935, 4.
\textsuperscript{138} Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 50-53. Dated Sept. 11, 19, 1848.
\textsuperscript{139} Thompson, [Letter], 23 July 1848, 2-3.
\textsuperscript{140} Douglass, “Douglass, Agnes Cross, Letter. (Trail excerpt transcribed from “Pioneer History Collection”), no specific dates but under the preface “Spring of 1848.”
\textsuperscript{141} Hovey, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1856, June 18, 1848.
beat down as the men.” Hiram Clawson wrote: “it was hard work on the women. There being so few men, they had to drive stock, and in some instances had to drive… the wagons.” In 1848, there were approximately 63 more women than men in the 1848 companies combined. However, between ages 18-45, there were approximately 39 more women than men in Young’s company, 23 in Kimball’s, and 26 in Richards’. Hence, between these prime ages, there were approximately 88 more women than men.

There were a number of reasons why there were so few men. In 1848, a main contributor to having “few men” was the Mormon Battalion. The “official roles record an enlistment of 497 volunteers. In addition, as many as 80 women and children marched with the battalion.” With the loss of so many husbands and sons, wives and parents who chose to move forward were required to make the journey alone, or if applicable, with their children. One pioneer who chose to move forward was Clarissa Reed Hancock, the wife of Levi Hancock. Their fourteen year old son, Mosiah Hancock, wrote, “Mother was in the team I drove but she walked all the way until we got to Cache Cave [965 miles from Winter Quarters.]” Many women chose to remain in Winter

---

142 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., June 26, 1848.
144 Brigham Young’s company had approximately 478 males and 475 females, Kimball’s company had 321 males and 341 females, and Willard Richards’ company had 240 males and 286 females. Gender and ages taken from https://history.lds.org/overlandtravel/companies/4/brigham-young-company (accessed on 10/18/16) and numbers compiled by Jeff D. Smedley.
145 Colonel James Allen met the westbound Mormons at Mount Pisgah, on June 26, 1846, to “enlist four or five companies of Mormon volunteers to serve for twelve months in the war with Mexico . . . . The Captain stated he would receive all healthy, able-bodied men from eighteen to forty-five years of age.” (Yurtinus, John F., A Ram in the Thicket: The Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, volume 1, dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1975, 37-38).
146 Anna Clark, who was missing two sons to the Battalion wrote the following: “Oh, how we did miss the stout help of our two oldest boys, who had enlisted with the Mormon Battalion in ’46. We had three wagons, five yoke of oxen, two cows and two horses. Father drove the lead wagon with two span of oxen, John (then 16) followed with the second wagon and two span of oxen, and Mother followed in a lighter wagon with one yoke of oxen—Sarah (17) and Mary (14½) relieved Mother a lot in driving and in caring for baby (8 months old Sammy), Jane (10½) and I (7)—sometimes on horse back, sometimes on foot, followed behind, driving the cows.” (Hale, Anna Clark, [Autobiography], in Heber Q. Hale, ed., Memoirs of Anna Clark Hale [1965], 16-18).
148 Hancock, Mosiah Lyman, Autobiography of Levi Ward Hancock, fd. 3, 98-100.
Quarters for their spouses to return.

A second contributor to the unequal ratio of men and women was polygamy. And lastly, for various reasons, there were simply some single women and widows who chose to migrate in 1848. Percilla Pearson was a single woman assigned to travel with Peter Conover, whose wife had died, and his ten children. He wrote, “At last I consented to take her across the plains. Her name was Percilla Pearson. She afterwards married Samuel Thompson and settled in Spanish Fork. She was very good to my children and they all thought a great deal of Zilla as we called her.”

148 Although not the focus of this thesis, there is evidence of plural marriage on the pioneer trail in 1848. The greatest contributors were Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball. Young had a total of eighteen wives who migrated westward in 1848 and Kimball had fourteen. Next to these two men, John D. Lee had seven, and Willard Richards and Amasa Lyman both had six wives. This is not their total number of wives, just those who migrated in 1848. Most other men who lived in plural marriages had significantly fewer wives. For a more complete list of plural wives who migrated westward in 1848, see Appendix 2. (Smith, George D., Nauvoo Polygamy: “. . . but we called it Celestial marriage,” Signature Books, Salt Lake City, Utah, 2008, 574-639. Smith’s research included men who lived in plural marriages in Nauvoo and the number of wives they married throughout the remainder of their lives. These names and dates were then compared to the list of 1848 pioneers found at https://history.lds.org/overlandtravel/companies (accessed on 2/8/17) to discover who migrated west in 1848. Data compiled by Jeff D. Smedley). There were also children from plural marriages who migrated westward in 1848. For example, Brigham Young’s wife Miriam died in 1832. He then married Mary Ann Angel (hereafter referred to as his “first wife” because he was married to her when he entered into plural marriage), in 1834. She migrated west in 1848 with their four children, Joseph Angell, Brigham Young Jr., Alice, and John Willard. The following plural wives of Young also migrated in 1848 with children: Lucy Ann Decker had one son, Brigham Heber; Harriet Cook had one son, Oscar Brigham; Emily Dow Partridge had one son, Edward Partridge; Clarissa Ross had a daughter, Mary Eliza; Louisa Beman had two infants, Alvah (died Nov. 16, 1848), and Alma (died Oct. 11, 1848); and Emeline Free had an infant, Ella Elizabeth. In total, Brigham Young had four children with his first wife and seven from plural marriages in his 1848 company. (The plural wives and children’s names were taken from, Foster, Craig L., “The Wives of the Prophets,” in The Persistence of Polygamy: from Joseph Smith’s Martyrdom to the First Manifesto, 1844-1890, edited by Newell G. Bringham and Craig L. Foster, John Whitmer Books, Independence, Missouri, 2013, 127-133. These names were compared to the participants in Brigham Young’s 1848 company found at https://history.lds.org/overlandtravel/companies/4/brigham-young-company (accessed on 2/8/17) to discover who migrated west in 1848. Data compiled by Jeff D. Smedley). Heber C. Kimball’s first wife, Vilate, migrated westward in 1848 with their seven children, William, Helen, Heber, David, Charles, Brigham, and Solomon. Their eighth child was born and died on the trail. The only plural wife of Kimball who began the 1848 westward migration with a child was Sarah Noon who traveled with one daughter, Sarah Helen. However, Kimball’s plural wife, Sarah Ann Whitney, gave birth to a son while on the trail on Aug. 25, 1848 (unfortunately, this infant died on April 16, 1849). In total, before the end of the 1848 journey, Kimball had eight children with Vilate, and two with his plural wives. Some marriages were entered into as a responsibility for the “husband” to protect and provide for a widow, or an older single woman. Kimball’s marriage to Mary Fielding Smith is an example of this type of marriage. In the pioneer journals, she is never referred to as the wife of Kimball, but is most often referred to as “Widow Smith.” (Names of plural wives and their children taken from, Kimball, Stanley B., Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer, University of Illinois Press, Chicago, 1981, 307-316. Names then compared with participants of Kimball’s company at https://history.lds.org/overlandtravel/companies/179/heber-c-kimball-company (accessed on 2/8/17) to discover who migrated west in 1848. Data compiled by Jeff D. Smedley).
well known widow of 1848 was Hyrum Smith’s wife, lovingly referred to as “Widow Smith.” She is mentioned in multiple journals and there were a number of people who assisted her.\(^{150}\)

Many women were required to drive a team and care for livestock in 1848. “Tending the livestock was a difficult task, especially with so many cattle and so few men.”\(^{151}\) Caroline Davis wrote, “I with my Mother and two children drove a wagon across the plains, just behind, Mary Ann's, and thanked the Lord for his blessings.”\(^{152}\) Rachele Mayer, at 20 years old, “Drove the teme with One yoke of large oxen that the famly Rode in. She had Become a firstrate Temster[.]”\(^{153}\) Howard Egan recalled his Mother driving their wagon down Echo Canyon. He recalled, “She had two yoke of cattle and a yoke of cows, which she drove down that canyon, and she missed more stumps and rocks than any other driver[.]”\(^{154}\) Rachel Simmons’ teamster quit, and she was forced to drive the wagon. She recalls, I did so “in fear and trembling[,] but it made no difference, I had to go at it the next day just the same.”\(^{155}\) Hosea Stout wrote, “My wife driving the team & me not able to raise up in my bed[.]”\(^{156}\)

There were also women who remained behind while their husbands migrated in 1848. One

---

\(^{150}\) On June 2, 1848, after arriving at the Horn, Heber C. Kimball sent a “dispatch back to Winter Quarters to urge Sister Mary [Fielding] Smith (widow of the late Patriarch Hyrum Smith) to come on as speedily as possible.” He felt some anxiety for her safety and had sent back 10 footmen, who were well armed, to assist.(Kimball, Papers, 1837-1866, reel 1, box 1, June 6, 1848). When she arrived Kimball “gave Sister Mary Smith 2 yoke of cattle that Brother Egan [Howard Egan] had procured for her by the command of Brother Heber. C. Kimball.” (Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 18. Dated June 6, 1848.). Thompson also wrote, “We moved on slowly having to stop our teams occasionally to drive the teams that Sister Smith and Sister Fielding and the children were driving down the hills.” (Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 17. Dated June 4, 1848.). On September 17, Thompson wrote, “Near the cold spring we met Brother James Lawson from the Valley with a span of horses to help Sister Smith.” (Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 52. Dated Sept. 17, 1848.).

\(^{151}\) Ford, Gary, Cornelius P. Lott and his Contribution to the Temporal Salvation of the Latter-day Saint Pioneers Through the Care of Livestock, BYU Scholars Archive, 2005, 143. @http://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/719/ (accessed on 1/31/17).

\(^{152}\) Davis, Caroline Frances Angell, Autobiographical sketch, @ https://history.lds.org/overlandtravel/sources/17278/davis-caroline-frances-angell-autobiographical-sketch (accessed on 2/2/2017).

\(^{153}\) Mayer, George, Reminiscences and diary, 1853 Jan-1896 Apr., 25-27.

\(^{154}\) Egan, Pioneering the West, 1846 to 1878, 144-45.


\(^{156}\) Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, Aug. 20, 1848.
example is Oliver Huntington and his wife, Mary Melissa, who was eight months pregnant at the time. On August 20, 1848, Oliver Huntington wrote a letter to his wife and their daughter. He wrote, “My dear Mary: As ever, with the good will and affection of my whole heart, I address you a few lines . . . . I hope you are well, and that all is well this is my greatest wish . . . . Forty sweet kisses to my dear little. May God bless her I would go barefoot from here to the valley to see her.”\textsuperscript{157} Huntington would returned for his family, and bring his wife, Mary Melissa, his six year old daughter, Mary Aseneth, and his three year old son, George to the Valley in the Henry W. Miller company of 1852.

Few females were prolific writers in 1848. However, the records of those who did added a splash of color to the picture of life on the trail. Although some of these entries are short, they are simply not recorded in male journals. For example, On July 22, 1848, one mother wrote, “Last night the girls sung me to sleep with songs and hymns[.]”\textsuperscript{158} Another short entry recorded, “singing in the evening.”\textsuperscript{159} Louisa Pratt recorded two entries on this topic as follows: “Frances our second daughter makes her fire the first of any one in the morning; it is her greatest pride to have people come to her to borrow fire, and praise her for being the lark of the company[;]” and “The women in small companies were often seen walking on its banks by moonlight . . . our hearts at the same time glowing with wonder and admiration at the beauty and sublimity of nature; alone in a great wilderness[.]”\textsuperscript{160} Hiram Clawson wrote his view of the women of 1848 with the following:

The camps moved in a quiet way. It is true it was hard work on the women . . . in fact they had to do all sorts of work. But the courage they had, the determination, the will-power and the faith, aided and helped them, and with the blessing of the Lord they went through all right. It is hardly worth while to describe the daily journey. There were times when it was very hard and very difficult, principally

\textsuperscript{157} Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., Aug. 20, 1848.
\textsuperscript{158} Crosby, Memoirs and diary, 1851-1882, July 22, 1848.
\textsuperscript{159} Morley, [Partial diary] in [Morley Family Histories n. d.], 1-3.
\textsuperscript{160} Pratt, Journal and autobiography, 1850-1880, 147-48.
when we crossed rivers, and the few men had to carry the women and the little ones over, wading themselves. 161

Joseph Hovey wrote the following about his wife the week they were descending into the Valley: “My Wife Sarah drove one teem thus far[,] she is a Heroin[e.] She is the Only female that drives an ox teem that I know of in the company through these Cannians [canyons] and Over these Mountains[,] truly my task is grate to see to those two teems But God giving me patience and grace sufficient for my days[.]” 162 The closer the pioneers came to the Valley, the more technical and dangerous the terrain became.

If it were not for the journal of Catherine Woolley, the “social aspect” on the trail would be entirely unknown. It is apparent from her journal that she was a social person, but she also includes others being with her. The following are excerpts from her journal: “Mother Angell took supper with us. Then I took a walk with her to the big camp. Came home; had singing, then to bed[;]” and “I baked, and mended the boys' clothes. Samuel and Frank were on the island; got currants; I baked them into pies . . . . Sister was here; spent the evening in singing[;]” and “Susan Snively, Emily Free and Margaret Alley stopped in to see me this afternoon. I treated them with saleratus beer[;]” “I got some books from Franklin today to read; read four today, have one yet to read[;]” and “Went to see Elizabeth Foster and Mary Sheppard. Sister Pratt went along. At Platte river again[;]” and “Took a ride with Mrs. (Brigham) Young this morning in style; came back and got ready to start. Crossed the Looking Glass creek. Got drenched; fell in the creek[;]” and “Traveled 18 miles; camped for the night at Loupe Fork river. Mr. Woolley and I took a walk, called on some of our friends” 163

162 Hovey, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1856, Sept. 20, 1848.
Of course, it was not all fun and games on the trail. Perhaps no one knew this better than those who bearing children. Aroet Hale wrote that the trip was “hard on Old People and Woman with Chraldren[.]”\textsuperscript{164} In Brigham Young’s company alone, there were 54 infants—many of whom were born on the trail. Entries recording these births are usual short and lacking. For example, “Sarah wife of Willard Richards delivered of a son[,] all well[,]” and “Nancy wife of John Mercer delivered of a daughter . . . stoped 5 minutes then drove on.”\textsuperscript{165} Mary Clark wrote, “My husband and I and babe in June 1848.”\textsuperscript{166} Other short entries include the following: “believe five children born since we stoped here[;]”\textsuperscript{167} and “there have been several births[;]”\textsuperscript{168} and lastly, “Wife Bore me a Son, weight—eight pounds and three quarters . . . [next day] we resumed our journey[.]”\textsuperscript{169} There are many more such entries.

Some journals give more details on childbearing. On August 20, 1848, Eliza Lyman wrote,

Dealton Lyman born, at about 6 o’clock on Sunday morning. This is the second son that I have had born in a wagon and I still think it is a most uncomfortable place to be sick in. He was born on the east bank of the Platte river opposite Fort John or Laramie. The journey thus far has not been very pleasant to me, as I have been very nearly helpless all the way, but it is all right, we are going from the land of our oppressins where we hope to raise our children in the fear of the Lord and where they will never suffer by the hands of our enemies as we have done.\textsuperscript{170}

Mary Scott added the following excerpts: “John’s responsibility for ten wagons made it difficult at times to help his own Families . . . . Yet here we two [polygamous wives] who have been raised in luxury, are bravely trying to drive a Mule Team across the plains, holding our

\textsuperscript{164} Hale, Aroet Lucious, Diary of Aroet Lucious Hale, 1828-1849, 12, 16-17.
\textsuperscript{165} Campbell, Journal extracts, 30 June – 19 Oct. 1848, Oct. 11, 1848.
\textsuperscript{166} Clark, Autobiography [ca. 1908], 2-3.
\textsuperscript{167} Crosby, Memoirs and diary, 1851-1882, July 7, 1848.
\textsuperscript{168} Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, June 27, 1848.
\textsuperscript{170} Lyman, Life and Journal of Eliza Maria Partridge Lyman, 43-45.
Babies.” Scott comically ended one day’s entry with, “The howling of coyotes and wolves on distant hills and prairies mingled with the Half Hour Cry of the Faithful Guards, ‘All is well’ ‘All is Well.’ Right.”171

The mother of future Apostle, J. Reuben Clark, was born on the trail in 1848. On July 5, 1848, Rachel Simmons wrote, near Goose Creek, “my sister Mary [Louisa] was born . . . . We never laid over a day in consequence of Mother’s sickness. The Lord blessed her and fitted her to bear the journey as He did many others at that time.”172 Eunice Snow summarizes childbearing on the trail with the following: “In several instances, my mother acting as midwife, delivered women in confinement, and there was no interruption to our journey, since mothers and babes continued the trip right along with us.”173

Aroet Hale recorded a little romance on the trail with,

On our travels, as we neared the Valley, we met Saints of 47 on their way back to the Missouri River after families that was Left[.] Olso Quite a number of Battalion Boys. My Dear Ol friend Lucus Hogland was One of the number. He found what he was Looking for. My Dear Sister Rachel Hale. They Commenced Keeping Company before they Left Nauvoo. of corse he turned about. Came into the Valley with us.174

Anna Hale recorded a life-long lesson taught to her by her mother while on the trail. She recalled,

I remember Mother had to do some sewing on our clothing, but couldn't do so because she had lost her needle. The next day I showed up with a needle and told Mother I had found it. She said it wasn't hers and asked me where I got it. My answers did not satisfy—and she demanded the truth. I finally confessed that in visiting another camp, I saw a lady sewing on a button and beside her was a little cushion with a lot of pins and needles in it—and I thought she could spare one needle for my poor Mother, who had lost hers. Well, Mother made me take the needle back and apologize to the lady. I can say right here that it was one of the

172 Simmons, Brief Biography of Rachel Emma Woolley Simmons, 11-12.
174 Hale, Diary of Aroet Lucious Hale, 1828-1849, 12, 16-17.
hardest things I ever had to do; but it taught me a lesson that I never forgot. Later, the kind lady came over to see Mother and gave her one of her needles.175

Lyman Wood chuckled as he recalled the pioneers gathering “buffalo chips” when wood was scarce. He wrote,

It was truly a novel as well as an amusing sight many times when our captain would give orders for all to prepare for camping for the night. To see women and children leaving their wagons, scattering in every direction to gather the indispensable buffalo chips, some getting baskets full and some sacks full. Some of the women would gather their aprons full, some in their arms, as long as they could be piled on, many times holding the last piece in place with their chin.176

Throughout the 1848 pioneer journals the role women played in the 1848 migration is clear. The “sisters” gave their all. Many bore children, and mothers and young women cared for infants and young children. Wives and young women provided the daily essentials for their families. Women drove teams, and worked alongside the men. Within the 1848 pioneer companies there were women who were married, Battalion member wives, polygamous wives, single, and widowed who were willing to work their way to the Valley.

Expressions of Devotion

It is impossible to describe the 1848 Mormon pioneers without observing the spiritual significance of their journey. In reality, the Mormons desire for religious freedom and to worship freely is why their journey began in the first place. From the church’s beginnings in 1830, the Mormons had problems in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Missouri, and lastly Nauvoo, Illinois. It seemed that as the church grew, so did the opposition. When Brigham Young left Winter Quarters in the spring of 1847, “It was an exodus of necessity . . . . their urgent need was to find .

175 Hale, Memoirs of Anna Clark Hale, 16-18.
176 Wood, Lyman Stephen, Autobiographical sketch, 1901, 58.
a new home large enough to accommodate their present and future needs, far enough away to ensure their space and freedom, and healthy enough to sustain their crops and support their living.” Most immigrants who were westward bound in the late 1840s were driven by an opportunity for wealth, land, or the thrill of settling new country. However, the 1848 Mormon pioneers were driven westward because of their faith.

Their faith, which caused contention with their neighbors in the States, was not abandoned while on the trail. In fact, it was an integral part of their journey. One easily recognizable outward expression of their devotion came through their observance of the Sabbath Day. With no church buildings to worship in and plenty of work to do, keeping the Sabbath Day holy would test the commitment of any emigrant. Although there were some forms of work that the pioneers deemed necessary, such as washing clothing and tending livestock, keeping the Sabbath Day holy was a recognizable priority. Merrill Mattes observed the diligence of the Mormon pioneers in this regard and wrote,

‘Keeping the Sabbath’ meant having religious observances and keeping worldly activities to a minimum. Translated into trail terms, this meant that the wagon train should be halted for the day with sermons, prayers, and meditations . . . . The Mormons, of course, were models in this regard; but it must be confessed that the majority of travelers, overwhelmingly Protestant in their faith, were not equal to living the Biblical tenets.

President Young taught the Sabbath should be “reverenced on that journey as well as anywhere, except where the good of the Camp required labor. But individuals must keep that day for a day of rest and worship.” Louisa Pratt quoted Young as teaching, “write in your day book when you travel on Sunday, then notice your success through the week, and you will find more

---

177 Bennett, *We’ll Find the Place*, 360.
179 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., June 11, 1848.
time lost through accidents than you had gained by traveling on the day appointed for rest.” She then added, “We were convinced of the truth of his remarks, were willing to rest from our labors and assemble ourselves together for publick worship.” Meeting for worship each Sunday was routine for the 1848 pioneers.

In addition to keeping the Sabbath Day holy, there were other outward expressions of the Mormons faith in 1848. On another Sunday, July 16, 1848, Young taught, “My preaching is for every person to do right. Let every person act on the principles of right according to the light that he possesses for Jesus is the light of every man that cometh into the world, both Saint and savage.” After President Young spoke, Erastus Snow stood and said, “I arise to bear testimony to the principles that President Young has been speaking of . . . . It is because of the diligent course of P. Young that makes him beloved by this people.” As has been shown, they were organized under the inspiration and leadership of the church. Those who were chosen to lead, were not chosen because of their mountaineering skills, but were men of faith, and obedience. For example, the captains of tens were not just to lead out on the physical trail, but were to ensure the Saints were on track spiritually. One entry recorded President Kimball counseling these leaders with the

180 Pratt, Journal and autobiography, 1850-1880, 146-47.
181 Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 32-33. Dated July 16, 1848. This talk is recorded as follows: “This people know a great deal; they know the principles of the Gospel and it far exceeds the knowledge of the Christian world. There is some among us that has been slow to learn, yet their knowledge of theology is ahead of the religious portion of mankind. Then, brethren, live according to your knowledge. I am as liable to do wrong as other men but I keep trying all the time to do right. I know always what is right. Since I have been called to judge I have always been able to discern the god from the bad, right from wrong. God is very kind and compassionate; more ten times than we are to our children, or any kind friend. Was it not that he is [„] we would fall far short. Let us act perfect as men and we will be as perfect in our sphere of action as God is in his. I have always been faithful in my calling. I feel as willing to-day as to my duty as I ever did. I am now was willing to go to the ends of the earth and preach the gospel if it was my calling as ever I was. I have traveled & preached till the blood has squashed in my boots, &c But I am for the mountains; this is my calling at present. I feel that we should divide into small companies, so that our cattle can have more time to feed. I have traveled believing all the time I have pushed the people up. I have seen the companies over all the bad places before I crost. There has been no murmurings among us, all has been well. I expect to be judged by my works not by my good feelings & I mean that they will be good all the time & then leave the result in the hands of the Lord.”
following: “Every Captain of 10 should act as a father & as a teacher to his 10; that he wanted him to bring his family together on Monday evening & teach them principles of righteousness.”

In addition to the organization, they were submissive to those leaders throughout the journey. There were strict commands on the order that prevailed within the camps. This included things such as lights out, and the time to arise. It included guard duty, with discipline for falling asleep. It included the assignment to “turn the livestock out” at 3 A.M., when to tie the livestock up in the coral, and when to let them run free. The leadership determined when to move, and when to lay still.

But the rules in the camps did not just pertain to outward expression of devotion, they were also focused on the inward. Pioneers were required to be diligent in their daily prayers, both morning and night, in private as well as public. After arriving in the Valley, Benjamin Ashby wrote, “I believe that nothing but mothers prayers and faith enabled me to accomplish a seeming impossibility[.]” Pioneers were asked not to use vulgar language. The pioneers met together nightly to review business items, receive religious instruction, and have prayer. Speaking of this spiritual preparedness, President Young taught, “an individual might believe Mormonism to be true & be all his life in the midst of the Saints & be damned & go to hell at last because they did not keep & retain the influence of the Holy Ghost.” Young taught that the Saints spiritual preparedness would not only bless them while on the trail, but also as they arrived in the Valley.

On July 2, 1848, while Young and Kimball’s companies were gathered together for Sunday worship services, Young promised the following:

184 Ashby, Autobiography, 30.
185 In 1848, Young’s sermons freely and properly contain the words “devil,” “hell,” and “damned.” Nevertheless, he is never accused of using profanity, and clearly enforces the company rule of clean language.
He prophesied that we should never be driven from there [the mountains] unless we done it ourselves and he was determined that the law of God should be observed by all that should go to that land; and if any man would mind his own business, not infringe upon our laws, be peacable and not take the name of God in vain he was perfectly welcome to go with us, he being of the Methodist [,] Presbyterian or any other faith[.] 187

The Saints used the power of prayer, and Priesthood to bless and heal the sick while on the 1848 trail. There are scores of accounts of individuals who received blessings for illness and were healed, and occasionally, lives were spared. One such miracle is recorded by Thomas Bullock on June 12, 1848, as follows: “about 3 P.M. Mary Ann Perkins daughter of Wilson G. Perkins aged 9 years was run over by a Wagon …about 2, 500 lbs. across her breast with both wheels – the brethren administered to her & in about an hour she fell asleep – no bones broken – a miracle – a witness to bro. Perkins who is lately come into the Church.” 188

Based on what Brigham Young taught and what others said about him, his commitment to his faith was solid. Young was quoted saying, “I have always been faithful in my calling. I feel as willing to-day as to my duty as I ever did. I am now as willing to go to the ends of the earth and preach the gospel if it was my calling as ever I was. I have traveled & preached till the blood has squashed in my boots, &c But I am for the mountains; this is my calling at present.” 189 And, his followers were convinced of his sincerity.

At the close of the journey’s end, the pioneers demonstrated their love and admiration for their leader. Apparently, those who were ahead, halted in order for Brigham Young to lead them into the Valley. To the 1848 pioneers, they had a prophet, they were the “Camp of Israel,” and they were being led into a “promised land.” Agnes Douglass wrote, “We arrived in Salt Lake

187 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., July 2, 1848.
188 Bullock, Journals 1843-1849, June 12, 1848.
189 Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 32-33. Dated July 16, 1848.
Valley on the 23rd of September 1848 having stopped two days at Greenriver so that President Brigham Young and company might get in ahead of us.”\(^{190}\) Around this same time, another entry recorded, “Pres. Young’s Camp takes the lead.”\(^{191}\) Concerning this event, John Pulsipher wrote, “We stayed four days at Weber River in a delightful camping place between those lofty mountains. This halt was in honor of President Young, the leader of Israel. The companies that had traveled ahead of him stopped and waited until he passed into the valley in his place at the head of a joyful multitude.”\(^{192}\) Pulsipher then described how after President Young passed, his company “fell into the train and continued on our journey, which is now only 44 miles more.”\(^{193}\) Historian Leonard Arrington described this event with the following: “Between September 17 and 19, a ‘gathering’ apparently took place among the Saints preparatory to their entry into the Salt Lake Valley. Throughout the journey various companies had been in the lead position . . . but now . . . those ahead of Brigham’s group stopped and waited . . . . When Brigham passed, all fell into line behind him.”\(^{194}\) This respect for the Latter-day Saints’ prophet was not only shown by those on the trail but also by those who awaited his arrival in the Salt Lake Valley. As President Young neared the Valley, he “was escorted into the new city by those he had left in charge and those who had followed. A hymn of welcome, composed especially for the occasion by Eliza Snow, was sung.”\(^{195}\) Brigham Young had completed what would be his final journey across the pioneer trail.

\(^{190}\) Douglass, “Douglass, Agnes Cross, Letter. (Trail excerpt transcribed from “Pioneer History Collection”), Sept. 23, 1848.
\(^{191}\) Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, July 20, 1848.
\(^{192}\) Pulsipher, “John Pulsipher’s History 1827-1891,” 51-52.
\(^{193}\) Pulsipher, “John Pulsipher’s History 1827-1891,” 51-52.
\(^{195}\) M.R. Werner, Brigham Young, Brace and Company, Harcourt, New York, 1925, 236. The Hymn/Poem was titled “The Welcome Hymn.” Lyrics are included in appendix. See Appendix 3.
III. The Main Challenges of the 1848 Mormon Migration

The Mormon westward migration of 1848 was not a year of ease but a year of sacrifice. These sacrifices were required by all. Age, gender, social status, church position, and any other title vanished in the prairie dust as making it to the Valley became the unified goal. Those who were in leadership positions worked alongside the least of them. Most of the 1848 pioneers had little to begin with. These humble beginnings brought difficult challenges as the journey progressed and the pioneers, their teams, and wagons weakened.

On August 24, 1848, one mile west of the seventh crossing of the Sweet Water, Heber C. Kimball wrote a letter to Brigham Young. At this time, Kimball’s company had peaked in the depths of their weakened state. This letter provides an overview of the challenges that will be presented forthwith.

Dear Brother:
We are all alive and a general time of health in the camp. Helen is very sick; she had a fine boy [William Howard Whitney], born on Sweet Water, one mile this side of Sage creek, August 17th, and died on the 22nd and buried at this place. Her health is such that she cannot be removed at present. If it had not been for this, I intended to have reached you by to-morrow evening; although I have been weakened considerably by the loss of cattle, though my loss is not to be compared with many others behind, for some of them have to go along part at a time, and go back after the rest, thus being obliged to double teams to get along at all; and if I should try to come up with you now, those behind would not be enabled to reach us short of one week’s time, as some of them are near three days behind, and they have in their possession, <some> of my oxen, that I have got to send back. I have counseled the brethren on these matters - they have generally decided that it would be better for us to stop here, as there is a good range for cattle, and start back our teams from this place.¹

The afflictions that Heber C. Kimball’s family passed through were not unique to them. There were many who experienced similar challenges in 1848. These challenges will be presented

in the following four sections: Section 1, poor and insufficient supplies and provisions; Section 2, poor feed and livestock issues; Section 3, relationships with Indians; and lastly, Section 4, sickness, injury and death.

The Poor and Insufficient Supplies and Provisions

Determining the financial status of each 1848 Mormon pioneer is currently impossible. No one recorded which families had means and those who did not. However, there are enough entries throughout the pioneers’ journals to create an appreciation for the challenges this topic brought to 1848. Some entries write about having the poor among them, while others record their own trials brought by their insufficient state. Because there was so many poor in 1848, even those who were capable of traveling efficiently were required to sacrifice for the greater good of the camp. These sacrifices were required by all who were able—including the leadership. Aurelia Rogers wrote, Brigham Young “had made the trip across the plains the year before, as the leader of the Pioneers, and had returned for the rest of his family, and to see after the poor Saints who could not help themselves.”

On August 17, 1848, while camped near Chimney Rock, Brigham Young wrote a letter to Parley P. Pratt, John Taylor, and the leadership in the Valley. When Brigham left the Valley in the fall of 1847, he had intended to bring back “Printing Presses type, paper, mill irons, mill stones, carding machine, etc.” However, as the realities of 1848 settled, these monetary items became

---

2 Prior to the 1848 westward migration there were a number of significant factors that contributed to the poor both financially and physically. As the Latter-day Saints were forced to abandon their homes and belongings with the exodus of Nauvoo, cross Iowa, and exhaust supplies to survive the winter, many were in need. At the temporary station, Winter Quarters, “Some 2,000 Latter-day Saints died there and across the river between June 1846 and October 1848. This high death rate is attributable to excessive fatigue, heavy spring storms, generally inadequate provisions, the malaria then common along the river lowlands, improvised shelters, and the weakened condition of the ‘poor camp’ refugees driven out of Nauvoo in the fall of 1846.” (Bennett, Richard E., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1992, 1569). Prior to 1846, the Saints had also experienced significant loss in Missouri. In 1838, “The Latter-day Saints lost hundreds of thousands of dollars’ worth of livestock, which left them destitute when they arrived as refugees in Illinois.” (Ford, *Cornelius P. Lott and . . . the Care of Livestock*, 2005, 51).
secondary to what Young deemed “more important cargo.” After explaining that the aforementioned items were not forthcoming, Brigham wrote the following:

We have the poor with us; their cry was urgent to go to the mountains, and I could neither close my ears nor harden my heart against their earnest appeals. I could bring my carriage and horses with my swift teams and be with you in 30 days, but I cannot forsake the poor in the hour of need, and when they stand most in need of comfort. I am disappointed in not bringing the presses, etc., but I cannot avoid it; it is out of my power to do everything.3

At this time, the term poor included widows, the fatherless, children, and entire households that were unable to rebound from the persecutions the Saints had thus far received. There were also many who had sacrificed almost all their worldly possessions, just to get to Winter Quarters. It was clear, that even before the 1,032 mile journey began, there were many who were not—and had little opportunity of getting—prepared.4 Concerning this, 1848 pioneer Rachel Burton wrote, “When we started for Salt Lake Valley we were very rather destitute for my parents had spent all they had in bringing us from England to Nauvoo and then to Winter quarters.”5

3 Young, [Letter], 17 July 1848, Journal History, 8.
4 Not everyone who traveled in 1848 was poor. Vilate Kimball described her journey more positively than any other 1848 pioneer. However, it should be noted that she had made plenty of sacrifices, including waiting a year in Winter Quarters for her husband to return. She reflected, “My family wagon, drawn by four large bay horses, like many others, was very convenient, having broad projections, bedstead, with comfortable bed, &c., &c. I had sufficient room in the centre for myself and little ones. My wagon seemed more like a parlor than a traveling vehicle.” (Kimball, Vilate M., The Mormons “Salt Lake Valley,” Littell’s Living Age, Apr., May, June 1849, 165). Another example of someone who was prepared was Louisa Pratt, whose husband had marched in the Mormon Battalion. She wrote, “President Young said I must go: that I must do what I could, and he would assist me. When I had decided to go, and asked strength and courage of the Lord, means came flowing into my hands. Things I had thought of no value, that I should throw away were sold for a fair price, to those who were not of our faith, or who were not prepared to go at that time. The Pres’t ordered my wagon made ready, a thousand pounds of flour was allotted me: a yoke of oxen in addition to what I owned: a man hired to drive my team. Fifty dollars worth of store goods was appropriated to clothe myself and children. this with what I obtained by my own economy made me very comfortable.” (Pratt, Journal and autobiography, 1850-1880, 145). Perhaps the best summary of those who had means came from Elizabeth Heward with, “We should easily have been through to the Valley by this time, but we had to wait weeks to gather for the rest of the Company. There were others in the Company who could have gone as fast as we could. We stayed at Pacific Springs two weeks.” (Heward, Elizabeth Terry, Autobiography and journal 1853-1860, 20-21). In summary, aside from these, and a handful of other entries, the 1848 pioneers had far more needs, than resources.
5 Burton, Autobiographical sketch, 20.
Although many of the poor did not keep a journal, there are some who recorded their poor state. Hiram Clawson wrote, “We were short of provisions, and did not know whether we could really get through or not.” George Morris, who had been plagued with sickness for the last two years, wrote about how the journey began for his family. “I had but about three hundred lbs of flour and 2 Bushels of Sheled Corn which was all in the shape of Breadstufs that I was able to muster and there whare 5 of us in famaly[.]” Later, while on the trail, Morris wrote, “haveing two Cows giving Milk – we nearly lived on milk and wild meat – all the time while Crossing the Plains – I scarcely got as much as my 3 fingers of Bread per Day – all the time we whare on the road – which was from the 22nd of May – to the 20th of Sep 1848[.]” Mary Scott wrote, “Our daily exertions made hunger a constant companion. The quantity of food was limited and meals were usually scant.” Mary Clark wrote, “We were poor and had not time to get clothing and food for our needs before starting, that we really needed.”

It is heart wrenching to read accounts of those who were not even able to possess the basic necessities of life. An example, was Henry and Mary Jane Hinman. Their story is told by a granddaughter, Rojanea Bingham, who wrote the following: before crossing the Plains, the family “had formerly lived on pies and cakes, and then coming on to corn it was rather tough[.]” As the corn ran out, they were forced to turn to whatever they could find. At one time, when there was absolutely nothing to eat, her grandfather, found an old buffalo ear. After scraping the hair off with a pocket knife, he “roasted it over the fire (as we would a weiner), salted it nicely and devoured that for his evening meal.” On another occasion, Bingham wrote, “Brother Christensen [Pearl

---

7 Morris, George, Reminiscences [ca. 1867-1886], 66-67.
8 Morris, George, Reminiscences [ca. 1880-1890], 12-13.
10 Clark, Mary Stevenson, Autobiography [ca. 1908], 2-3.
Card's father] told me that one day they were driven to desperation for the want of food. He and Grandpa, picked out seeds from the buffalo turd; washed them, boiled them in water, to make a gruel which sustained life.” Their situation did not change until “One day, President Young saw Grandpa chewing a piece of cow hide, and asked, ‘What are you chewing that for?’ Whereupon Grandpa replied, ‘Because I'm so very hungry.’ President Young said to one of the men in charge, ‘Please feed this child and see that the family have more food.’ Grandfather said from then on, they had more to eat.”

In addition to lacking food, Willard Richards wrote a letter to Young and Kimball stating, “we are short for men, and horses, as well as oxen.” They were also short of reliable, sound, fresh wagons. In the same letter, Richards wrote the following:

I have been patching old wagons before & since I left Winter Quarters, till all my patches are used up tho there are many rents remaining, and how long my [wagons] will be moveable I cannot tell, but I expect till they have done their duty. I think there are about half a dozen wagons of very doubtful character in our 30; and many more that are unsafe to pass the mountains without lighting.

Journal entries mentioning “fixing wagons” could be a chapter in and of its self. However, it would be rather mundane as the entries are normally just a sentence such as, “broken tongue,” or “broken wheel,” or simply “fixing wagons.” The first “broken wagon” entry happened just two miles into the journey. On May 20, 1848, while going up a hill, Alexander Neibaur, a dentist, wrote, the “falls tounge [false tongue] split the Waggon run bak upset[,] broke one hind w[h]eel[,] force to Return to Winterquarter [Winter Quarters.] Br Joseph Barrow his son John & his son in law Thomas

---

12 Richards, Willard, to Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, 10 Sept. 1848, in Brigham Young, Office Files 1832-1878, reel 55, box 41, fd., 28.
13 Richards, to Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, 10 Sept. 1848, 28.
Charlesworth assisting me with my broken waggen[.] Br Langestrough Repairing the woodwork[.]
Br Andrew Littl doing the blkshm [blacksmithing] got my waggen Rapairet”\textsuperscript{14}

As previously stated, prior to 1848, families had been split up for various reasons. Examples include the Mormon Battalion, and those who were unable to migrate in ’47. Unfortunately, this sacrifice was also necessary in 1848. One such family was that of Samuel Smith. He wrote, “considering our destitute condition: the next thing to be considered was who should go through that season and who should remain until another year, which was finally agreed that Grandmother [Delecta] Clark and myself, should join Teams with William G. Young and Family, and go through, while Andrew, Mother, and Sister Sevira remained”\textsuperscript{15} Another example comes from the journal of Nancy Mattice. She wrote,

In the mid summer of 1848, with our b[e]longings and a scant supply of provisions in an old wagon with one yoke of oxen, father [Chauncy Warriner Porter] started Lydia [Ann Porter] with a three months old baby and 3 of Mothers children, Alma, Malinda, and I across the plains to Salt Lake Valley, father put us in the hands of Captain Andy Cunningham. Alma then 15 years old to drive the team. father kept Sarah to come with him and Priscilla the next year, as he could not sell his property in time to come with us. And by the help of the Lord and kind care of Capt Cunningham we arrived in Salt Lake Valley alive and well.\textsuperscript{16}

Not only were there sacrifices made by the families who were separated, there also would have been the added responsibility of the host family. Hats off to the William G. Young family, and Captain Andy Cunningham. There were presumably many similar “unsung heroes” who contributed in various such ways. Pamela Thompson taught this in the following one line entry: “We brought two orphans with us across the plains, David Turner and Marion [Maria] Burgess.”\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{14} Neibaur, Alexander, Journal, 1841 Feb.-1862 Apr., 26-38, May 20, 1848.
\textsuperscript{15} Smith, Samuel Harrison Baileym Reminiscences and diary 1856-Apr.-1863 July, 3-4.
\textsuperscript{17} Thompson, Pamela E. Barlow, Biography of Elizabeth Haven Barlow, “Pioneer History Collection,” 9-10. Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum.
One final example of families being separated comes from the journal of Lorenzo Brown. Although there is no explanation for why, on September 11, 1848, Brown wrote, “Homer [Brown] my only brother stops here to work for Bridger & Vasques[,] the proprietors for a year at $15.00 per month. At this I felt to grieve.”

Another factor in understanding the poor of 1848 comes from journal entries concerning their footwear—or lack thereof. It is understandable that shoes would have worn out as the miles wore on. However, some could not afford proper footwear from the journey’s onset. Job Smith wrote, “I started with very poor shoes which soon wore out on the road, and my clothes very scant and thin which soon became very ragged. Sister [Henrietta] Bullock helped to keep my rags together but shoes, I did without, travelling barefooted several hundred miles, finally when nearing the journey’s end I obtained a pair of moccasins from some Indians.” Benjamin Ashby wrote, “there was seven of us at home very destitute of suitable clothing[,] I had an old pair of Boots and I bought some mogensons [moccasins] from a squaw[,] also had a pair of rubber shoes—which when obliged to wear in the hot sands sweating just so as to be unbearable.” Twelve year old, Alma Hale recalled, “Young as I was, bare-footed, I drove an ox-team from the Missouri River to Salt Lake City. (as a matter of fact, I never owned a pair of shoes in my life until I became 17 years of age. It was ”moccasins” or nothing).” Rachel Burton added, “I was bare footed and I walked most of the way from Winter quarters to Salt Lake.” One serious consequence of Burton being barefoot came while leading her horses down a very steep hill. As the weight of the wagon began pushing the horses ahead she scrambled to hold them back. Concerning the aftermath she wrote,

---

19 Smith, Job, *Autobiography* [ca. 1902], 15-16.
“My feet got dreadfully cut and bruised and my tracks could be traced for some distance by the blood.” A final example comes from George Morris. By the time he had arrived at the Green River, Morris wrote,

here I had become entirely barefoot having started from Ioway [Iowa] with one old pair of boots having half soled them sometime before I started and traveled near 13 hundred miles in them wading all the streams and some of them many times over in them and for the last two hundred miles had had to wind them round my feet with strips of buffalo skin. will [while] waiting here I went round the camp and begged some old boot tops and scraps of harness leather and bits of any kind that I could get hold of.

The most valuable record concerning the poor of 1848 was written by a captain of ten, Chapman Duncan. This “inventory list” even challenges the modern view of what a pioneer company may have looked like—at least in 1848. A modern observer may presumptuously visualize a family, a wagon, their livestock, their personal belongings, and their personal supplies, all traveling together. However, according to Duncan’s record, this modern image is simply not accurate. Duncan is not the only journalist to write about “who” was in their company, but he is the only one to record who, and “how much” everyone owned or contributed to the whole. To include this inventory in its entirety would require two and a half single-spaced pages. Hence, twenty out of the ninety-eight family heads and their assets are included forthwith. These samples were carefully chosen as a representation of the whole.

Chapman Duncan, 2 in family, 1 wagon, 1 ox, 1 cow, 1 calf, $600 cash
W. Gaugh, 5 in family, 2 horses, 3 cows, 30 corn
Alvin Stewart, 2 in family, 1 cow, 10 wheat, 80 corn
W. Daniels, 4 in family, 2 cows

23 Burton, Autobiographical sketch, 15-17.
24 Morris, Reminiscences [ca. 1867-1886], 68-69.
David McKee, 10 in family, 1 wagon, 5 oxen, 3 cows, 6 sheep
Chas Eddy
Widow Thompson, 2 in family, 1 cow, 1 calf, 25 corn
John Lewis, 8 in family, 2 horses, 1 wagon, 3 cows, 2 calves, 200 corn, 100 oats
Hilan David, 7 in family
Wm Hawk, 7 in family, 2 horses, 2 cows, 3 calves, 12 wheat, 300 corn, 200 oats
Nicholas Remien, 1 horse, 1 wagon, 2 cows, 2 calves, 7 sheep, 40 wheat, 100 corn
Wm Shockley, 1 cow, 1 calf
Benj Hendrix, 1 colt, 1 wagon, 1 ox, 2 cows, 25 wheat
Dan Shoemate, 7 in family, 1 cow, 2 2 year old [cows], 1 calf
Peter Robinson, 3 in family, 2 cows, 1 calf, Tools $282.00
R P Baldwin, 1 wagon
Henry Wilson, 2 in family, 2 horses, 1 cow, 160 corn
James Young, 10 in family, 1 oxen, 4 cows, 100 wheat, 600 corn, 100 oats
Jepe Mason, 4 in family, 1 wagon, 5 oxen, 2 cows, 1 2 year old [cow], 15 sheep
Ira Ellsworth, 8 in family, 1 oxen, 1 cow[]

According to Duncan, 98 families shared 25 wagons. There were some who contributed much and some who contributed nothing, and, everything in between. Benjamin Johnson supports this consecration effort with the following: “I now had two wagons, a yoke of large oxen for one, and two yoke of steers for the other; and as I could not manage both teams alone was obliged to take with us Brother Benjamin Baker and his daughter [Sarah Jane], which made eleven persons in the two wagons. Brother Baker had two cows and I had five others, to be put in the yoke if necessary.”

In 1848, some sacrificed immensely to prepare for the westward migration, while others had few opportunities and limited time to prepare. If the numbers Chapman recorded are

25 Duncan, Chapman, Reminiscences 1852-1874, 11-11A, 23-25. This list in included in its entirety in the appendix. See Appendix 4.
26 Johnson, Benjamin F., My Life’s Review [1947], 121-23.
27 One of the greatest examples of these sacrifices is the story of Appleton Harmon. In the words of his 18 year old bride, Elmeda, “On the 13th of April, 1847, Appleton and my brother, Briant, were called to go with the first body of pioneers, consisting of 143 men and 73 wagons with the best teams remaining after a hard winter. They started west through the unknown wilds to find a future permanent home. Appleton proceeded with the first pioneers (he drove a team for Heber C. Kimball) to a place on the Platte River, where he with eight other men were detailed to run the ferry. They ferried many companies going to Oregon as well as Mormons, and received $1.00 a wagon for their work.
accurate, and represent other 1848 companies, it is a miracle that the pioneers were able to make the journey with “so many” contributing “so little.” And in fact, to them, it was a heaven-sent miracle. The efforts and sacrifices of all are represented by William Thompson who wrote, “Let all selfishness be cast aside; care for the widow and the fatherless. Brother Brigham feels as I do. When the Kingdom is built up we will be built up with it.”28 To the 1848 pioneers, it was not just about building a new city in the Salt Lake Valley, it was about building Zion.

If it were not for the plentiful nourishment provided by Mother Nature, the 1848 pioneers would have experienced significantly more challenges. Hiram Clawson wrote, “In the wilderness the Lord sent manna down from Heaven for the Children of Israel. He did not have to send manna for this people, but He prepared something else that would help them out—the buffalo.”29 Not only did the Lord send buffalo in 1848, He also sent “elk, the antelope, and deer . . . . Gooseberries, currants, cherries, and grapes in abundance.”30

Not only was there the issue of sustaining life while on the trail, the 1848 pioneers were also required to bring ample supplies to last a year after arriving in the Valley, since they would not have time to plant and harvest in 1848, and the resources in the Valley were limited. Charles Griffin wrote, “Next spring we started for the valley with one yoke of oxen and one yoke of cows with the understanding that we would have to take provisions enough to last until we could raise

---

a crop.” 31 William Adams added the following: “but a large company of people, like they was they, consumed, a great deal of meet. specialy, when they realised, they was going to a new country, and they would need all the provisions, they had, before they could raise or get more.” 32 Even Eliza Lyman, who appeared to have more than most wrote, “Have provision enough to last a few month after we get there, but not enough to last till we can raise more. But we go trusting in the Lord who never forsakes his people.” 33

By understanding the import of conserving their supplies, the pioneers looked for every opportunity to “live off of the land.” As opportunities came in the form of wild game, fish, and berries, the pioneers took every advantage to capitalize. They often recorded their harvests and gave credit to the God of Israel. After harvesting a buffalo, Hiram Clawson wrote, “it was something to live on. It had been sent to us, and there is no question about it.” 34 Goudy Hogan, wrote the following:

Frequently when we were traveling, the buffalo herd would come down off the hills by the hundreds and thousands, to go in their beaten path to water. We had to stop the company until they passed by. But we were willing to put up with this for the sake of having all the meat we need when we were hungry, having no prospect of obtaining anything when we got through only what we had in our wagons. Often many of the saints acknowledged the hand of the Lord in sending the buffalo to supply our wants in times of need, the same as sending the quails on the Mississippi River after the Saints were driven from their homes in Nauvoo. I was one of the hunters to kill buffalo, which I at that time took great delight, having a very good gun, I cheerfully did my share in obtaining meat for the company when it was needed. 35

Although the buffalo were sometimes difficult to kill, the bigger issue was getting the fresh

31 Griffin, Charles Emerson, Autobiography [ca. 1875-1893], 6-7.
33 Lyman, Life and Journal of Eliza Maria Partridge Lyman, 43-45.
meat back to camp safely. Hauling the weight was always an issue and occasionally “the Smell of the fresh meat caused the wolves to howl and follow on our track.” Multiple journal entries describe killing a buffalo and then being out all night harvesting the meat. Charles Pulsipher described the entire process with the following: “the company begin to get hungry for some beef so they desided to lay over and give us a chance to get some[.]” He shot two buffalo 15 miles from camp and arrived back at camp just a little before daylight. He then stayed over a day to cut and dry the meat. This is done by “cutting thin slices and dip into boiling brine and then spread on a rack made of willows and keep a slow fire under it for 24 hours then it can be string on a cord and hung in the wagons to finish drying which makes spendid eating in a time of scarcity[.]”

In addition to the scores of journal entries about the buffalo, there are hundreds of entries concerning other blessings provided by Mother Nature. These entries are usually found in short, simple sentences. The following journal samples represent hundreds of entries describing what they were able to glean from the ground: we gathered “bushels of Saleratus [the main ingredient in baking powder] from the Saleratus Lakes which was about 6 inches thick[.] it answers well for making bread;” “In Blacks Fork we caught a fine lot of Fish, supplied the whole company that were now with us;” they used Indian soap root “in the place of soap a good substitute grows on sandy land. These all grow wild and a great many other species of tame fruit shrubs and plants;” “Some places an abundance of wild red and black currants and sometimes gooseberries were gratefully gleaned . . . . At other times fish was caught in streams and ducks, geese, turkeys and prairie chickens were shot. The men hunted for buffalo elk and deer and these added to our daily

37 Pulsipher, Charles, Reminiscences [ca. 1915], 27.
38 Holbrook, Joseph, Reminiscences [ca. 1860-1871], fd. 1, 145-47.
40 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., July 7, 1848.
diet. Pig weeds, thistles and other greens were gathered at times and cooked to add variety;” \(^{41}\)
while out looking for loose cattle, they “would come back well loaded down with hares, sage hens
and prairie chickens;” \(^{42}\)

Coal pits made the necessary wagon repairs possible. Robert Campbell wrote: “Blacksmith
[Thomas] Speirs in Amassa’s Coy reports found good coal on North side of Platte up a ravine 2¼
miles West from Deer Creek[.]” \(^{43}\) Each time the pioneers came to one of these pits, there were
long hours and plenty of blacksmithing to be done. This is because coal heats much hotter than
wood making the metal workable. The worn out wagons needed constant repairing.

Although every animal harvested contributed to the pioneer’s diet, buffalo was the staple
meat. Thomas Bullock recorded on June 29, 1848, “about ½ past 11 A.M. came in sight of the first
Buffalo on the South side of the Platte at noon saw three small bands[..]” \(^{44}\) From the Platte to Fort
Bridger, they relied heavily on the buffalo. From Fort Bridger to the Valley, the game was elk,
bear, sheep and antelope.” \(^{45}\)

It is impossible to calculate the exact number of animals harvested, or the number of berries
picked in 1848. Most pioneers did not keep a journal, and entries often simply record phrases such
as, “fish abundant,” “killed several mountain sheep,” or, “many killed.” Also, phrases such as,
“The leading Ten kill a Buffalo each night” \(^{46}\) may be exaggerated. Nevertheless, in the journals
included in this thesis, the 1848 pioneers recorded harvesting approximately 107 buffalo, 62
antelope, 3 elk, 16 deer, 5 mountain sheep, and 2 bear, hundreds of fish, and bushels and bushels

\(^{41}\) Scott, “Life Story of Mary Pugh Scott,” Journey to Zion, 1997, 399-400.
\(^{42}\) Smith, Samuel, Reminiscences and diary 1856-Apr.-1863 July, 3-4.
\(^{44}\) Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, June 29, 1848.
\(^{45}\) Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., Sept. 3, 1848.
of berries.47

Apparently the harvest was at times “so great,” that the pioneers not only had sufficient for the present, but were also able to dry berries and meat for the winter. Wrote Oliver Huntington: “an abundance of black, red and yellow currants, chokecherries and goose berries for all who do or may travel this way. Zina has dried enough for her winter sauce.”48 Joseph Holbrook added the following: “stope a few days and went about 6 miles to the South and picked service berries[.] I got about 6 Bus[hels] which we dried for our fruit[.]”49 Chapman Duncan wrote, “We saved some meat for winter.”50 In summary, the poor of 1848 relied heavily on the wild game, fish, berries, and natural resources that were abundant. These natural resources sustained them while on the trail and helped them get through their first winter in the Valley.

Poor Feed and Other Livestock Issues

Not only was the number of pioneers significant in 1848 but the number of livestock was equally impressive. In fact, “livestock was beyond a doubt the Mormon pioneer’s greatest asset.”51 Fortunately, Thomas Bullock provided a detailed census for the number of animals in both Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball’s companies.52 In all, Young’s company consisted of “74
Horses, 19 Mules, 1275 Oxen, 699 Cows, 184 Loose Cattle, 411 Sheep, 141 Pigs, 605 Chickens, 37 Cats, 82 Dogs, 3 Goats, 10 Geese, 2 Bee Hives, 8 Doves.” 53 Kimball’s company consisted of “57 Horses, 25 Mules, 737 Oxen, 284 Cows, 150 Loose Cattle, 243 Sheep, 96 Pigs, 299 Chickens, 17 Cats, 52 Dogs, 0 Goats, 0 Geese, 3 Bee Hives, 3 Doves, 0 Squirrels, 5 Ducks.” 54 Added together, these “tandem companies” had 131 horse, 44 mules, 2012 oxen, 983 cows, 334 loose cattle, 654 sheep, 237 pigs, 904 chickens, 54 cats, 134 dogs, 3 goats, 10 geese, 5 bee hives, 11 doves, and 5 ducks.

The amount of effort required to tend, drive, feed, and water 5,516 animals 1032 miles is overwhelming. However, as with the large companies’ size, the animals did not travel as a unified whole. Joseph Hovey, a participant in Kimball’s company, recorded that in his company of 10, there were “horses 10[,] Mules 9[,] Cows 20[,] working Cattle 80[,] Sheep 12[,] hogs 2[,] Chickens 28[,] dogs 2[,] Dear 1[,]” 55 Although it is unclear how the “1 deer” bounced out of Bullock’s census report, it is clear that Hovey’s company somehow had acquired it on the way.

The challenges with livestock in 1848 are recorded at length in pioneer journals. Although the toll was heavier on some families, none were exempt. There are some entries that mention the death of an animal casually while others mourn over the loss. For those who mourned, their animals are occasionally referred to by name and often written about as if they were “part of the family.” This trial, of sick, weak, and dying teams was universally one of the greatest challenges of 1848.

Challenges with the livestock began with their departure from Winter Quarters. In the spring of 1848, Benjamin Ashby recorded that “the rest of the cattle had never returned from the winter herd ground.” 56 Although the details of how many cattle were missing, it was a factor. Also,

53 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, June 16, 1848.
54 Bullock, Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star, 313-15.
55 Hovey, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1856, July 9, 1848.
the Saints in Winter Quarters were poor. Not only were these poor limited in their ability to purchase needed supplies, but their chances of purchasing strong, well trained teams were simply not even an option. To this end, John Smith wrote, “It was rather a hard journey, as we did not have team enough.” 57 Again, this was before the journey even began.

William Thompson wrote on June 5, 1848, “owing to the weakness of our teams we could not keep up[.]” As the journey progressed, Thompson added, “Let us be careful and prudent. Our teams are weak and our loads are heavy.” 58 Joseph Holbrook wrote, “our team which now consisted of some unbroke[n] steers & cows made it very difficult for 8 or 10 days to get along but . . . we managed to keep up with the camp.” 59 Joseph Fielding wrote, “A great Part of our Teams was made up cows and young Oxen that had not been broke . . . Bro Terry who had engaged to drive A Team to the Valey and to bring one back to take his own Family, was quite discouraged, and said it was great Folly to attempt to go as we were fixt[.]” 60 Erastus Snow wrote,

We were all very short for teams and they were consequently heavy laden—My own three teams particularly, for I had to use great exertion & economy in the disposition of my effects to procure the team and outfit necessary for my family so that I was obliged from the day I left Winter Quarters (May 27th) to put into my teams every hoof I had both horses, oxen, cows, and heifers and then had often to be helped by other teams in hard places before I reached the Platt[e] Bottoms. 61

Thomas Bullock’s teamster wrote, “The load was very heavy and the animals very poor so that I had very hard work to keep pace with the better teams, frequently having to unyoke a tired animal and fill its place with the odd cow. Bullock’s occupation being a clerk, he knew nothing about

57 Smith, John, Autobiography, in University of California (Berkeley) Bancroft Library, Utah and the Mormons collection, reel 3, 4.
59 Holbrook, Reminiscences [ca. 1860-1871], fd. 1, 145-47.
If Thomas Bullock had poor teams, what does that imply about the poor?

Even the leadership, including Willard Richards, was not exempt from challenges with livestock. On September 10, 1848, while camped at the Sweetwater, he wrote the following to Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball:

my teams rather weak but yet I keep moving by doubling teams at every hill & creek, and changing teams & loading every hour almost, & sometimes three times an hour. Brother [Joseph Leland] Heywood's cattle are old and some others in camp, & it is difficult for them to get on, & this division of the Camp really needs help . . . our teams appear used up, as tho' they never could start again a day or 2 or a weeks rest recruits them, and we move again, and again, and are a-going to keep moving. Go ahead is my cry all the time, and when the cattle drop dead roll them out of the road, and go a head . . . . We are not so short for numbers of cattle, but many of them are old, many of them young, & many of them poor crow meat[.].

While in Winter Quarters and on the pioneer trail, the greatest challenge in tending livestock was finding “sufficient feed.” The poor feed in 1848—on account of it being a dry year—multiplied pre-existing livestock challenges and weakened the healthy teams. Because a number of those on the trail in ‘48 had traveled it the previous year, they often compared the two years. Bullock recorded that the feed in 1848 was more scant “than it was on the Pioneer trip, or return journey” of 1847, and it was so dry that even the sagebrush was withered. Curtis Bolton wrote, “The lack of rain this season made pastures scarce.” Jacob Norton wrote, “The feed in the Black Hills much scarser than it was last year.” This dryness not only affected the feed, but also affected some springs and streams. On September 19, 1848, Robert Campbell wrote, “no water at soft swamp . . . found Creek two feet wide & strawberry creek both dry . . . Quaking aspen creek.

---

62 Smith, Job, Autobiography [ca. 1902], 15-16.
63 Richards, to Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, 10 Sept. 1848, 28.
64 Ford, Cornelius P. Lott and . . . the Care of Livestock, 2005, 113.
66 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, Aug. 4, 1848.
68 Jacob, Reminiscence and journal, July 28, 1848.
Speaking of this “double trouble” caused by the dry season, Franklin Richards wrote the following:

The feed was necessarily consumed on the road. By the heat of the summer our animals had become so reduced, and so many of them had died, from drinking alkali waters, that we were obliged to yoke every animal a year old and upwards, and brake them in the teams, even our Milch Cows. Many of the families in our company had to walk altogether, both children and grown people—in fact it was all we could do, and the people, had to get on foot in order to get along.⁷⁰

At times, phrases such as “feed poor”⁷¹ are found daily, and sentences including phrases such as “cattle is getting poor for want of feed[,]”⁷² are common. William Thompson wrote, “In consequence of the drought there has been little feed on the route from the S east side of Laramie. One of Brother Lotts & one of Brother H. C. Kimball's cattle give out to-day on account of the long drive without feed. Our cattle looked very weak & empty this evening.”⁷³ Another journal recorded the journey taking longer because “in some Measure owing to the bad Feed and the sickliness of our Cattle[.]”⁷⁴

Part of the problem was not just the lack of feed but the enormity of the mouths to feed. Thompson wrote, “We calculated to have camped here for the night, but the feed was tramped down and eat up, as Brother Brigham Young's camp had been here the night before. We had to go about 2 miles farther.”⁷⁵ On another occasion he included, “the brethren in C. P. Lott's 10 counseled together after the other camps went off & appointed Brothers C. P. Lott & Noah W. Bartholomew to go a few miles west to see if there was any better feed for cattle; they returned in

---

⁷⁰ Richards, Narrative of Franklin Dewey Richards, 33-35.
⁷² Peart, Diary, 1847-1872, 33.
⁷⁴ Fielding, Journals 1837-1859, vol. 5, 141.
2 hours and reported that there was none except what the brethren had taken up.”76 Although this was an issue for Young, and Kimball’s companies, apparently by the time Richards’ company had gotten to the Black Hills, it had rained sufficiently that Fall to grow some short green grass.77

As they reached the Black Hills, the poor water and lack of feed took an immense toll on the livestock. John Brown wrote, “We got along finely lost nothing of any consequence until we reached the black hills where we found little or no feed & ou[r] cattle began to die[.]78 After arriving in the Valley, Curtis Bolton wrote a letter to his father living in the States. Among other things, Bolton wrote the following comparison to the cattle in the Valley and those who survived the journey in 1848:

The cattle that were brought here last year are now the fattest I ever saw except those that have to work hard. They are in fine order and most generally go on a trot like horses. A perfect contrast to our newly arrived, leg-weary, half starved, who from Fort Laramie to this place have had to travel over five hundred miles where scarce anything grows but a bush called "wild sage" and the prickly pears, and over the black hills for several days we obtained no grass at all, but cut down a tree called red willow (like cottonwood) and let them browse. The lack of rain this season made pastures scarce. A large number of cattle died from having been turned out without taking care to water them at the running waters. When stopping for the night they would be thirsty and drink the first water they came to, surface water being everywhere to be found from the Platte there. They would drink that—which being filled with salerates was almost certain death. I took care to water mine at the running streams only.79

Not only did the lack of feed affect the livestock, it took a considerable toll on the pioneers

76 Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 37. Dated July 26, 1848.
77 For those unfamiliar with the West, occasionally there are heavy rainstorms in late August and early September that produce fall grass. In Idaho, 2016 and the previous year are great examples where October and November were greener than July, August, and September. Apparently 1848 was a similar year. Robert Campbell wrote on August 18, 1848, “Traders come & visit Camp. But go away soon – say there was no grass here till after these rains we had lately.” Two days later he added, “Pass on till within ¾ mile of “Bend in the road.” some smart new grass. O how good to find such feed – called a halt – <unhitched to bate teams>” (Campbell, Journal extracts, 30 June – 19 Oct. 1848, Aug. 20, 1848).
as well. Thomas Bullock recorded some of these challenges as follows: [August 2, 1848] “The brethren up by day break to hunt up the Cattle which were scattered & drove them up the Creek—there being but very poor feed they were allowed to stay until about 10 when we drove them to the Camp & hitched up during a shower—start about 11;” [August 4] “pursued our journey to the Crooked Muddy Creek—formed our Caral for the night & drove our Cattle up stream about 1½ miles to some feed. the feed is more scant on this journey than it was on the Pioneer trip, or return journey—scarce any being seen—the Sage & Grease wood appear withered up;” [August 7] “my Old Black Ox strayed away, which it would not have done yesterday morning, there being good grass;” and [September 6] “on account of the poor feed, the Cattle strayed away considerably."

Thomas Bullock wrote, “Some of the Cattle stray away about 7 miles toward Green River when they are gathered up, Camp again resumes its journey."

At a glance, straying cattle may be blamed on irresponsibility. And, at times, this assumption would be accurate. However, this was not always the case. For those who have worked with cattle, there are times when things run smoothly and times when the “little devils” have a mind of their own. In most journal entries that record “chasing cows,” the cause seems to have originated out of necessity, not neglect. Brigham Young had established strict rules to ensure minimal loss, and it seems that these rules were strictly adhered to. When cattle were lost, every effort was spent to bring them back. Allen Taylor wrote a letter to Young stating he had found 19 head of cows 16 miles from camp after they had gotten in with a herd of buffalo. Taylor wrote, “when night came I returned, & got to the camp towards morning, after suffering much, being unwell & the night being very dark & stormy so I had trouble to find the camp. I have had men

80 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, Aug. 2,4, 7, 1848, Sept. 6, 1848.
81 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, Sept. 7, 1848.
out a hunting for them all the time till now, but all in vain; there is 9 head gone as yet.”

Tending livestock on the trail was no simple task. Because the animals do not eat while traveling—as there would be little if any food on the trail, and they were in motion—grazing took place after arriving in camp and early in the morning. Teamster Job Smith described this process, “After unyoking cattle at night several teamsters drove the herd to where they could best find feed, sometimes as far as a mile, herding them until dark, then driving them to camp, place a rope around each animal’s horns and at the other end of the rope driving a stake in the ground. Very early in the morning cattle released and started up again[.]” To be specific, camp rules stated the animals were to be let loose every morning out of the coral at promptly 3 a.m. If there was feed, they dropped their heads and ate. If not, they moved until they found something to eat. Because of the poor feed, the cattle normally strayed between one and two miles to find feed. Some days it was less, and some days it was much more. Even though guarding the cattle in the dark was not an exact science, camp rules called for them to be guarded nightly. On most nights, someone recorded, “Cattle guarded[.]”

For some reason, cattle stray more when it rains. Although rain was scarce in 1848, it did rain as fall approached, and the cattle strayed. On these rainy mornings, entries such as “September 2, the rain causes the Cattle to stray & wander about—which gives considerable trouble” are common. On the same day, Hosea Stout wrote, “Very cold rainy morning & our cattle scattered and some not to be found.” When thunder accompanied the rain, the cattle become restless and

---

82 Allen Taylor to Brigham Young, 6 Sept. 1848. In Brigham Young, Office Files 1832-1878, General Correspondence, Incoming, 1840-1877, S-Y, 1848. (CR 1234 1, reel 30, box 21, folder 14).
83 Smith, Job, Autobiography [ca. 1902], 15-16.
86 Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, Sept. 2, 1848.
strayed “in all directions.”

Wolves were a nuisance for Young and Kimball’s company. Journal entries recording these uninvited encounters include the following: [August 11] “The Wolves in great numbers round Camp;” [August 14] “This morning a cow belonging to Mrs. [Eunice Corinthian] Long was dead. the Wolves had tore her considerable;” [August 18] “Br T Bullock left a ox on the Road site[-]. the wolfs devoured him by morning;” [August 24] “E. D.’s sow had three pigs, but they are all dead; wolves got one of them.” Rachel Simmons contributed the following: “the men to keep the wolves from attacking the animals or stampeding them. They were so bold they would come right into camp and some of them would put their feet on the wagon tongues and sniff in at the end of the wagon;” “Several worn-out animals have been devoured by the wolves which abound in great numbers on the route.” And lastly, Catherine Woolley comically added [August 27] “The wolves are howling around our wagon; it almost makes one think we are in the wilderness!”

For some reason, the wolves were even more relentless on the Richards’ company. On August 29, 1848, Caroline Crosby wrote, “Last night my favorite pet sheep was destroyed by wolves. My heart ached when I saw the bloody rope which was round her neck and could not refrain from tears. I feel like waging a war of extermination against those ferocious beasts of pray.” For many pioneers, the wolves incessant howling at night was an awakening reminder of the dangers that surrounded them. During the day, there were a handful of pioneers that had close

87 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, July 21, 1848.
88 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, Aug. 11, 1848.
89 Burton, Diaries, 1839-1851, Aug. 14, 1848.
95 Crosby, Memoirs and diary, 1851-1882, Aug. 29, 1848.
encounters with wolves, but no one was injured by them. However, there were livestock that was killed by wolves. In the journals of 1848, wolves killed 4 cows, 2 oxen, 3 cows, and injured 1 oxen from Winter Quarters to the Valley. Concerning the death of sheep, there are few specific numbers, but general statements indicating that the tolls were high. Robert Campbell, on October 3, 1848, wrote, “Brother Joel Johnson sheep doing well. only 2 sickly. but looses less or more all the time. Wolves get them.” As included in the introduction to this chapter, Joel Johnson “lost” 22 sheep, but the cause was unknown.

From August 21 to September 2, there were 7 days where bears were seen by Willard Richards’ company. One night, “Captn Fulmer had an ox, believed to be torn to pieces by Bears.” These dates coincide with places where the berries were abundant.

Although these losses are significant, they pale in comparison to the number of livestock that died from exhaustion and a dry season. It is difficult to visualize the effects the toll death took on the cattle and oxen in 1848. Thomas Bullock wrote, “it appears that the way to the Valley of Life for the Saints, is thro’ the Valley of Death to our cattle, & it appears as if we are to get to our journey’s end by a miracle, or narrowly indeed.” Some animals died slowly, others instantly. Some died at night, others died while yoked. Some were sick when they died, others appeared healthy. The causes? According to 1848 journals, no feed, poor water, overexertion, and disease. These diseases are identified by the pioneers as “hollow horn” and “bloody murrain.” On August 28, 1848, with almost a month of travel remaining, Young and Kimball wrote a letter to the

---

96 Numbers taken from the journals of Robert Campbell (Campbell, Journal extracts, 30 June – 19 Oct. 1848), Joseph Curtis (Curtis, “History of Joseph Curtis, 1818-1883,” 6-9), Joseph Robinson ((Robinson, Joseph Lee, Autobiography and journals 1883-1892, [manuscript:] vol. 1, 60, 66-67), and Phineas Richards (Richards, Phinehas, Diary, in Richards Family, Collection, reel 16, box 13, fd. 10). One example comes from Robinson who wrote, “only one of my cows kild by wolves” (Robinson, Autobiography and journals 1883-1892, 66-67).
99 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, Aug. 16, 1848.
leadership back at Winter Quarters. This letter included the following:

The very dry season, the scarcity of grass, the heavy dragging, dusty roads and inhaling so much of the alkali by breathing, eating and drinking has been the cause of our losing many of our cattle; some have died with appearances of the bloody murrain, others by the hollow horn and a few by an unusual swelling of the melt which, on examination, was generally putrid . . . the cattle that have died without any appearances of sickness were the best and fattest.100

Some of the 1848 accounts, as previously mentioned, include writings about the “cause of death,” but the vast majority simply record the loss. On August 20, 1848, Oliver Huntington wrote, “But cattle are dieing off as though we did not need them any more. Every day takes some. Seven since we stopped here. Hollow horn and tail and bloody Murrin [murrain] seem contagious.”101 On August 21, William Burton wrote, “a number of our Cattle still continued to be sick. 1 of my Oxen died in the afternoon and 1 belonging to Bro. S[amuel] Clark. we moved our Camp about 1½ M[iles.] it was hard work for several of us to move at all, something unexpected to loose so many of our Cattle but is in God who can cause all things to work together for the good of his people.”102 On August 24, Brigham Young received a letter from Heber C. Kimball while camped at the last Sweetwater crossing. Kimball wrote, “I have perceived that the camps ahead have suffered much loss, as we have seen the cattle strewed along the roads.”103 On the same day, Young wrote, “I have heard from Brother Heber today. His companies are 20 miles and upwards, in our rear, the cattle many of them worn out, and four or five dying every day. At this place we have three or four dying daily.”104 Anna Hale recalled, “Our first real trouble across the plains came at Poison Springs, where we lost two of our best oxen—old Buck and old Brandy.”105

100 Young and Kimball, [Letter], Journal History, 28 Aug. 1848, 2-4.
101 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., Aug. 20, 1848.
102 Burton, Diaries, 1839-1851, Aug. 21, 1848.
104 Young, Brigham, [Letter], Journal History, 24 Aug. 1848, 2.
105 Hale, Memoirs of Anna Clark Hale, 16-18.
Although there are scores of such entries about dying cattle and oxen, the following entry by Thomas Bullock is included as a representation of all the 1848 pioneers, and the losses they suffered. Bullock, on August 16, 1848, wrote,

Cool night—Pleasant morning. One of Joseph Young’s oxen, a Cow & an ox of brother Shaw—and the “Charlie Colt” of Prest.Young all die at this place within 24 hours—my “Duke” & Capt. Goddard’s ox very sick . . . our Camp starts between 8 & 9 & come to Capn. Wood’s Camp where they have lost two cattle, & a third Creature dying as we pass by—we continued our journey to Bitter Cotton Wood Creek—where Old Duke lay down & died . . . . [the next day] then renew our journey towards a gap in the Mountains. when little “Bill” gave out, and was obliged to be left. I staid with him about 2 hours but could not get him 50 yards nearer our Camping ground—then left him, & went on to Camp, aeshower passing over before I reached it—after supper I sent Job Smith for him, he did not return until long after dark & did not find him . . . <August 1848> Friday 18—Up by break of day. & started by the River Road to the place where I left “Bill” last night, & found him within two yards where I had left him, worried by the Wolves, he had laid down near some bushes before I reached the top of the hill—and altho’ Job had been within a few yards of him, was the reason he did not see him—alas poor little Bill . . . . we continued our journey, ascending a very very long hill & then over a level plain, which was an uncommon wearisome journey to us—the Cattle were very tired, & hungry—we were almost worn out, having to walk nearly the whole distance . . . . Lucy, and Mary walked ahead to Camp to let them know we were doing our best to follow—met Capn. Goddard on the hill, when he turned round & piloted us along the road to the place where they were camped— crossed the Sweetwater again, & were glad to halt in the night in a place of safety—after the most tiresome journey, & the most fatigued on the entire route.106

There is no record containing the exact number of oxen and cattle that died in 1848. Again, only a small percentage of the 1848 pioneers kept journals, everything that happened was not recorded, and it is sometimes difficult to tell if diarists were talking about the same event. However, from the journals used in this thesis, approximately 166 cattle died, 103 oxen, and “many” sheep from sickness, overexertion, and starvation. These numbers do not include general, casual entries—such as “today we saw 15–20 head of cattle dead”—but only include entries such

106 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, Aug. 16, 1848.
as “today my Oxen died.”  

Joel Johnson recorded his livestock losses as follows: “after much fatigue many hard ships and difficulties and the loss of one yoke of oxen one heifer and twenty two sheep we arrived in the City of Great Salt Lake on the nineteenth day of October 1848.”  

It is interesting that unlike Johnson, most journals do not provide death tolls for Loose Cattle, or sheep. Perhaps the answer lies in the challenges preceding a yoked animal’s death.

The death of the pioneer’s loose cattle or sheep was a financial and nutritional loss. The death of an oxen or a cow had far reaching effects. On August 21, 1848, Elizabeth Neff wrote to a friend, “we would have gotten along faster but we have lost a great number Cattle since we got on the black hills [. ] the first night we got to this place there was 10 head died.”  

Four days later on August 5, 1848 another journal records: “another of Cahoon’s Cows having dropt dead on the road – this is the 3rd Animal he has lost in 24 hours & within 4 miles travel.”  

So what follows in the wake of these deaths? Some lurking questions could be, who will pull the Neff’s wagon? How will the Cahoon family go on, or what will they be forced to leave behind? In the words of Amasa Lyman, the deaths of their oxen and cattle had “crippled our teams[.]” These crippled teams led to entries such as, “Tuesday Morning. The Wagons that did not get forward last night are driving in.”  

Even when the cattle had not died, phrases such as, “Cattle generally done out,” are common.

---

107 These numbers are conservative. There were a number of journal entries that were not included in these numbers such as the following: “We lost a great deal of stock on this part of the rout[e]” (Brown, John, *Reminiscences and Journals*, 112-13); “several head of Cattle dead” (Neibaur, *Journal*, 1841 Feb.-1862 Apr., Aug. 15, 1848); and, “Several cattle give out to day & were left dead by the road side.” (Stout, *Reminiscences and journals*, 1845-1869, Aug. 14, 1848).


109 “Loose cattle” were not tamed, tied up, or used to pull. Their purpose included meat, breeding, or for income.

110 Neff, Elizabeth to Anna Bitner, 21 Aug. 1848, in Musser family, Letters 1847-1849; 1877.


112 Lyman, Amasa M. and James H. Rollins, [Letter], *Journal History*, Sept. 1848, 2.


At first, as the yoked wagon teams began to die, those who were more prepared were able to share with those who had become deficient. Upon an oxen’s death, Hosea Stout wrote, “Prest. Young proposed to assist me to another ox as my team was now broken.” This was despite the fact that Young “was scarce of teams” himself. Stout also received relief by Brother Garns and Meacham who lightened his load “near 500 lbs[.]”115

Even those who were prepared often struggled as well. Although Curtis Bolton started the journey with a fine team of oxen, this all changed when one of his team foundered, and another oxen, “Berry” fell and broke his back. Concerning his desperate situation, Bolton wrote the following: “I gave Bro Brigham all my meal about twelve bushels. As I could haul it no further. Bishop Williams lent me an ox for a few days but soon wanted him again. Bro. Brigham lent me a yoke of cattle two or three days and then took them again. Then lent me one one day . . . . Br. [Horace] Gib[b]s lent me an ox one day[.]” Even with help from what others could give, Bolton wrote, “My team became so weak here that I left Bro Brighams Company and stopt on good feed one week to recruit.”116 Later, after arriving in the Valley, Bolton wrote a letter to his father in the States including, “I would start an hour or two before the rest . . . then arrive at the camping ground three or four hours behind the head team . . . [I was] wearing out both man and beast. My cattle got poor and disheartened and I was obliged finally to break off from the companies and travel alone. This I did from Independence Rock to within a few days journey of this place.”117

It became common for heavy laden teams to get in after dark, or occasionally the next morning. On June 20, 1848, Robert Campbell wrote, “Teams were coming into camp all night. We went on to wood river where we arrived late.” On September 16, 1848, “Two or three weak teams

115 Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, Aug. 5, 1848.
move in about dark.”118 Or, in the words of one pioneer, we traveled “in slow time.”119

However, as the surplus teams became exhausted, those who were able, were required to give their all for the good of the Camp. On August 26, 1848, William Burton wrote, “This morning we Started about 9 OClock, our teams were not sufficient to take our Wagons far. Shortly after we started we met a messenger from Bro Billings Company with a letter to inform us that some teams were coming to assist us[.]”120 In a letter written to his wife, on August 20, 1848, Oliver Huntington wrote, “Besides that so many of his company’s teams have died that others have to go the road three times over to keep all up. Today Brigham has sent back for his help to this place, 20 wagons and 60 or 70 yoke of cattle.”121 On August 22, 1848, William Thompson included, “Part of Brother H. Herymans [Henry Harriman's] company has come up this evening; the[y] have lost so many cattle that the[y] have take part of the wagons on & come back for the rest.”122 On August 25, Thompson added, “They could not go along except by taking part of their wagons & coming back for the rest . . . we past Brother Teeples & several other brethren belonging to T. B. Mitchell's 10. Their cattle has died off so that they have none to take off part of the waggons & come back for the rest next day. They have been doing so since Aug.”123

The effects of sick, weakened, and dying teams were felt throughout all the pioneer companies of 1848. However, to the pioneers, the tolls could have been much higher. There were animals that could have died, that did not. There were animals that were left behind and counted as dead that were brought in by rearward pioneers. These experiences were often viewed as miracles and the pioneers were not ashamed to recognize God’s hand. This theme of faith continues

119 Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, Sept. 16, 1848.
120 Burton, Diaries, 1839-1851, Aug. 26, 1848.
121 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., Aug. 26, 1848.
123 Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 47. Dated Aug. 25, 1848.
to run throughout the 1848 pioneer’s journals, and helped provide the energy to “drive on.” An example comes from the journal of Goudy Hogan who wrote,

While camped on the Sweet Water one of my oxen took sick and died. My father was bewildered to know what to do for another animal in the place of this one, as our load was too heavy for the remaining animals in the team. While in deep meditation as to what to do, here came a lone cow to camp, which we were satisfied was a cow that someone had lost, having gone on, so we yoked her up and moved on. When we came through to Salt Lake Valley, we found the owner, who was Levi Stewart. He was exceedingly glad to get his cow, and we were no less glad of the use of the animal, as he expected she was lost for good.124

In addition, Joseph Hovey, on July 24, 1848, wrote, “truly did I see the force of God made manifest for my Cattle was lame number of times and I did administer to them in the name of Jesus and they was healed up[.]” On another occasion he wrote, “I Kneed down an prayed to my Heavenly farther [Father] to heal my ox and administered to him and [received] testamony that he should be”125 Finally, William Thompson shared a belief present in 1848.

Brethren, I ask you if you possess the Spirit of the Lord & be full of selfishness; the brethren answered, No. If you attend to what I say, you will have plenty of feed. There is Brother Billings camp. He has informed me that they get togather every day & apoint some one mouth for the camp & call upon the Lord to strengthen their teams, &c They have the weakest teems in the company but they will go through to the valley. It is as easy for the Lord to make our oxens feet hard as it is to cure the sick or raise the dead or on stop the ears of the deaf.126

The challenges of 1848 that emerged from sick, weakened, and dying teams was monumental. As cattle and oxen died, pioneers were left crippled and even sometimes stranded. Perhaps only those who felt the weight of having nothing to pull their supplies and provisions can truly understand. The price of assisting those in need was paid in longer hours, extra miles, and

124 Hogan, Autobiography, 5.
125 Hovey, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1856, July 24, 1848, and July 29, 1848.
126 Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 40-42. Dated Aug. 6, 1848.
extra effort by individuals and able teams. For some, their greatest hope of moving forward was their faith.

Relationships with Indians

Overall, the 1848 Mormon pioneers’ relationships with the Indians were exemplary—and, even ahead of their time. The 1848 pioneer journals paint a very different picture than the stereotypical view of “how the west was won.” In 1846, Senator Thomas Hart Benton said: “It would seem that the White race alone received the divine command, to subdue and replenish the earth, for it is the only race that has obeyed it—the only race that hunts out new and distant lands, and even a New World, to subdue and replenish.” One Indian superintendent of 1847 said of the Indians, “I consider them a doomed race, who must fulfill their destiny . . . . the real character of the Indian can never be ascertained because it is altogether unnatural for a Christian man to comprehend how so much depravity, wickedness and folly can possibly belong to human beings.”

According to Unruh, by 1848 conflict with the Indians along the Platte River appeared eminent. Thomas H. Harvey, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, “was predicting ‘bloody conflicts,’ if not wars of extermination’ if remedial action was not soon taken.” Part of these mounting conflicts came by Oregonians, such as Chester Ingersoll, who had one year previous written the following: our “party had four oxen, one cow, and one horse stolen along the Humboldt River. The company’s response . . . ‘After that we shot at every Indian we saw—this soon cleared the way.’” This attitude of retaliation against all Indians by Ingersoll, and others,
led to many bloody conflicts over the ensuing years. However, for the Mormons, in 1848, their relationship with the Indians was considerably different.

Occasionally, some 1848 pioneers referred to the Indians as “savages,” while the vast majority simply called them Indians. In addition to the title Indian, the 1848 pioneers often referred to them by Tribe. This identification by Tribe shows that the pioneers did not view Indians as a stereotypical whole, but recognized differences in the individual tribes, and sometimes bands. For example, although the skirmish on June 6, 1848 was with the Omaha Indians, almost a month later, on July 14, 1848, Robert Campbell wrote, “26 Omaha Indians. Old elk & Young Elk – with chiefs & braves – afterward – squaws & other Indians came on foot . . . Indian taking us to the old Pawnee village where they are living now[.]”130 Out of all the Indian tribes, the Snake Indians were always described as being “very friendly,” and the Sioux were described as “noble looking.”

For example, on July 12, 1848, Young’s company encountered a large company of Sioux Indians. Catherine Woolley described them as “noble looking fellows.”131 Hosea Stout added the following: “Here was a large company of Sioux very friendly and altogether the best looking and neatest Indians I ever saw Proud Spirited & seemed to disdain to beg & the men would Seldom condes[c]end to trade in small articles like moccasins but would have their squaws do it.”132 Robert Campbell wrote, “Band of Sioux. Little Thunder chief, about 50 men & horses . . . shook hands & passed to the right of them. cleanly noble Indians. dressed in Blankets &c with Bows & arrows 2 or 3 Rifles & few swords & spears.”133 Lastly, William Burton wrote, “July 14, “to day a number of the Souix [Sioux] Indians with their Chief Tobacco came to our Camp. they were verey Friendly, we gave them some small presents which pleased them, They were Noble looking men being tall

132 Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, July 12, 1848.
& strait[,] high foreheads Roman nose and of a Noble Mein.”

Some general descriptions of Indians were recorded by Elmeda Harmon who wrote, “The Indians were dressed, what little clothing they wore, in buckskin. Some were entirely naked excepting a breech cloth or loin cloth. I noticed a little black-eyed Indian boy about three years old entirely naked[].” Vilate Kimball added, “We passed many tribes of Indians during our journey, and were well treated by all excepting the Otoes. Many came to our wagons, neatly dressed in garments made of skins of beasts, and trimmed with wampum, on which great taste and neatness was displayed. They rode excellent horses, seemed happy, and well pleased with the attention they received from us.”

Occasionally, the roles of civilized and uncivilized are reversed, as some pioneers noticed lessons they could glean from the Indians. John Pulsipher wrote, “How easy the Indians can live in this country, yet as plenty as meat is[,] they are careful to save all they kill and not allow any part to be wasted. This is a lesson that many who profess to be civilized would do well to learn.” Pulsipher also observed, some mountain men “get quite rich buying furs and horses of Indians and selling in other markets. But the poor Indian don’t get much for his work—. They don’t know the worth of Furs nor the worth of the goods they receive in payment so they are awfully cheated.”

Another example of the pioneers’ respect for the Indians came as Brigham Young’s company came to “Lone Tree.” Apparently, a baby Indian had been buried in the tree. Prior to Young’s arrival at the landmark in 1848, someone had desecrated the site. Bullock wrote, “On

134 Burton, Diaries, 1839-1851, July 14, 1848.
136 Kimball, Littell’s Living Age, Apr., May, June 1849, 165.
137 Pulsipher, Journal and autobiography, June 29-July 15, 1848 (although this reference seems vague, the June 29-July 15 journal entry is only seven paragraphs, this quote comes from the sixth paragraph beginning with “How easy the Indians . . .)
138 Pulsipher, Journal and autobiography, Sept. 6, 1848.
going to the Lone Tree found that some mean, sacrilegious fellow had cut down the Body of the Indian Child, cutting the ropes into fragments—scattering the robes & Skins & stealing the trinkets that were attached to it—bro. Major & Tom Johnson gathered the pieces, & again fastened it in the Tree.”

One of most definitive accounts of a pioneer and Indian interaction is recorded by Robert Campbell. The dialogue was between Willard Richards and “Chief Whirlwind” of the Ogallalah Band, with Antoine Reynal Jr. as interpreter. On August 7, 1848, Campbell wrote,

Indians clearing the way thro their Camps for us. large herds of horses[,] mules[,] Ponies &c . . . W Richards said thro’ Interpreter – ‘We are glad to see you, are your friends, the best friends of all good Indians . . . are poor, have come a long way, are to go a long way, make you little present wish We had more to give you . . Have been driven away from bad whites – who drove because we good have – got little with us. we r mormons. been driven away from good homes and had to flee. when given you the present – our folks will trade then go on[,]’ Smoked pipe with them, they did not say anything in reply but nodded about to all said as it was interpreted to them[,] they spread robe & blanket to receive present[:] 30 lbs. Beans – Pail of corn[,] half loaf & 4 Biscuits, 4 lbs Sugar[,] 3 of coffee & Dr handed them 1 plug tobacco[,] Rey<n>al says there r 150 lodges – he thinks about 2000 in all. some arrapahoes [Arapaho] and Cayennes [Cheyenne.] Buffalo robes, moccasins & Larrates [Lariats] bogt.[] 140

For some reason, the Willard Richards’ company had many more interactions with Indians than Young and Kimball’s. Another example from Richards is recorded by Robert Campbell, on July 16, 1848, as follows: “crossed the Loup Fork & while the Dr’s carriage going to cross – a smart looking squaw with a noble looking papuse [papoose] came up. said the Papuse was sick & wanted Dr to do something for it. took it up in his arms. blessed it. handed it back. drove on. leaving them astounded & looking after him. had no doubt but it was healed.”

139 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, July 8, 1848.
From Winter Quarters to Fort Bridger, seeing and interacting with Indians was almost a daily occurrence for the 1848 Mormon pioneers. From Fort Bridger to the Valley, these interactions were occasional. For example, the following journal samples are common: July 14, 1848, “several of the Omahas came to our camp[,] staid overnight . . . [the next day] crossed over the fork near an indian settlement, had plenty of visitors;” 142 July 15, 1848, “Indians all round;” 143 July 16, 1848, “Indians about Camp;” 144 “Indians wigwams right on the banks;” 145 August 8, 1848, “just visited by an indian;” 146 August 19, 1848, “Band of Indians coming from Bluffs horseback about 50 gathered;” 147 and lastly, September 16, 1848, “Numbers of the Snake Indians came to our camp at this Place and appeared verey friendly.” 148

The way in which the Mormon pioneers were asked to treat Indians was clear, and exemplified by Brigham Young. Hiram Clawson wrote, “President Young sent word to all the companies, ‘Don’t mistreat an Indian. If they come to your camp, feed them. Do the best you can for them.’” 149 On July 17, 1848, Young wrote a letter inadvertently showing his stand on Indian relations. He wrote, “Several bands of the Pawnee Indians visited Winter Quarters during the Winter, being starved out in their villages; they returned home with their animals loaded with corn.” 150 Speaking of this relationship Young had established with the Indians, John Pulsipher wrote, “though large numbers of them have come to our camps at different times. But we always treated them well and gave them plenty to eat.” 151 Heber C. Kimball said, “If you see Indians don’t

142 Crosby, Memoirs and diary, 1851-1882, July 14, 1848.
146 Crosby, Memoirs and diary, 1851-1882, Aug. 8, 1848.
148 Burton, Diaries, 1839-1851, Sept. 16, 1848.
150 Young, [Letter], 17 July 1848, Journal History, 6.
151 Pulsipher, Journal and autobiography, June 29, 1848.
agress tell them to stand back. Back out rather than have any disturbance.” 152 In a Sabbath Day sermon, Young opened his remarks with, “Jesus is the light of every man that cometh into the world, both Saint and savage.” 153

According to Thomas Kane, their relationship with the Indians was built on a foundation of understanding. This mutual understanding came from being “fellow-sufferers” and both having been ruthlessly expelled from their homes. In the words of Pottawatomi chief Pied Riche to the Mormons, “Because one suffers and does not deserve it, is no reason he shall suffer always: I say, we may live to see all right yet.” 154 John Pulsipher wrote, “We have suffered and endured such a continuation of persecution and cruel treatment from those who boast of civilization, that we now choose to make our home in the Desert among Savages rather than try to live in the garden of the world surrounded by Christian neighbors.” 155 Hiram Clawson summarized this understanding between the Mormon and the Indians with the following:

I want to say they [the 1848 pioneers] had dangers in their path, too. The first danger was the Indians, who began to come to their camps . . . ‘Do the best you can for them.’ The interpreters had told those wild people the story of the Saints that they were driven out from the abodes of the white men and had to take to the wilderness. Thus the savages had more respect and sympathy. While they hated other white men, and were willing to massacre them wherever there was a chance, the Mormon families moved right on, and every night went to sleep and never thought of being disturbed by the Indians; and they never were. 156

153 There are only a handful of entries that refer to the Indians as “savages.” They are almost always referred to as Indians, and are often identified by their Tribe. For example, William Thompson mentioned interacting with the Omaha Indians on June 6, 1848, the Sioux Indians on July 13, 1848, and the Snake Indians on September 15, 1848 (Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 18, 31, 51).
154 Kane, Thomas L., “Migrations of the Mormons (A.D. 1848),” Lincoln Memorial University Edition, New York, 1926, 107. Although not a member of the Church, Colonel Kane was a lifelong friend of the Mormons since being introduced to them in 1846. He consistently defended the Mormons including during the Utah War and promoting Utah’s statehood. He even traveled to Salt Lake in 1877 to pay his respects to the deceased Brigham Young. (Cannon, Donald Q., Encyclopedia of Mormonism, 1992, 780).
155 Pulsipher, Journal and autobiography, July 15, 1848.
156 Clawson, “Crossing the Plains,” 217-218. (The Indians also had more of a problem with other Indian Tribes than they did the Mormons. One of the common camping grounds was the “Old Pawnee Village” which had been burned by the Sioux. On August 3, 1848, Catharine Woolley wrote, “met a large band of Sioux warriors going to battle with
Many journal entries support Clawson's observation. John Brown wrote, “At the Loup fork near the old mission we came across a band of the Omahaws [Omahas.] they were friendly[,]” and, “All the Indians we saw were very friendly[,]”\(^{157}\) Mary Clark wrote, “We started in June 1848 and saw many herds of buffalo and many Indians. We were not frightened.”\(^{158}\) Amasa Potter added, “the Indians came to us many times but was always friendly to the mormons[.]”\(^{159}\) Franklin Richards wrote extensively about this relationship, including the following:

We have found very little general hostility from the Indians. As we approached the Indian town of Cheyenne Indians (Siux) [Sioux] they sent out a detachment of horsemen to meet us . . . They took us to where there was grass for our cattle and took us through their town in safety to the distance of about a mile west . . . The chief expressed to us through an interpreter in a very dignified and proper manner that it was the custom of companies travelling through their land to make them presents of such things as might be most convenient to bestow—Whereupon we sent men among our companies to receive such donations of sugar, coffee, tea, dried bread and tobacco so the various families felt able and inclined to donate; (We did not have any whiskey) which when spread separately on the buffalo robes seemed but a small donation for as many people as this Indian settlement contained. We explained that we had in our wagons only wheat we had to live on for a whole year: the chief and people generally seemed quite satisfied with our explanation, and accepted our gift with complacency and apparent satisfaction . . . It has been our habit to shoot Indians with tobacco and bread and biscuits rather than with powder and lead, and we are the most successful with them.\(^{160}\)

---

\(^{158}\) Clark, Autobiography [ca. 1908], 2-3.
\(^{160}\) Richards, *Narrative of Franklin Dewey Richards*, 36-38.
Although this “giving” to the Indians was not constant, it was common. Caroline Crosby wrote, “Sioux beg[g]ing for something to eat, a camp of them in the opposite side the river, this morn, they have come again asking for sugar . . . I gave them a little[.] They appeared very thankful[.]”161 John Pulsipher wrote, “But we always treated them well and gave them plenty to eat.”162

Not only did the pioneers occasionally “give” to the Indians, they also traded with them often. The following journal excerpts show additional examples of these trading transactions: “Here the brethren bought considerable buflo [buffalo] robes & mogasin [moccasins] of the Soo [Sioux] Indians; they were very friendly[;]”163 “Came to a Tribe of Sous [Sioux] Indians . . . traded with em for Robes and Mackersons [Moccasins], lef[t] them quiet and peaceable[;]”164 “I bought an old hors of an Indian, turned him out in the herd. kept him till Spring[;]”165 “traded some mocasins and buffalo robes for bread and meal[;]”166 “Much trading with the Indians by the people[;]”167 “There was eleven lodges of the Snake Indians campt . . . The Indians visited our camp trading service berries for corn . . . Several of the brethren traded for ponies[;]”168 and lastly, “Indians followed down[.] Omaha’s when we Forded L F came to us with his pail fulls & his plate ful of ripe choke cherries, wishing Salt, Bread, Fish hooks Etc in exchange selling Moccasins for prints shirts or cotton cloth[;]”169

Occasionally, these trading sessions were forced upon the pioneers, rather than voluntary. It appeared that although these transactions were un-beneficiary to the pioneers, they were

---

161 Crosby, Memoirs and diary, 1851-1882, Aug. 11, 1848.
162 Pulsipher, Journal and autobiography, June 29, 1848.
164 Richards, Diary, in Richards Family, Collection, fd. 10.
165 Richards, Diary, in Richards Family, Collection, fd. 10.
166 Crosby, Memoirs and diary, 1851-1882, Aug. 9, 1848.
167 Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, July 13, 1848.
necessary to keep the peace. In Jonathan Crosby’s words, “No trouble with Indi[a]ns. we had to donat[e] to them, & we traided with them Some. bought buffilow robes & mocisons[.]”170 Caroline Crosby added the following:

arrived at the indian town where were quite a large body of Sioux. They seemed much pleased to see us, commenced beg[g]ing immediately and offering thier skins and mockasins for sale, would give a good pair of mockasins for a slice of bread . . . They were willing to trade us anything they had even to their squaws; offered my husband a young one for me, wanted to buy our children. but notwithstanding their proffered friendshib they stole a number of articles from us before we could get away. Their chiefs tried hard to keep them back from our wagons but it was almost impossible. We did not intend to travel on sunday but in consequence of being so annoyed, our Capt[ain]s thought best to travel on[.]171

The most interesting “trade” offers come from the journals of “potential Indian brides,” young Nancy Mattice and married Elmeda Harmon. Mattice recalled, “One old Indian wanted to buy me, he saw mother had more family than anything else, and thought we could spare him one. He offered 25 head of horses and a big pile of buffalo robes and blankets . . . he would try to coax me with beads and jewelry but I was so frightened, I cried every time he come near[.]”172 Speaking of her own similar experience, Elmeda Harmon summarized the Indian relations in 1848 perfectly with the following:

At one time in our journey along the Platte River, a band of Indians came to our camp. They were always begging for food and watching a chance to steal a horse or ox. They were given as much food as we cold spare, for it was wisdom to keep on friendly terms with them. I noticed a fine looking Indian, evidently the chief, talking to my husband, counting on his fingers as though offering something in a swap or trade. My husband kept shaking his head—no, no. Afterward he told me the chief wanted to buy me, offering him twenty ponies for me. After that incident we women were cautioned to stay close by the wagons when we were walking ahead of the train.173

170 Crosby, Jonathan, Papers, in Caroline Barnes Crosby, Memoirs and diary, 1851-1882, reel 1, 27-29.
171 Crosby, Memoirs and diary, 1851-1882, Aug. 5, 1848.
173 Harmon, [Reminiscences], in Appleton Milo Harmon Goes West, 173-74.
On another occasion, James Terry wrote, “One day while we were traveling below Ft. Laramie, a party of Sioux Indians met us and formed a line across the road and would not let us pass till we gave them some presents. We gave them flour, sugar and whatever else we had and could spare. It was deemed to be cheaper to feed than to fight them.”

It is clear from the 1848 journals that most pioneers did not feel threatened by the Indians while some felt vulnerable the entire journey. This is not to say that all pioneers were not scared of getting their livestock stolen by the Indians—because this threat was constant—but in this case, “threatened” is simply referring to acts of violence. Fortunately, the Brigham Young and Willard Richards’ company traveled the entire 1032 miles without any acts of violence whatsoever. However, Heber C. Kimball’s company had one. This skirmish took place at the journey’s onset, at the Horn.

Interestingly, the only fatal encounter with the Indians in 1847 and 1848 happened around the same location, and included the same Tribe. In 1847, just west of the Elkhorn, Jacob Weatherby “and three companions were fired on by three Omaha Indians. According to one account, one of Weatherby’s friends ‘jumped out of the wagon and clinched two of the Indians [but] the third one shot Weatherby through the hip and bowels. The Indians then ran off as soon as the scuffle began.’ Weatherby died soon afterward and was buried in a buffalo robe near the Liberty Pole.”

There are a number of pioneers that wrote about the skirmish of 1848, however, most of them are written under the preface of something like “have heard.” However, there were a number of eyewitnesses who thought this event was significant enough to write the incident in detail. Brigham Young wrote, on June 6, 1848, the fifth company under Heber C. Kimball’s company was attacked by Omaha or Otoe Indians. “Howard Egan was shot in the arm, and Brother Ricks

---

174 Terry, James Parshall, Reminiscences and Journal, 1886-1893, 112.
175 Bennett, We’ll Find the Place, 275-76.
was also severely wounded… The Indians had <four> killed and <three> wounded. The brethren also lost one ox in the skirmish[.]“176 The most detailed account of the skirmish was written by William Clayton, a participant in Kimball’s company, and included the following:

Tuesday 6th about 8 o clock an alarm was brought to camp, by one of the herdsboys, that Indians were driving off some of the cattle, from the herd about two miles below. A number of the brethren immediately started in pursuit . . . . When about six miles from camp, they came suddenly upon a party of about ten armed Indians who appeared very hostile, but the brethren did not anticipate any danger, their object being to hunt for the cattle and if they found any to drive them back. However, immediately on the arrival of the brethren amongst the Indians the latter fired several shots, one of which took affect on Ricks, who fell from his horse to the ground apparently dead. At the same instant Howard Egan observed an Indian standing about 20 or 25 feet from them, and taking a dead aim with his rifle at Wm. Kimball, quick as thought he levelled his pistol and fired at the Indian to save W's life . . . . The brethren then saw it was best to retreat on account of lack of numbers and arms, and seeing that the Indians were determined to fight. All this scenery was but the work of a moment, during which time shots were heard in several other directions.177

It is impossible to tell if this conflict could have been resolved peaceably. Jacob Norton wrote, “This was a foolish affair on the part of our men. Elders of Israel are not called to make war upon the Lamanites [a common title for Indians in 1848 by the Mormons. Taken from the Book of Mormon].”178 Nevertheless, Norton is the only 1848 journalist to place any burden whatsoever on anyone except “hostile Indians.” Franklin Richards wrote, “We have found it necessary sometimes to kill some Indians; but where we found that friendly feeling in seeking our comfort, it awakened in us that better feeling which emanates from that scriptural adage ‘Do unto others as you would others should do unto you.’”179

---

176 Young, [Letter], 17 July 1848, Journal History, 6.
177 Kimball, Papers, 1837-1866, reel 1, box 1, June 6, 1848. This account is included in its entirety in the appendix as Appendix 5.
178 Jacob, Reminiscence and journal, June 6, 1848.
179 Richards, Narrative of Franklin Dewey Richards, 37-38.
It is also clear that the pioneers believed that Rick’s life was miraculously spared. William Thompson wrote, “When Brother Ricks [Joel Ricks] was shot with 3 grape shot, 2 through his kidneys and another through his back bone, the hand of the Lord was in it and their lives was preserved. All is well.”William Burton wrote, “Bro Howard Egean [Egan] was shot through the wrist arm. Robert Ricks was shot in the back with three buck shot[.] his wounds appeared almost fatal yet we persued our Journey and he continued to recover[.]”

Because the skirmish took place just as the journey was beginning, there was a fear of possible conflict for many throughout the remaining miles. This fear was also fueled by rumors of war along the trail. Thomas Bullock wrote on June 2, 1848, some say “that the Indians have killed some of the Saints in the Valley – and have killed many people in Oregon.” On June 23, 1848, he wrote, “we are now on War Ground of the Indians. placed an Extra Sentry at the mouth of Caral.”

However, after leaving the Horn and interacting with Indians along the trail, these fears of violence changed to a threat of vulnerability. The Indians were not afraid of steeling livestock. To protect themselves and their livestock, the pioneers were constantly “on guard.” A few journal entries that record this threat are included as follows: “the fateagues of this journey was vary great, watching our cattle against the Indians and herding them[;]” “During our journey across the plains men were obliged to stand guard every night to protect our cattle and camp from the Indians, who were very destructive and treacherous at that time[;]”

---

180 Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 21-22. Dated June 18, 1848.
181 Burton, Diaries, 1839-1851, June 6, 1848.
182 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, June 2, 1848.
183 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, June 23, 1848.
184 Cook, Phineas Wolcott, Reminiscences and journal, 1843-1886, 52-53.
185 Cahoon, [Autobiography], Utah Pioneers, 117-118, 121.
[the coral\textsuperscript{186}], so as to secure them from any attacks that might be made on them by the Indians[:;]\textsuperscript{187} and lastly, “We had to stand guard all the way, as the Indians would watch for a chance to steal our stock if left unguarded.”\textsuperscript{188} Although actual incidents were minimal, to the pioneers, the threat was always present.

The pioneers of 1848 were zealous in guarding their livestock. Guards were placed nightly, and gave an audible reporting every hour. Rachel Simmons wrote, “There was a guard placed both in the corral and out and I often think of the cheery call of the guard when all was quiet in camp. It was in this wise, “Twelve o'clock in the corral and all is well.” Then the next would take up the call each one of the guards had given the hour.”\textsuperscript{189}

According to Thomas Kane, the strict organization of the Mormon companies in corralling at night and keeping dutiful guards, kept the conflict to a minimum. He wrote, “So well recognized were the results of this organization, that bands of hostile Indians have passed by comparatively small parties of Mormons to attack much larger but less compact bodies of other emigrants.”\textsuperscript{190}

In summation, the 1848 journals are clear and united, that the skirmish was caused by hostile Indians, who had stolen livestock. Perhaps this is why most records refer to it as a “skirmish”, or “unpremeditated fighting.” In addition to the fatalities and injuries, the pioneers lost 1 oxen that was killed on the spot, 1 colt, and “a great deal of valuable property.”\textsuperscript{191} There were only a handful of men involved in the skirmish, and the 1848 leadership heard about it “after the

\textsuperscript{186} The coral was described as, “At night we made a camp by stopping the wagons in a circle and chaining the front wheel of one to the hind wheel of the next, as the tongues were on the inside and this enclosure was used as a corral [corral] for the oxen, also as a fort when the Indians caused trouble.” (Wood, Joseph, Autobiographical sketch, in [Frank Wood], “History of Joseph Wood.” There are no dates or pagination in this journal. It is only six paragraphs in length. This quote is taken from the second paragraph beginning with, “There was a hunting wagon.”

\textsuperscript{187} Wood, Autobiographical sketch, 1901, 55.

\textsuperscript{188} Hogan, Autobiography, 5.

\textsuperscript{189} Simmons, Brief Biography of Rachel Emma Woolley Simmons, 11-12.

\textsuperscript{190} Bancroft, Hubert Howe, \textit{History of Utah}, The History Company, Publishers, San Francisco, 1890, 284.

\textsuperscript{191} Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., June 15, 1848.
In hindsight, according to the 1848 Mormon pioneer journals, the Indians did not come into their camps to make war. They did expect some form of payment for crossing their land, and consuming their natural resources—to which the Mormons complied with what little they had. Overall, the Indians were friendly to the pioneers. When the Indians came into Mormon camps, they were curious, bored, or wanted to trade. And finally, if the Indians were occasionally caught “sneaking” up on the pioneers, they were trying to steal their animals!

Sickness, Injury and Mortality

Perhaps nothing influenced an individual’s perception of this experience more than sickness, injury and death. Despite the challenges previously discussed, the pioneer trail was filled with hope. This hope was in the future. A future which held endless possibilities as the Latter-day Saints would be allowed to worship freely, settle new lands, and work on becoming a Zion people. However, for some, this hope would be crushed and laid to rest in prairie soil. Although the pioneers clung to the belief that, “And should we die, before our journey’s through, Happy day! All is well!”192, the reality of this passage became all too apparent. These challenges were a threat to all. Neither, age, gender, preparation, or Church position was grounds for exemption. And, for those families to whom these challenges fell, the pioneer trail became the refiner’s fire.

Some pioneers did not mention being sick while on the trail while others were plagued with poor health. The rest found themselves somewhere in between these two extremes. Thomas Bullock wrote, “altogether more sickly than since we left Winter Quarters.”193 The most common illness was what the pioneers referred to as “Rocky Mountain Fever,”194 but journal entries also

192 Hymn 30, Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Published by The Church, 1985.
193 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, Aug. 31, 1848.
194 Modern research has shown that what the Saints called rocky mountain fever was probably “Colorado Tick Fever caused by a tick-borne virus. Within three to fourteen days, the illness would often show itself with a rash on the
include rashes, chills, or just the generic “sickness” to blame as well.

An excellent example of the variations of health comes from observing the First Presidency. Based on the pioneer journals, Heber C. Kimball remained the healthiest, Brigham Young was second, and a distant third place goes to Willard Richards. Kimball was exhausted at times but overall, healthy. Young had Rocky Mountain Fever twice, but rebounded after a few days. On July 30, 1848, Young was so sick that he was “confined to his bed & Wagon[.]” Willard Richards, on the other hand, was plagued with bouts of sickness throughout the journey. Some examples, recorded by Robert Campbell, are as follows: On July 7, 1848, “Dr R been sick to day[;]” August 9, 1848, “Dr R. sick, fatigue & exhausted[;]” August 11, 1848, “Dr R. still very sick[.]” August 29, 1848, “Willard sick to night[;]” August 30, 1848, “Dr R confined to bed[;]” August 31, 1848, “Dr. Willard up & about all day nearly[;]” October 1, 1848, “Willard not well enough to get up[;]” and on October 2, 1848, “Willard in bed all day[.]” Similar health variations are found throughout the pioneer companies.

There are scores of journal entries that described being temporarily ill with phrases such as, “sick today,” “Camp very healthy – but 2 or 3 sickly,” or “Cptn Mc Bride unable to move.” On July 13, 1848, the doctor for Brigham Young’s company, Dr. Sprague reported, “several cases of fever in the camp - & many are afflicted with a species of itching caused by drinking the Water.” On July 25, 1848, Daniel Davis wrote, “Sister Hellen was very sick & Sarah Ann & Bro Wm. Wife[.] their was great solemnity in camp[.] Great anxiety for the sick.” On August

---

195 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, July 30, 1848.
198 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, July 13, 1848.
199 Davis, Diaries, 1846-1892, July 25, 1848.
28, 1848, Brigham wrote, “The health of the camp has been generally good, although there have been some 20 cases of the mountain fever, all of which are recovered or recovering.” Unfortunately, these numbers would climb as two days later, Young would be stricken again. Joseph Hovey wrote, “truly I never felt so fatigued in all my days[.] it s[e]emed to me as though I Could not step one foot before the other[.] my body is weak and getting wet so su[s]eficiently it all most make me sick[.]”

Robert Campbell records those who were sick more than any other journalist. Some examples from his journal include the following: Rhody Richards “taken sick 31 July with chills & fever dumb ague & all its attendant consequents . . . when reached Sweetwater had Mountain fever for 10 days[,]” “Elizabeth H McBride taken very sick on Sweetwater with Winter fever. which continued 2 weeks violent[,]” “Archibald Bell in care of Sister Moss. had Mountain fever about 5 weeks[,]” “Barbara Jolly aged 50 taken sick on the Sweetwater with the Mountain fever – & pains in her limbs[,]” and lastly, “Dr R. drove round to Amassa’s quarters found him better, but hardly able to speak loud enough to be heard[.]” Not only do Campbell’s writings enrich our understanding of the 1848 experience, this sole authorship also shows the extent of probable unknowns.

Recurring sickness required extra efforts by those who accepted caring for them. Jacob Norton was relieved of guard duty “on account of the sickness of my Son as I have to attend upon him every night[,]” Truman Angell’s wife had poor health the entire journey. Angell wrote, I moved “my sick wife on her back every rod of the way; having two children with us; having buried

201 Hovey, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1856, June 16, 1848.
202 Campbell, Journal extracts, 30 June – 19 Oct. 1848, on Oct. 10, 1848, Campbell provided a list titled “Sickness in Traveling Camp.”
203 Jacob, Reminiscence and journal, July 2, 1848.
three in Winter Quarters.” 204 William Thompson’s wife, Sarah, was another one who was often sick. Thompson recorded on a weekly basis that she was not feeling well with phrases such as, “My wife was sick to-day with toothache & rheumatism in her head.” 205 Caroline Crosby wrote, on July 25, 1848, “We have 23 miles to go today, my health is quite poor, was very unwell yesterday, but feel better today.” 206 Benjamin Johnson wrote, “I suffered much with chills and fever and stomach complaint, and although I was never required to do guard duty, I had more cares and labors upon the way than I was well able to endure.” 207

Injury

The Mormon pioneers who were injured did not have many options for medical attention. Who knew that Brigham Young could, and did, set broken bones? While on the trail, bones were broken, bones were set, rough splints were made, and the camp moved on. There really was no other option. At a glance, many injuries in 1848 could be rightfully blamed on neglect, clumsiness, or poor choices. However, other factors may have included: hundreds of children, hundreds of youth, thousands of livestock, traveling in wagons, riding horses, or walking over 1,000 miles. These injuries caused Norton Jacob to write, “we have our share of invalids.” 208 In the pioneers defense, it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to avoid all injuries with the given circumstances.

The most common cause of injuries for the 1848 pioneers was being run over by the wagon. Sometimes the injured escaped with severe bruises. Some examples of those who were bruised are included as follows: “the son of Bro George [Rhodes.] fell from his Wagon & Was run over &

---

206 Crosby, Memoirs and diary, 1851-1882, July 25, 1848.
207 Johnson, My Life’s Review [1947], 121-23.
208 Jacob, Reminiscence and journal, June 8, 1848.

107
hurt very bad[;]” Conover son had his foot ran over by a wagon which injured it considerable[;]” “Lovina Fulmer 10 years old run over by fore wheel of wagon[,] bruised a little[;]” and lastly, “Isabella Rodgers aged 15 run over by wagon wheels near her ancles & over right arm near old Pawnee village[.] no bones broke but badly bruised . . . leg near her body gathered & when lanced discharged freely[]”

Others were not so lucky. Several were run over by the wagon and had bones broken. Eliza Babcock did not even make it safely to the Horn, but just outside Winter Quarters was run over, “by which her collar bone was broke.” On June 5, 1848, Lucy Grove’s day went from bad to worse as she

was sick, vomiting out of the front of the Wagon – on passing a deep rut in the road, the oxen gave a sudden gee – which jerked her out of the wagon – the front wheels of the wagon ran over her breast & shoulders – brother Groves seized her to pull her from under the wagon but before he could accomplish it, the hind wheel ran over right leg, just above the ankle [ankle] & broke it in two.214

Not only was Lucy’s leg broken, but her body was badly bruised. “The bone was set by Brigham and Anson Call.” A follow-up entry four days later announces that “Sister Groves going on as well as could be expected. She rides in a swing all day.” Fourteen year old Oliver Duncan was one of Young’s teamsters. Just a few days into the journey, on June 9, 1848, “his foot slipped, the
fore wheel ran over his leg & broke it in two.”218 Another account added that it was Oliver’s femur that was broken and the bone was set by Brigham Young.219 On August 23, 1848, Ira West was thrown from his horse and “broke his right arm.”220 Joseph Hovey wrote, on September 20, 1848, “my Son Joseph Got run over . . . he fel[l] down under the forward wheal and grased [grazed] hip and run over his arm between his Eblow [elbow] and shoulder and broak it short off. we set it to the best of our ability[.]”221 And lastly, while “coming down the narrows of Echo Canyon Bro. Phillip B. Lewis was jolted off the fore end of his wagon against a rock and broke his arm. We stopped a few minutes and set the broken limb . . . and we were soon on the move again. One of the girls drove his team.”222

In addition to those who wrote a few sentences or more about their “run in” with the wagon, there were a number who wrote simple, shorter entries. For example, Mosiah Hancock’s “mother’s foot got caught in between the box and wagon tongue and broke the toe at the upper joint.”223 Phinehas Richards wrote, 3 year old, Levi Willard, “fell from the Waggon and broke his arm. I was sent for to see to. I fixed it as I thought best[,]” and John Fullmer’s “child kicked and the arm broken[.]”224 And lastly, “Billy Rodes fel[l] of[f] the tonge of the waggon and both wheels ran over him[,] the Blood gust out of his mouth[].”225

Other random injuries include, on July 4, 1848, “Wm Henry Adams son of William Henry Adams 3 years old by Robt Wilsons drawing his fathers pistol & it going off shot thro the right knee went immediately below the cap <between Bone> of the knee thro & thro & one ½ inch into

218 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, June 9, 1848.
219 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., June 9, 1848.
220 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, Aug. 24, 1848. Bullock recorded this event on the 24 with the preface “yesterday.”
221 Hovey, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1856, Sept. 20, 1848.
222 Pulsipher, Journal and autobiography, Sept. 10, 1848.
224 Richards, Diary, in Richards Family, Collection, fd. 10.
225 Hovey, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1856, June 29, 1848.
the opposite knee[.]” In the military, the following two stories would be labeled “friendly fire:” on September 13, 1848, “Visse shot this morning – by George W Lane. who said he mistook him for a wolf. Dr Willard at the time asked him if could not see it was black. answered yes there was a Black wolf where he come from[,]” and the next day, Brother Goddard, “the leader of the choir was accidently shot in one of his arms by Bro. Gad Yale. The ball passed directly through the bone of the arm a little above the elbow.” This occurred while they were sneaking up together to shoot a Mountain Sheep.

Mortality

Tragically, not all the Mormon pioneers of 1848 who were sick or injured were healed. For some, the “journey’s end” came sooner than was expected. For Brigham Young’s 1848 company death struck early. On May 26, 1848, while ferrying across the Elk Horn River, 8 year old Charles Beer slipped off the raft and into the river and “was drowned…about 2 P.M.” His “body was found about three hours after on the opposite Bank… and was buried near the Pole on the West side of the River.” Concerning this tragedy, Charles Pulsipher wrote, “this brought a gloom over the whole co he was a lovely intelligent child[.] we made him a coffin out of a cotton wood log by diggin it out and made it without nals.” Although lacking details, there are two entries that verify another boy drowned around this same time and place. Hannah Morley wrote, “A child of Bro. Samuel Gully’s was buried today on the West side of the river.”

226 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., 40-42.
228 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, May 26, 1848.
229 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, May 26, 1848.
230 Pulsipher, Reminiscences, 22-27.
verified this tragedy on May 29, 1848, by simply stating, “Today another boy was drowned.”232

Some deaths were accidental while others were extensions of poor living conditions in Winter Quarters. As the journey began, the Taylor family felt the effects of a lingering sickness. Thomas Bullock wrote the following: “Martha Taylor born Coventry, Tolland Co. Connecticut July 4. 1803. Attacked with measles at Winter Quarters, died at dusk – buried . . . near the Liberty Pole, West of the Horn.”233 The death of Martha Taylor is one of the few that included any additional information other than a simple statement of death. Concerning Taylor’s death, Louisa Pratt wrote, “It was a sorrowful affair! She left a husband and four children to bewail her loss! To make a lone grave by the way side at the beginning of our journey, caused our hearts to flow out with sympathy for the poor young girls, left to pursue the wearisome route over the deserts without a mother!”234 The Taylor children were three, four, eleven, and fourteen years old.

Tragedy on the trail also struck for Sylvia Van Fleet. On June 2, 1848, she delivered twins. Thomas Bullock wrote, “at 8 a.m. Sylvia Van Fleet was safely delivered of Twins named Cyranus & Cyrus by Phoebe Angel at 9 a.m. Cyranus died, & was buried near the Liberty Pole. West Bank of the Elk Horn same day.”235 Twenty days later, Oliver Huntington wrote, “On a little rise of ground east of the stake or mile post [217¾ miles to Winter Quarters] sister Vanfleet buried a little boy. Infant.”236 Because both Bullock, and Huntington wrote daily, it is most likely that Cyranus died on June 2, 1848, and Cyrus died on June 21, 1848.237 This tragedy came after Sylvia Van Fleet’s husband, Alanson Van Fleet, had died earlier in 1848.

233 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, June 1, 1848.
235 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, June 2, 1848
236 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., June 21, 1848.
237 Unfortunately, there is only one additional entry on this death, and it actually complicates the dates, but confirms the deaths. Hannah Morley wrote on June 2, 1848, “also a pair of twins [Syrenus and Cyrus Van Fleet] were born and died and were buried today.” (Morley, [Partial diary] in [Morley Family Histories n. d.], 1-3).
Journals record that there were at least three additional deaths in Brigham’s 1848 company alone. The following is a collection of various 1848 journals: On June 16, 1848 “at ½ past 9 Maria Kay daughter of John and Ellen Kay died – age 8 years 5 months & 16 days. had an apoplectic stroke in addition to an Intermittent fever.” On August 31, 1848, “Dr. Sprague reports, Sister Cowarn from Mississippi Camp died of Mountain Fever & Diarrhea - a young child of brother Earl’s also dead.” And, on September 1, 1848, “About 10 Abigail Lee was violently attacked with the Mountain Fever…. September 3 About Midnight Abigail Lee yielded up the Ghost, after a struggle of about 48 hours. J.D. Lee procured a waggon Box & made a coffin.”

The final documented death in Young’s company occurred on September 16, 1848 towards the journey’s end. Margaret Garn was using a knife to cut something and accidentally cut her leg around the knee. Her knee became inflamed and the infection spread which shockingly took her life a few days later. This was a bitter end to her journey as they were within two days of the Salt Lake Valley. She was buried at the “head of Echo Canyon.” Hosea Stout’s journal ads: her husband, Bishop Garn was with her when she drew her last breath “and died about sun set.” Margaret Garn was forty one years old at her passing. She had nine children, with seven living. They were all on the trail at the time, ages twenty, eighteen, sixteen, fourteen, eleven, eight, and three years old.

Heber C. Kimball’s company also experienced the heartache of death. Joseph Wood, summarized traveling in Kimball’s company with, “A few of our company died and were buried,
it was a sad sight to see a Mother lose her child and with very little ceremony leave it buried in a shallow hole without a coffin and know it would be dug up before many day[.]

In Kimball’s company, there are some that are mentioned briefly, while others are mentioned in multiple journals.

There is no death in Kimball’s company that is documented more than the passing of Lucretia Cox—it is mentioned in 6 journals.

On June 15, 1848, William Thompson wrote,

> We moved along in peace and order every thing harmonizing like clock work until we came opposite the old Pawnee village. Going down a little pitch Brother [Jehu] Cox's daughter Lucretia fell off the wagon tongue and was run over, the body by the fore wheel and over the neck by the hind wheel of the wagon; and <she> died almost instantaneously. We interred the body on the north side of the road . . . . Cox was 6 years old.

The death of Helen Kimball’s son, William Howard Whitney, is mentioned four times. In a letter (previously cited on page 62) to Brigham Young, dated August 24, 1848, Kimball wrote, “Helen is very sick; she had a fine boy, born on Sweet Water, one mile this side of Sage creek, August 17th, and died on the 22nd and buried at this place.” Joseph Hovey wrote, “Br Heber is detained on account of Hellen Kimbull being sick[,] being Confined some 2 weakes ago[,] lost her Child of five days ago[,] She is some out of her head[,]” Daniel Davis included the following: “At Nine oclock in the Evening the infant child of Sister Hellen died. it was five days old . . . . orson [K.] Whitney made A coffin for Sister Hellen[’s] child[,] it Was buried just at dark”

In addition to documenting the child’s death, Eunice Snow included what Helen was going through. She wrote, Helen “had recently lost a child. This sorrow so preyed upon her mind that it was

---

244 Wood, Autobiographical sketch, “History of Joseph Wood.” (Taken from the third paragraph beginning with, “We traveled along”).
245 William Thompson, William Burton, Daniel Davis, Joseph Hovey, Jacob Norton, and Hosea Stout.
246 Thompson, [Letter], 23 July 1848, 2-3.
247 Hovey, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1856, Aug. 24, 1848.
248 Davis, Diaries, 1846-1892, July 22, 1848.
necessary to have someone with her all the time to comfort and console her. She was a very devout woman, and the brethren, all of whom loved and respected her, administered unto her and she became more reconciled.”249

Journal entries that contain only brief accounts of a pioneer’s passing include the following: “It was a stampede . . . . There was one woman by the name of Hawks was run over and killed[;]”250 “Margret McKown died yesterday they were now burying her. She was interd about 1 miles west of Willow Creek on the north side of the road about 2 rods from the road. Her grave was level & a board put on the south side of the road with her name cut on it opposite the grave[;]”251 and lastly The death of Sarah Twitchell is mentioned in two journals. On July 14, 1848, William Burton wrote, “A Sister by the name of Twichel[l] died with the consumption, and was buried at the foot of the Bluff ruins.”252 William Thompson added, “Sarah Twitchell, wife of Brother Jasper Twitchell died in camp at 2 this morning of consumption, aged 28 years.”253 And lastly, On August 23, 1848, “Horace Whitney’s child died last night[.]”254 Perhaps the most distressing issue of these accounts is not that they are brief, but that no one else—including family members—mentions their passing. This missing information is not from forgetfulness, but from neglect in keeping a record.

A final tragedy for Kimball’s company fell to Oliver Bar Jacob. Oliver’s death is only mentioned twice. His father, Norton Jacob wrote,

---

250 Terry, Reminiscences and Journal, 1886-1893, 112. Although not a perfect match, Eunice Snow described a similar event with, “One time there was a stampede of our cattle . . . they killed a small child.” (Snow, “Sketches from the Life of Eunice Billings,” 47-48).
252 Burton, Diaries, 1839-1851, July 14, 1848.
Sunday 13th moved on from the Willows Spring over in the Sweetwater Valley &
camped on Grease—Wood creek eight miles, N. East from the Independance
Rock—here my Son Oliver Bar Jacob died on Monday the 14th of August <(at 8
oclock A M)> after having suffered incredibly for above three months with Black
Scurvy, Black canker & liver complaint all of which he bore with great patience &
resignation—he was a good Boy and a verry promising Youth[.] Aged 14 years 7
months & 9 days—We buried him on a small eminence near our camp ½ miles S.
East of the road & marked the spot with a heap of rough Stones & a lettered
Board—here with services & mourning we left him to rest in the Wilderness—
(Having been worn out, a Martyr to the cause of righteousness).255

Daniel Davis added, “he has been sick a long time of a reumatic complaint[.] Buried at twelve
oclock[.]”256 Norton Jacob’s reference to his son being a “Martyr” demonstrates again that the
1848 pioneers were not seeking wealth or land, but were exiles driven from their homes and land.

Lastly, the Willard Richards’ company only had three deaths recorded while on the trail.257
Robert Campbell wrote, on July 27, 1848, “Sidney Tanner aged 6 son of Sidney Tanner killed
when driving team. Wheels ran over his body lived about half hour after accident.”258 The next
day, July 28, Caroline Crosby added, “This morning they are burying the child, have brought along
to find a proper burying place. There are high bluffs here some distance from the river.”259 And,
“On August 31, 1848, “Dr. Sprague reports, Sister Cowarn from Mississippi Camp died of
Mountain Fever & Diarrhea - a young child of brother Earl’s also dead.”260 There are no additional
details for these two deaths.

One additional death in Richards’ company came as a result of the journey, but happened

256 Davis, Diaries, 1846-1892, July 6, 1848.
257 By comparison, in 1848, the Brigham Young company produced more than double the amount of journal records
than the Heber C. Kimball company, and the Willard Richards Company has approximately half the records of the
Kimball company currently available.
259 Crosby, Memoirs and diary, 1851-1882, July 28, 1848.
after entering the Valley. Hugh Moon wrote, “Hugh Moon, Jr., son of Hugh and Maria Moon died on the 7th of November, 1848, being one year and seventeen days old. He died in consequence of the hardships of coming over the plains to Salt Lake.”

It is impossible to account for the number of deaths after arriving in the Valley were from the effects of pioneer trail. But to the Moon family, this was one.

It must be stated that the 1848 pioneers believed in miracles. There are a number of journal entries describing those that should have been killed, or severely injured, who were not. Some may call it luck or good fortune, but to the Saints, it was a matter of faith and answered prayers. On June 28, 1848, “a child of Br. P[eter]. [Wilson] Conovers [Conover] fell out of the wagon and the wheels ran over her arm & leg, but wonderful to tell it broke neither[.]” And, on August 12, 1848, “Archabal [Archibald] B. Moss fell from his Waggon[.] the wheels run over the boys brother[.] he turned black, arose and then fell[.] we administered to him and he recovered.”

According to the pioneers’ testimonials, the number of deaths would have been significantly higher if it were not for God’s protecting hand. The following chart includes the fatalities recorded in this section:

---

262 Burton, Diaries, 1839-1851, June 28, 1848.
263 Richards, Diary, in Richards Family, Collection, fd. 10.
In conclusion, the Mormon pioneer trail of 1848 claimed at least eighteen lives. The families of those who gave their all were required to pay their respects with a simple burial and then move on. However, this was true for all those who chose to travel on the Overland Trail. Mormons, Oregonians, and Californians who lost loved ones on the trail experienced the heartache of turning their backs on their deceased and continuing west. These scars would be unforgettable for any family. To add to the complexity of these emotions, the father of Mormon pioneer Oliver Bar Jacob classified his son’s death as a martyr.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brigham Young company</th>
<th>Heber C. Kimball company</th>
<th>Willard Richards company</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Name</strong></td>
<td><strong>Name</strong></td>
<td><strong>Name</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Beer</td>
<td>Horace Whitney’s child</td>
<td>Sidney Tanner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown boy</td>
<td>Lucretia Cox</td>
<td>Sister Cowarn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martha Taylor</td>
<td>William Whitney</td>
<td>Brother Earl's Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>infant</td>
<td>young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyranus Van Fleet</td>
<td>Hawks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant</td>
<td>Margret McKown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 days</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyrus Van Fleet</td>
<td>Sarah Twitchell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 days</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Kay</td>
<td>Oliver Bar Jacob</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abigail Lee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret Garn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV. The Relief Efforts of 1848

The pioneer movement of 1848 could have ended much differently. The purpose of this chapter is to document those who sacrificed their individual needs for the greater good, the cause of Zion. These sacrifices came from many in the Valley, and from those living in Winter Quarters. These sacrifices and relief efforts of 1848 will be presented under the following three topics: sacrifices among themselves, relief from the Valley, and back to Winter Quarters.

Sacrifices among Themselves

Brigham Young’s example of servant leadership, sacrifice, and genuine concern for others was exemplary. On July 17, 1848, Young wrote a letter to the church leadership in the Valley including the following: “We have the poor with us; their cry was urgent to go to the mountains, and I could neither close my ears nor harden my heart against their earnest appeals… I cannot forsake the poor in the hour of need, and when they stand most in need of comfort.”

Many recipients of Young’s service recorded their gratitude. For example, Benjamin Ashby wrote, “the last to leave the camp ground was Prest Brigham Young who[se] fatherly care was always manifest.” On another occasion, Ashby had broken down just as they were moving out, and was about to get left behind. He wrote, “Bro Young was just going out of sight over the hill upon his coach[…] in a few minutes he was by my side and assisted me to replace the staple and yoke the oxon and get under weigh [way] again[.]” On August 20, 1848, Oliver Huntington had fallen behind and wrote, “so many of his company’s teams have died that others have to go

---

1 Young, [Letter], 17 July 1848, Journal History, 8.
2 One example comes from the journal of Richard Ballantyne. On August 12, 1848 he wrote, “On Saturday I wanted some blacksmithing done but as I had no means to pay for <it> Bro. Tanner said he could not do it. Bro. Brigham Young generously let me have $2.45 ct. to pay for it on Condition that I would either pay him in labor in the Valley or provisions when I raised it – I accepted his offer and thanked him for his kindness.” (Ballantyne, Journal, 1848 May-Aug., Aug, 12, 1848).
the road three times over to keep all up. Today Brigham has sent back for his help to this place, 20 wagons and 60 or 70 yoke of cattle.” 4 Ashby, and Huntington were not the only ones who received help from Young within his company.

Curtis Bolton recalled a time when he was having great difficulties driving his team. Upon observing this, Brigham Young offered to help. Bolton wrote, “So I handed him the whip and he drove & then the cattle went well enough plowing thro' the mud without balking. After driving them for more than a mile Bro Brigham threw me back the whip[.]” 5 Bolton expressed gratitude for the timely assistance.

Many pioneers followed Young’s example. Scores of journals record similar instances. While at the Horn, Thomas Bullock’s wagon got stuck in the mud. George Bundy added his team to Bullock’s, but they could not drag it out. More assistance came as “brother Thomas returned with three of the best yokes in the Camp…hitched on four yoke of cattle [and] drew the Wagon out… then Jacob Peart went with me to drive in my sick team.” 6 On June 15, 1848, Hosea Stout recalled, “Earley this morning a large number of teams were sent over from the other side of the river to assist us over.” 7 Writing on this same day, Oliver Huntington added, “The teams of the companies that lay on the west side came over in the morning as soon as all had fed and doubled teams on all out wagons to help us over the river. Every wagon had from 4 to 10 yoke of cattle before it.” 8 Another similar entry recorded, this “Afternoon Br Stephen Keels[e]y a young man that drove for Br Woods brought back 4 yoke of Cattle to Assist me.” 9 George Morris recalled

---

4 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., Aug. 20, 1848.
6 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, May 25, 1848.
7 Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, June 15, 1848.
8 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., June 15, 1848.
stopping at the river crossings to help those in need. On one of these days he wrote, “I think I waded the Platt[e] river 22 Times[].”\textsuperscript{10} One of the most detailed accounts of assistance is recorded by Thomas Bullock as follows: “Capt: Chase & Russell came over with a number of teams to assist us over the river . . . I timed them. & found a Wagon came over in 16 minutes . . . there were from 4 to 8 yoke of Cattle to a Wagon—until the last, when 4 teams following I counted 8, 11, 13, & 15 yoke attached[].”\textsuperscript{11} Similar phrases are common and found extensively throughout the journals.

There are also scores of entries about individuals receiving help fixing their wagons. Sometimes these repairs were completed quickly while on the trail. At other times, the repairs lasted late into the night, and sometimes, even all night. Caroline Crosby wrote, “Last night some of the brethren worked all night mending wagons for br Luces [Lucas][]”\textsuperscript{12}

Brigham Young’s concern for others did not end with the last wagon in his company, but extended to Heber C. Kimball’s company as well. Apparently, Kimball’s company was lacking more than Young’s because Young was constantly sending teams back to help Kimball, but never the other way around. There are over twenty significant journal entries—it would take over 15 pages to include them all—that recorded the assistance Kimball’s company received. Joseph Fielding Smith wrote, “at the Loup-Fork, and it was an intresting Sight, when to behold in the Morning, A String of oxen reaching from one Side of the River to the other about A Mile from Brighams Co—coming to assist us in crossing . . . to help their Friends.”\textsuperscript{13} Young assisted Kimball’s company at every major river crossing, sandy sections, hills, and any other difficult section of the trail. As the journey progressed, Kimball’s company had a significant number of livestock die, and Young was sending help on a daily basis. As previously stated, there were

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{10} Morris, Reminiscences [ca. 1880-1890], 12-13.  
\textsuperscript{11} Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, June 15, 1848.  
\textsuperscript{12} Crosby, Memoirs and diary, 1851-1882, Aug. 2, 1848.  
\textsuperscript{13} Fielding, Journals 1837-1859, vol. 5, 134-36.
\end{flushright}
literally those who traveled the same section of the trail up to three times in one day.

The following are a few, representing the whole, of the records concerning the sacrifices made by the Brigham Young company to assist Heber C. Kimball’s company: “An abundance of teams…and went over to double all of Heber’s teams and bring them over at once…it took nearly half a day[;]”14 “Young came round to the captains to see to building up teams to go across the River & bring Heber’s Company over . . . about 3 hours all were safely over . . . Pres. Young then returned thanks to the brethren for their assisting bro. Kimball over the river, and said they had done well, he was satisfied[;]”15 “Br Brigham Sent over 50 yoak of Cattle to double on our teems . . . from 5 to 10 yoak of Cattle on a wagon . . . I crost the second time and then went back with our Cattle . . . I believe in Hebers Company Crossed 200 Waggons an upwards and in all Both Companys 600[;]”16 “An abundance of teams turned out and went over to double all of Heber’s teams and bring them over at once, that is in a continued string, and then it took nearly a half a day[;]”17 and lastly, “In the morning the brethren belonging to President Young’s camp brought over their cattle to help us across. This was a sight that would have truly pleased you, to see and hear the brethren greet each other. Every heart was glad, and every countenance smiling. We crossed over all the wagons <over> safely in a few hours.”18

Interestingly, Heber C. Kimball was also continuously sending back teams to those who had fallen behind. On August 24, 1848, Kimball wrote a letter to Young informing him that “Tomorrow morning I am intending to send back some of my strongest teams, in order to liberate the teams that are to return, or to bring up the rear of the camp. If this should meet your mind, my

14 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., June 17, 1848.
15 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, June 17, 1848.
16 Hovey, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1856, June 16, 1848.
17 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., June 17, 1848.
18 Thompson, [Letter], 23 July 1848, 2-3.
teams will be ready to start back against <by the time> yours reach here, and will have a little time
to rest and recruit themselves.” 19 One example, to represent many, occurred on August 24, 1848.
William Thompson had fallen behind, and “Brothers Rolf, Green arrived in camp from H C K
camp with 15 yoke of cattle to help us up.” 20 They had backtracked 24 miles, and it had taken
them 10 hours.

Relief from the Valley

The 1848 pioneers were on the brink of a tragedy. With all the challenges discussed thus
far, some teams were moving at a crippled pace, while others were unable to move at all. On
September 3, 1848, Oliver Huntington wrote, “The scene was so unpromising, dreadful and
distressing I can neither paint it, nor forget it.” 21 John Heward wrote, “We could not move for want
of teams[.]” 22 Robert Burton recalled, “my team and many others was so reduced that we could
not travel until aid was sent us from Salt Lake Valley by those who had emigrated the previous
year.” 23 Alexander Neibaur wrote that those who were unable to move were required to stay put
and “await Assistance from the Valy[.]” 24 Appleton Harmon’s father-in-law, while passing Big
Sandy, had “reduced his team until he was unable to proceed furthur without help . . . nor was he
alone in this Situation for some 30 or 40 families ware left without sufficient team to proceed[.]” 25
As a chilling addition, on September 14, 1848, William Burton recorded “This morning it snowed
some.” 26 Pioneers began mentioning frost, and frozen water in the mornings around the first of

20 Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 47. Dated Aug. 25, 1848.
21 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., Sept. 3, 1848.
22 Heward, John, Autobiography [ca. 1871], Aug. 26, 1848.
23 Burton, Robert Taylor, 1821-1907, Autobiography, [n.d.]. When Burton left Winter Quarters, he wrote, “I was quite
successful here in obtaining means necessary for our outfit to the valley.” However, he would end his pioneer journal
with, “After a weary march of four months arrived on the site of Salt Lake City Sept, 23, 1848 with just one half the
animals I had when leaving the Misouri.”
26 Burton, Diaries, 1839-1851, Sept. 14, 1848.
September.

Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball both recognized their dire circumstances. On July 17, 1848, Young had written a letter to the leadership in the Valley, outlining his intent if sufficient help did not arrive. He wrote, “If it would be convenient for you to send out a number of teams to meet us at Green river, it would be quite an assistance to us, but if you cannot, we shall make arrangements to build a Fort, leave the goods and the families with them, and we will work ourselves into the Valley by the help and assistance of the Lord[.]” Brigham would be forced to leave some supplies and families, push on to the Valley, and then return for them.

On August 28, 1848, they wrote a letter to be sent east to the leadership at Winter Quarters. This letter included the following:

When all the camps have arrived at the last crossing of the Sweetwater, it is our intention to take into consideration the best method of removing those of the brethren who are there without wagons, cattle, or even tents to shelter them from the stormy blast, and the chilling frosty nights (on account of their returning the borrowed teams to Winter Quarters) to Green river; where they can build huts, and have plenty of fire wood to keep themselves warm until our teams can return to their aid and remove them into the Valley. Although you will see by the Epistle from the council in the Valley, that they are endeavoring to send us all the assistance they can; yet we don't anticipate that they will send enough to unlock our fetters and enable us to go to the Valley in a body. As we are fully aware of the arduous duties they have had to perform, in building houses, making their twelve miles fence, ploughing, planting, watering and harvesting their crops, building mills, fighting crickets, digging ditches, exploring the country, etc., but we do hope they will send us some help.

27 Although Willard Richards received help as well, the focus of this chapter will be on Young and Kimball’s Company. There is not nearly as much information available for Richards’ Company. However, it is clear that they received similar help. Franklin Richards wrote, “Mr. Jed[e]diah M. Grant came out teams and provisions from Salt Lake, and met us on the Sweet Water and so relieved our worn out teams as greatly to assist us to make our way along our journey.” (Richards, Narrative of Franklin Dewey Richards, 38). Robert Campbell wrote, on October 4, 1848, “about sun down Capt Jedidiah M Grant <& 3 men> reached Camp with 9 yokes of cattle 6 mules & 2 wagons. to help the imigrants into the valley. left one of Dr Willards oxen at Muddy – unable to come farther . . . . [and, at Fort Bridger], at this point we got 5½ yokes of cattle & another wagon[.]” (Campbell, Journal extracts, 30 June – 19 Oct. 1848). Lastly, “at the Weber they met us with Some help[.]” (Brown, John, Reminiscences and Journals, 113).

28 Young, [Letter], 17 July 1848, Journal History, 7.
After the letter had been signed, but had not been sent yet, help arrived. Young then added the following:

P. S. Since writing the following foregoing Brother Lorenzo <D. Young> Snow and Abraham O. Smoot have arrived from the Valley and bring us the cheering intelligence of fifty wagons and 150 yoke of oxen. Coming out to meet us; they anticipate the teams will be at the last crossing of the Sweetwater on Wednesday evening next, which will in a great measure relieve us from our distress, enable those who are houseless to take up their beds, in joy and gladness.30

Those who volunteered to be part of the relief efforts of 1848 met the westbound emigrants on July 11, 1848. On this day, “John Green, Joseph Young and a young Allen” were among the first to arrive from the Valley. “John Green had only been 4 days in the valley from California when he started with the company of teams[.]”31 Another July 11 entry added, “Some 4 Brethren from the valley came into Camp George Bean, Rufus Allen, Jas Castro & Boice. Reported that about 20 wagons had reached Snow’s co. from the valley.”32 Thomas Bullock recorded the express riders as “John Y. Green, Isaac Burnham, Joseph W. Young, and Rufus Allen[,]” Bullock also added that they had left the Valley on May 18.33

During the next three days weeks, random journals mention receiving assistance from the Valley. For example, the following journal entries were all written on July 12, 1848: “we met some wagons which had come to meet us from the Valley[;)”34 “Last night about 11, three brethren came into camp from the valley. Some 18 teams were waiting for us at Snows Co[;]”35 and lastly,

30 Young and Kimball, [Letter], Journal History, 28 Aug. 1848, 2-4.
32 Lee, The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876, 1:30-79.
34 Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, July 12, 1848.
35 Brown, Lorenzo, Reminiscences and diaries, July 12, 1848.
“We met 18 wagons from the valley this evening[.]”36

As Young was at the rear, he met the relief teams the next day. On July 13, 1848, Young wrote, “at the Ancient Ruins Bluffs . . . we met 18 wagons from the valley . . . we lay by one day to repair them, when 5 wagons <came into my corral, five> into Brother Heber's corral, and 8 wagons went on to Winter Quarters.”37 Concerning these teams, Oliver Huntington wrote, “The few that came were quite a relief to such and to some over-loaded teams.”38 On July 14, 1848, Norton Jacob wrote, “we met Br Roundy with 12 Teams from the Valley[.]”39

During the next several weeks, a steady stream of assistance trickled into the pioneer camps. On July 20, 1848, four others arrived including Porter Rockwell, and Louis Robison.40 Phineas Cook recorded how he was personally blessed by the kindness of Porter Rockwell. Cook had been plagued by the deaths of two of his three oxen. In this dire situation he wrote the following: “A man by the name of Orin Porter Rockwell a stranger to me but well known in the church as an old friend of Josephs, he told me that he had four mules to hitch to some ones wagon and take it to the valley with a man to drive it.”41 On August 4, 1848, Hosea Stout wrote the following: “Went on to the Upper Ford of the North Fork and encamped. Here were several from the Valley who had come to meet us & had been also ferrying the Oregon Emigrants over the Platte.”42

August 28, 1848, was truly a day of deliverance. The actual numbers under the care of Lorenzo Young and Abraham Smoot were “47 wagons and 124 yokes of oxen[.]”43 Another entry

37 Young, [Letter], 17 July 1848, Journal History, 6.
38 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., July 13, 1848.
39 Jacob, Reminiscence and journal, July 15, 1848.
40 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., July 20, 1848.
41 Cook, Reminiscences and journal, 1843-1886, 55-56.
42 Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, Aug. 4, 1848.
43 Young, Brigham, [Letter], Journal History, 20 Aug. 1848, 2.
on this day recorded, “met a train ox teams from the valley in care of Ira Eldredge going to help the hind companies in. This was timely assistance, their teams were fine and fat quite different from our Poor skeletons that limp and stager as they go, (some of them).” 44 Vilate Kimball wrote, “It would have been difficult for us to have come through with our enormous loads, had not our brethren from the place come with horses, mules, and cattle, to our relief.” 45

It is impossible to tell if there were more teams that trickled in during the next few days, or if they were part of the major relief efforts of August 28, 1848. Whatever the case is for these few days, it is certain that there were many more that came to offer relief up until the very day the 1848 pioneers entered the Valley. Journal entries that record assistance from August 28 on include the following: September 1, 1848, “The Teams have come from the valley and to day we had two [...e] allotted us by Father [Isaac] Morley, belonging to Mr Thatcher who drives [them] himself. We got a yoke also from Br [John] Benbow[;]” 46 also on September 1, “To day a waggon and two yoke of oxen had been Set apart for me and Br. E[lisha]. H. Groves as we both had about enough to load it well. The team belonged to Bishop A. Hoagland & was driven by his son Peter[;]” 47 September 3, 1848, “we met James Vance, Richard Norwood & John Garr with 3 Wagons & 8 yoke of oxen to assist the brethren to the Valley[;]” 48 September 7, 1848, “Addison Everett, William Fellows, Alvin Green, Thurston Lawson, Carlos Murr[a]y & Owen arrive from the Valley, with 4 Wagons 9 yoke of Cattle & 2 horses to assist the Camps.” 49 September 8, 1848, “This morning met some more teams. One drove by Bishop A Averett took in some loading for us 500

44 Pulsipher, Journal and autobiography, Aug. 28, 1848.
45 Kimball, Littell’s Living Age, Apr., May, June 1849, 165.
46 Brown, Lorenzo, Reminiscences and diaries, Sept. 1, 1848.
47 Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, Sept. 1, 1848.
49 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, Sept. 7, 1848.
or 600 lbs which helped us materially[;]”50 September 12, 1848, “Met Brothers D Wilkey & [blank space] from the Valley, Brother Wilkey had a span of horses & wagons for Brother H.C.K. & Brother [blank space] had 2 yoke of cattle for C. P. Lott[;]”51 September 17, 1848, “Near the cold spring we met Brother James Lawson from the Valley with a span of horses to help Sister Smith[;]”52 and lastly, on September 19, 1848, “About 2 p.m. 2 men from the Valley came up with some cattle to help Brother Bankhead.”53

It is difficult to say what would have happened if sufficient relief efforts from the Valley would not have come. The resulting challenges would have been great. It is also probable that the relief team’s choice to return to the trail created a number of challenges “back home.” They would have left during harvest time, and when making final preparations for the winter was crucial. Additionally, everyone mentioned in the relief teams was a male. This would imply that their wives, or someone, remained home to feed animals, do chores, harvest, or any other tasks required of those who had only been in the Valley a year. These tasks would have to be done without valuable teams.

**Back to Winter Quarters**

This aspect of the 1848 migration should not be confused with those of the Battalion, or those in the Valley who were returning for various reasons to Winter Quarters. This section is about those men who left Winter Quarters in 1848, but never intended to make it to the Valley that year. Their intent was to go half way to the Valley, then return for their families in hopes of migrating the following year. On July 13, 1848, Oliver Huntington wrote, “Some went back to

52 Thompson, [Journal], Journal History, 24 Sept. 1848, 52. Dated Sept. 17, 1848.
Winter Quarters after their own families who were only started until the relief teams were met.”

There were simply not enough supplies, wagons, and teams for everyone to travel in 1848.

In 1848, Young’s efforts on migration were not only focused on the present, but spanned into the future as well. He was committed to doing all that lay within his power to get the Saints to Zion. In the August 28, 1848, letter to the leadership at Winter Quarters, Young wrote,

> We have a proposition to make unto you, which is this: As teams that have been <inured> to the low country, approach the mountains, they become deseased and die, and as we believe that teams <that> have been acclimated to the mountain air, can come to Fort Laramie, and return to the Valley in a healthy condition, we propose that when the Saints have done their spring work, they can remove themselves to Fort Laramie, at which place we will meet with them with our teams, exchange the loads and again separate the low land teams returning to Pottawattamie county and the teams with the Saints to pursue their journey to the Valley, we now leave this with you to decide and by your decision we shall be governed.

Of course, this proposition would be first fully implemented in 1849, and resembled what was happening in 1848. Concerning this “hand off,” the major issue in 1848 was that the First Presidency was unaware of how much help they would be receiving as was discussed in the previous section.

The leadership of 1848 determined that they would send the borrowed teams back to Winter Quarters at the last crossing of the Sweetwater River. Brigham Young wrote, “I arrived at the last crossing of the Sweetwater on the 20th [of August] and tarried to return the borrowed teams and wagons to Winter Quarters[.]” On the same day, Oliver Huntington wrote a letter to his wife and Father-in-law from “the head of the sweetwater, 9 miles from south pass.” The letter included

---

54 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., July 13, 1848.
56 Young, Brigham, [Letter], Journal History, 20 Aug. 1848, 2.
the following: “We arrived here yesterday; and as many of the Brethren with teams have to return to Winter Quarters, this was though the mosr [most] fit place to unload and remain until those teams arrive from the valley . . . The teams start back for Winter Quarters tomorrow.”57 The reason this location was chosen was because there was an abundance of grass and water. Hosea Stout wrote, “Here the President concluded to send back the teams as there was an abundance of grass to enable us to lay up awhile[.]”58

Apparently, it took a few days to get settled, unloaded, and to decide exactly what would be returned. On August 21, 1848, “Preperations were making to fit out those who were to go back & also reparing the waggons, unloading &c.”59 The teams actually gathered around August 27, and pulled out that afternoon, and on the next day to return to Winter Quarters. On August 27, 1848, Thomas Bullock wrote, “the brethren gather up the Cattle & Wagons that are to return to Winter Quarters & take them to Capn. Allen Taylor . . . after making the necessary preparation for the Journey, Prest. Young, D.H. Wells, Fa[ther] Gibbs & T Bullock start in the Carriage at 10.23 AM to go to Heber’s Camp to ascertain what was wanting[.]”60 Two additional journal entries on the departure date are, “handet cattle & waggons over to go back to Winter quarter[.] B Y going to H C K: Camp[,] prt of teams going Bk to Winter quarter[,]”61 and “Aug. 27th the teams started back to Iowa in the afternoon”62

The actual numbers that were sent back was provided by Brigham Young. He wrote, “Elder Kimball and I returned from this point, 48 men and boys, 59 wagons, 121 yokes of cattle, 44 mules

57 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., Aug. 20, 1848.
58 Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, Aug. 20, 1848.
59 Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, Aug. 21, 1848.
60 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, Aug. 27, 1848.
and horses in charge of Allen Taylor to Winter Quarters.”63 Thomas Bullock added, “organized them into a Company under Captn. Allen Taylor—Richard Sessions was also voted to be the Captn. of the night Guard & to assist Allen Taylor—an unanimous vote was taken that they would abide his instructions in all things—Prest. Young then gave them instructions & blessed them[.]”64

There are few reasons to why they returned the teams scattered throughout the pioneer journals. Joseph F. Smith recalled, that they were sent “back to Winter Quarters to assist another family the next season, Elder Joel Terry returned with the team.”65 Margaret Cahoon wrote, “President Young wished the Saints to send back some of their wagons and oxen to assist the poor Saints at Winter Quarters on the journey the following season. We sent back two wagons, four yoke of oxen and two young men teamsters who had driven our wagons for us . . . . We sent these wagons and oxen to William F. and Daniel S. Cahoon and their families to bring them on to the valley.”66 Oliver Huntington wrote, they had returned “back to Winter Quarters after their own families.”67 John Heward wrote, “James P. Terry, my wifes brother, came this far to help us along—with one yoke of his fathers oxen and we agreed we should return to fetch father Terry the next season—and he took one yoke of my oxen back.”68 And lastly, James Terry recalled, “In the spring of 1848 I was one with several others who went to assist those who were moving to the Valley of Great Salt Lake. I came as far as Pacific Springs eight hundred and two and a half miles from Winter Quarters. Started on the return trip August 27th reaching Winter Quarters October 15th []”69

63 Young, Brigham, [Letter], Journal History, 20 Aug. 1848, 2.
64 Bullock, Journals, 1843-1849, Aug. 29, 1848.
66 Cahoon, Autobiography], Utah Pioneers, 117-118, 121.
67 Huntington, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., July 13, 1848.
68 Heward, Autobiography [ca. 1871], Aug. 26, 1848.
These “half way” teams would arrive safely back in Winter Quarters on October 15, 1848, after seven weeks. With empty loads, and skilled teamsters, they traveled quickly. On October 14, a day before their arrival in Winter Quarters, D.H. Redfield, and Allen Taylor wrote a letter to “Br Young & Kimball.” In this letter, they reported that 10 cattle had died in the Black Hills, and they lost 5. They also wrote the following: We sent “four men to ther camp to have the owners of the teams to meat us at the river & recd their teams Br G.A. Smith came & met us here . . . the Lord has ben with us all the day long & we truly have ben blessed of him[.]”70 These teams were not returned to Winter Quarters to be permanently placed in pasture, but would be needed the following spring to make the journey—yet again. With little time remaining before winter set in, these cattle needed to be nurtured back to good health, wagons needed repaired, as the 1849 migration would soon be upon them.

70 Redfield, D. H., to Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, 14 Oct. 1848, in Brigham Young, Office Files 1832-1878, reel 30, box 21, fd. 14.
V. Conclusion

When a statue of Brigham Young was placed in the rotunda of the United States Capitol on July 25, 1950, Harry S. Truman wrote, “Brigham Young’s faith and courage, his vision and superb leadership all are realized in the great State which his genius brought into being.” Building on this tribute by President Truman, these same qualities sustained Brigham Young as he led the largest company in Mormon pioneer history to the Salt Lake Valley in 1848.

The intent of this thesis was to present the major challenges and characteristics of the 1848 Mormon pioneer crossing of the plains. The introduction included the setting for the 1848 migration and the value in discovering the stories of every pioneer who placed a footprint on the prairie. After a brief summary of each chapter, the 1847 Pioneers’ return trip to Winter Quarters was discussed including the sustaining of Brigham Young as the President of the Church, with Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards as his counselors. This newly organized First Presidency provided the leadership for the 1848 migration. And lastly, a list of the primary and secondary sources—including the L.D.S. Overland Travel database—as well as the key journalists this thesis has been built on was included.

Chapter two introduced the general characteristics of the 1848 Mormon migration. As has been shown, the Mormons were not the only ones on the trail in 1848. Evidence of their interactions with those on the Oregon Trail, those living at the trading posts, trappers, mountain men, and Indians is plentiful. They also encountered eastbound Latter-day Saints who were primarily Mormon Battalion veterans, some businessmen, and a few who had “seen the elephant.” The 1848 companies were organized into three companies led by Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards. This is the only time in pioneer history where all three members

---

of the First Presidency led a pioneer company in the same year. Brigham Young’s company consisted of 1,220 souls, and stands as the largest pioneer company in Latter-day Saint history. In addition to the immense size, the ages of the 1848 pioneers were a significant factor as well. The average age of all companies was around seventeen years old. These companies departure dates, route and distances traveled are presented next. Evidence proving that the 1848 pioneers did not follow the exact same trail as 1847 was included. And lastly, the role of women, and the pioneer’s religiosity throughout the 1848 journey concluded the chapter.

Chapter three discussed four main challenges of the 1848 Mormon migration. The first was poor and insufficient supplies and provisions. Prior to leaving Winter Quarters there were many pioneers who were ill prepared. Of these, some contributed nothing, and many who contributed what little they had. The 1848 pioneers believed that the buffalo and other natural nourishment were provided by God, specifically, but not exclusively, for them. The second challenge of 1848 was poor feed and livestock issues. In consequence of a dry season, 1848 was plagued with sick and dying teams, and cattle wandering excessively. The loss of sufficient teams added an excessive weight to healthy teams and required many to travel back, again and again, to bring the crippled teams up. The third challenge was with the Indians. In hindsight, the pioneer’s relationship with the Indians, though exemplary for the time, was a constant worry and threat. The fourth and final challenge presented in this chapter was sickness, injury, and death. In these three companies, from the Horn to arriving in the Valley, there were eighteen recorded deaths.

Chapter four presented the relief efforts of 1848. There were many pioneers who traveled the road at least twice in 1848. Because there were many more pioneers than there were sufficient teams and wagons, those who were able were required to assist others at river crossings, difficult sections of the trail, and going back for slow teams in the rear. At the last crossing of the
Sweetwater, the pioneers sent back borrowed teams and drivers to Winter Quarters, including 48 men and boys, 59 wagons, 121 yoke of cattle, and 44 mules and horses. These return teams had been borrowed from, or were shared with, individuals who remained in Winter Quarters and would be used in forthcoming migrations. With so many 1848 pioneers unable to purchase sufficient teams to take themselves to the Valley, Young had urged those who had migrated in 1847 to return to the trail, eastward, and bring in the poor of 1848. Although he knew help was coming, he did not know to what extent. If sufficient help did not come, he intended to build a fort for all those who were unable to move, while those who were mobile would push on to the Valley and then return for those who were left behind. However, this was not necessary as sufficient relief teams answered the call of distress.

If these relief teams had not come, 1848 would have had a much different ending. On September 14, 1848, Hosea Stout wrote, “This morning we arose earley and found that it was snowing rapidly & So we hurried on to decend out of the clouds & made our decent down a very steep hill for near two miles[.] our teams litterally slid down[.].” With winter approaching, there can be little doubt that this relief effort saved lives and left a deep impression on those who received assistance. These impressions are recorded in 1848 journals and are manifest at least eight years later. In 1856, when Brigham Young called for volunteers to go and rescue the Willie and Martin Handcart companies there were a number of 1848 pioneers who had received assistance themselves, who answered the call to rescue.

---

‡ Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, Sept. 14, 1848.
§ A few examples include Thomas Bullock, Oliver Huntington, Hosea Stout, Anson Call, Daniel Wood, Thomas Ricks, Charles Pulsipher, John Moss, Joseph A. Young, John Mercer, William Henry Kimball, Heber Parley Kimball, David Patten Kimball, Goudy Hogan, and Elias Gardner. These names were deduced by comparing the names of 1848 pioneers with information available at https://history.lds.org/overlandtravel/companies/rescue-companies (accessed on 2/10/17). This is not a complete list.
When all of the journals of 1848 are melted together, an inspiring, unselfish, heroic story of success emerges. However, to the 1848 pioneers, this success was not found in setting historical records, pioneering, or in settling new lands. To them, their success was found in enduring to the end, both physically and spiritually.

The physical aspect of success came because they made it to “their” promised land. There are a number of journal entries about how the pioneers felt about the way they had been treated in the States. On the Fourth of July, 1848, Hosea Stout wrote, “Today is our Nation's anniversary or birth day of her liberty while we are fleeing exiles from her tyranny & oppression.”4 To them, there was nowhere else to live in the States, and the Salt Lake Valley had been preserved for them by the hand of God. The closer they got to the Valley, the more they wrote about the beauty of their home in the Mountains. The day before Hiram Clawson entered the Valley he wrote,

The people were joyous in camp. They slept well, and were happy. In the morning they dressed early and started to move. About 9 o'clock they arrived at the top of the hill. The sun had just cleared the peaks, and it struck over on the western side of the valley. As they arose that panorama burst upon them. Now, how would you feel, if you had spent five months in the mountains, in the midst of trouble and danger and trials? How would you feel when you got first into sight of the promised land? It was the promised land to them, and they saw the peaks and the beautiful Valley, the Salt Lake, that looked like a lake of silver, and they said, ‘What a Beautiful scene is this!’ They looked around, tears rolled down their cheeks; They clasped their hands and sank down on their knees in prayer.5

Eunice Snow wrote of her feelings when arriving at the same area as follows: “But oh! the joy and pleasure I shall never forget when we reached a hill, from the summit of which we caught our first view of the Salt Lake valley, the promised land. When we reached the valley, the teams were halted, and the people all took up the shout of hosannah, which was repeated three times.”6

---

4 Stout, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1869, July 4, 1848.
Henry Jolley recalled, “these beautiful canyons would lead us to the place of our dreams. Oh, what a breath—taking scene at the sight of the beautiful Salt Lake Valley. The wide stretching plain with the lake as a back—ground was thrilling to see, indeed. We were welcomed by the Saints who had arrived ahead of us and made us feel at home.” When viewing the Valley for the first time Daniel Davis wrote, it made “all hearts Swell With Joy[.]” Although the mountains, the breathtaking views, and the clear streams were beautiful, this was not what caused their joy. Their joy was felt when they saw the Valley. These emotions validated their belief that the Salt Lake Valley was their home and their promised land.

The spiritual aspect of success was manifest through a number of themes running throughout the pioneer journals of 1848. First, it is impossible to portray how badly they wanted to be near their inspired leadership—especially Brigham Young. There is no single topic, event, or person that was more important to the pioneers than him! Joseph Hovey wrote, “while crossing [Loup Fork] I met Br Brigham and tuck hold of his hand[.] he was glad he said that I had come and the Spirit of the Lord did truly restd on me from the Crown of my head to the soul of my feat[.]” Journal entries focus on where he camped, what he said, what he did, and when they passed one another. He led by example, and often asked others for input on important decisions. The fact that he carried the slower teams in the rear—day after day—and then led the “Camp of Israel” from Green River to the Valley summarized his leadership. Speaking of Young’s transition from the rear to the front, John Pulsipher wrote, “This halt was in honor of President Young, the leader of Israel. The companies that had traveled ahead of him stopped and waited until he passed

---

7 Jolley, Life sketch of Henry Jolley, 4.  
8 Davis, Diaries, 1846-1892, Sept. 2, 1848.  
9 Hovey, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1856, June 16, 1848.
into the valley in his place at the head of a joyful multitude.”

Aside from their spiritual desire to be near their prophet, the pioneers were men and women of faith and fortitude. Richard Ballyntine had experienced a number of trials early on the trail. His wife had given birth, and was very sick. On June 11, 1848, he recorded a prayer that he had offered. He prayed, “The Lord God grant me the comfort and aid of the Holy Spirit that under all the afflictions I may have to pass through my mind and heart may never deviate from the principles of life, but that my course may be onward to glory and eternal lives. May my afflictions O Father serve to purify my heart[.]”

Joseph Robinson recalled, “for surely our tribulations were Great and many, but nothing daunted nor discouriged us[.] we never looked back, nor repented that we had taken upon us the name of Jesus Christ which the world calld Mormon[.]”

A significant part of their victory was spiritual.

In conclusion, the pioneers of 1848 felt they were successful because they were free from persecution and would be allowed to worship freely. Their focus was not on wealth: it was on religious freedom, faith, and sacrifice. Shadrach Roundy said that he rejoiced “for he could see the hand of God in Leading his people to A land that God had his finger on[.]”

On August 28, 1848, Brigham Young wrote a letter to those back at Winter Quarters who were preparing to migrate the following year. His invitation was, “Come ye that are weary and heavy laden, and ye that are seeking a rest, a peace for your souls . . . plighting our faith in the kind Providence of Heaven.”

And lastly, Mary Scott, represents all those who personally experienced the challenges of 1848.

---

10 Pulsipher, Journal and autobiography, Sept. 10, 1848 (This did not take place on the tenth but is within the paragraph titled “Sunday the 10th”).
12 Robinson, Autobiography and journals 1883-1892, 60.
13 Davis, Diaries, 1846-1892, July 20, 1848.
Her reflections on the past represent the feelings of many, and her faith and hope for the future was necessary. After arriving in the Valley, she wrote, “Behind us now are the heart aches and many thousands of silent tears, that fell on the long unknown trail . . . But just as I have covered those endless hundreds of miles, so now I will begin work with renewed Faith, begin the task of building a good home in this new wilderness.”15 The same faith that sustained families and individuals while on the trail would now be required to build their new home.

Appendix 1

Days and distance traveled, and campsites for Brigham Young’s 1848 company. This information is taken directly from Thomas Bullock’s journal, recorded on September 8, 1848.

“<Jun>>
Monday 5, Camped Liberty Pole on Platte, 12 Miles
Tuesday 6, Camped R.R. & T—same, 13¼ Miles
Wednesday 7, Camped Shell Creek, 10 Miles
Friday 9, Camped Lake South of the road, 18¾ Miles
Saturday 10, Camped Mouth of Looking Glass, 13¼ Miles
[Total] 67¼ Miles

Monday 12, Camped Plum Creek, 16¼ Miles
Tuesday 13, Camped Bluffs Beyond Pawnee town, 17 Miles
Wednesday 14, Camped Upper Ford of Loup Fork, 6¼ Miles
[Total] 39½ Miles

Monday 19, Camped On the Open Prairie, 20 Miles
Tuesday 20, Camped Wood River, 15½ Miles
Wednesday 21, Camped The Bank of the Platte, 14 Miles
Thursday 22, Camped Pioneer Wells, 16 Miles
Friday 23, Camped Pioneer camp ground of 1st May last 15½ Miles
Saturday 24, Camped Open Prairie, banks of Creek, 22 Miles
[Total] 103 Miles

Sunday 25, Camped Banks of the Platte, 7¼ Miles
Wednesday 28, Camped Camp of 7 & 8 May last, 14¾ Miles
Thursday 29, Camped East side of Sandy Bluffs, 16½ Miles
Friday 30, Camped Good spring of cold water, 17¼ Miles
Saturday July 1, Camped Opposite an Island, 9½ Miles
[Total] 65¾ Miles

Monday 3, Camped West side of small Creek, 14¾ Miles
Tuesday 4, Camped Banks of Platte, 12½ Miles
Wednesday 5, Camped Near Goose Creek, 14 Miles
Thursday 6, Camped Banks of Platte, 14¾ Miles
Friday 7, Camped West foot of Sandy Bluffs, 12¼ Miles
Saturday 8, Camped Opposite “Ash Hollow”, 10½ Miles
[Total] 78¼ Miles

Monday 10, Camped Open Prairie, 13 Miles
Tuesday 11, Camped Opposite some Islands, 14 Miles
Wednesday 12, Camped Ancient Ruins Bluffs, 11¼ miles
Friday 14, Camped Open Prairie, 14 Miles
Saturday 15, Camped Near Chimney Rock, 16 Miles
Monday 17, Camped Open Prairie, 16 Miles
Tuesday 18, Camped Near the River, 14 Miles
Wednesday 19, Camped Banks of Creek, 15½ Miles
Thursday 20, Camped Banks of Platte, 15½ Miles
Friday 21, Camped South side of Platte, 2 Miles
Saturday 22, Camped Beyond Fort Laramie 4 miles, 14 Miles
[Total] 77 Miles
[Total] 526 Miles

Monday 24, Camped Platte Bottom, 5¼ Miles
Tuesday 25, Camped Bitter Creek, 15 Miles
Wednesday 26, Camped On a dry Creek, 15¼ Miles
Thursday 27, Camped Horse Shoe Creek, 3½ Miles
Friday 28, Camped Small Creek (dry), 4¾ Miles
Saturday 29, Camped La Bonte River, 13 Miles
[Total] 56¾ Miles

Sunday 30, Camped Branch of La Bonte, 7 Miles
Tuesday 1 August, Camped A La Prele, 12½ Miles
Wednesday 2, Camped Fourche Boisee’ [Boise], 8½ Miles
Thursday 3, Camped Deer Creek, 9 Miles
Friday 4, Camped Crooked Muddy Creek, 10¼ Miles
Saturday 5, Camped Timber on Platte, 8 Miles
[Total] 55¼ Miles

Sunday 6, Camped 2 Ravines, 6 Miles
Monday 7, Camped Upper Ferry, 4½ Miles
Tuesday 8, Camped Mineral Spring, 12½ Miles
Wednesday 9, Small Spring Creek, 13½ Miles
Thursday 10, Camped Grease Wood Creek, 13 Miles
Friday 11, Camped Independence Rock, 11¼ Miles
Saturday 12, Camped Sweetwater S. side, 10¼ Miles
[Total] 71 Miles

Tuesday 15, Camped Sweetwater S. side, 13 Miles
Wednesday 16, Camped Sweetwater S. side, 11¼ Miles
Thursday 17, Camped Sweetwater N. side, 8¼ Miles
Friday 18, Camped Sweetwater N. side, 17½ Miles
Saturday 19, Camped Sweetwater S. side, 4 Miles
[Total] 54½ Miles

Monday 21, Camped Sweetwater N. side, 6 Miles
Tuesday 22, Camped Strawberry Creek, 9½ Miles
Wednesday 23, Camped Sweetwater last crossing, 10¼ Miles
[Total] 26¼ Miles

Friday Sept 1, Camped Pacific Creek, 12¾ Miles
Saturday 2, Camped Crossing of Pacific Creek, 1½ Miles
[Total] 14¼ Miles

Sunday 3, Camped Dry Sandy, 9 Miles
Monday, Camped Little Sandy, 13¾ Miles
Tuesday 5, Camped Big Sandy, 8¼ Miles
Wednesday 6, Camped Big Sandy, 17 Miles
Thursday 7, Camped Green River, 15 Miles
Friday 8, Camped Black’s Fork, 15½ Miles
Saturday 9, Camped Black’s Fork, 15½ Miles
[Total] 94 Miles

Monday 11, Camped Black’s Fork, 11½ Miles
Tuesday 12, Camped High Land Creek, 18¼ Miles
Wednesday 13, Camped Sulphur Creek, 20 Miles
Thursday 14, Camped A clear Spring, 9½ Miles
Friday 15, Camped Cache Cave, 7 Miles
Saturday 16, Camped Echo Creek, 6½ Miles
[Total] 70½ Miles

Monday 18, Camped Red Fork of Weber, 17 Miles
Tuesday 19, Camped Kanyon Creek, 15½ Miles
Wednesday 20, Camped Near Brown’s Creek, 12¼ Miles
Thursday 21, Camped Last Creek, 9 Miles
Friday 22, Great Salt Lake City, 7¾ Miles
[Total] 61½ Miles
[Total] 86 / 1031 Miles
Average 12
86 travelling days at an average of 12 miles per day 1032 [Miles]
36 days lay still
Total 122 days from Winter Quarters to Great Salt Lake City”

Taken from Thomas Bullock, Journals 1843-1849, fd. 1-4, Sept. 8, 1848. (Although this travel log is specifically for Brigham Young’s Company of 1848, the distances and days traveled would be similar to the Heber C. Kimball Company. As noted earlier, the Willard Richards’ Company traveled considerably faster on the last half of the journey. See page 26, footnote 57).
Appendix 2

Although not the focus of this thesis, plural marriage had a significant presence in the 1848 Mormon westward migration. Although this list is not complete, it represents some of the complexities that existed in getting “families” to the Salt Lake Valley. According to George Smith, there were 196 men who had entered into plural marriage in Nauvoo. In comparing these names with those who traveled in 1848, there were at least 48 men who migrated westward in 1848, with a total of 131 plural wives. Out of these 48, 16 men had over 3 wives, and 38 of them brought their first wives in 1848. The information presented forthwith is compiled as of June 1, 1848, unless otherwise noted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Husbands living in plural marriage (including age)</th>
<th># of wives living in 1848</th>
<th># of wives that migrated in 1848</th>
<th>Wives who migrated in 1848 (including order of plural marriage, age, and if their marriage was “for time” the name of husband previously “sealed to”)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young, Brigham (47)</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Mary Ann Angel (1st wife, 40), Lucy Ann Decker (2nd, 26), Harriet Elizabeth Cook (4th, 23), Clarissa Ross (6th, 33), Louisa Beman (7th, 33, Joseph Smith), Emily Dow Partridge (8th, 24, Joseph Smith), Zina D. Huntington (9th, 27, Joseph Smith), Diana Severance Chase (14th, 20), Susannah Snively (16th, 32), Emmeline Free (21st, 22), Margaret Maria Alley (23rd, 26), Ellen Ackland Rockwood (26th, 19), Martha Bowker (27th, 26), Jemima Angel (28th, 43), Phebe Ann Morton (30th, 62, Mary Ann Angel’s mother), Naamah Kendel Jenkins (32nd, 30, John Saunders Twiss), Lucy Bigelow (41st, 17), Mary Jane Bigelow (42nd, 20). Although married to 44, deceased wives include Miriam Works (actual 1st, died before plural marriages on Sept. 3, 1832), Maria Lawrence, Olive Frost, Mary Peirce, and Abigail Marks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen, Joseph (41)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lucy Diantha Morley (1st, 32).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barlow, Israel (41)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Elizabeth Haven (1st, 36), Elizabeth Barton (2nd, 45).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benbow, John (48)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bills, John (28)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Elizabeth Scott (1st, 31), Elizabeth Hall (2nd, 27).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cahoon, Reynolds (58)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Thirza Stiles (1st, 58), Lucina Roberts (2nd, 42).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covey, Benjamin (56)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Almira Mack (1st, 43). <em>Diana Cole (2nd wife of 4) died on Dec. 9, 1847.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolton, Curtis (35)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rebecca Baks Bunker (2nd, 38), Ellen Coil Merritt (3rd, 19).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullock, Thomas (31)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Henrietta Rushton (1st, 31), Lucy Caroline Clayton (2nd, 28).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goddard, Stephen (37)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td><em>Isabella Bisbee (actual 1st wife of 3) died before plural marriages in 1839.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant, George (35)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Elizabeth Wilson (1st, 32).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

142
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>MARITAL</th>
<th>Spouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kay, John (30)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ellen M. Cocker (1st, 34).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee, John D. (35)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Agatha Ann Woolsey (1st, 34), Nancy Bean (2nd, 21), Louisa Free (3rd, 23), Abigail Schaeffer (5th, 61, died on the trail on Sept. 3, 1848), Rachel Andora Woolsey (6th, 22), Martha Elizabeth Berry (7th, 20), Lavina Young (13th, 27). Nancy Armstrong (12th of 14) died in Aug. 1847.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morley, Isaac (62)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hannah Blakeslee Finch (3rd, 37). Lucy Gunn (1st wife of 7) died on Jan. 3, 1848.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phelps, William W.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sally Waterman (1st, 50), Sarah Betsy Gleason (4th, 19).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snow, Erastus (29)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Artemisia Beaman (1st, 29), Minerva White (2nd, 26), Achsah Wing (3rd, 60), Elizabeth Rebecca Ashby (5th, 17).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snow, Lorenzo (34)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Charlotte Squires (1st, 23), Mary Adeline Goddard (2nd, 36), Sarah Ann Prichard (3rd, 22), Harriet Amelia Squires (4th, 29), Eleanor Houtz (5th, 16).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewart, Levi (36)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Melinda Howard (1st, 31).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stout, Hosea (37)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Louisa Bome Taylor (1st, 28). Samantha Peck (actual 1st wife) died before plural marriages Nov. 9, 1839. Marinda Bennett (3rd of 3) died on Sept. 26, 1846.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Webb, Chauncey (35)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Eliza Jane Churchill (1st, 31), Elizabeth Taft (2nd, 20).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, Alexander (44)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Isabel Gill (1st, 42).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, Daniel (47)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mary Elizabeth Snider (1st, 44), Penina Shropshire Cotten (2nd, 21).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woolley, Edwin (40)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mary Wickersham (1st, 39), Ellen Wilding (2nd, 28). Louisa Gordon, (3rd of 3) died on April 29, 1847.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heber C. Kimball Company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heber C. Kimball (47)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Vilate Murray (1st, 42), Sarah Peak Noon (2nd, 37), Mary Fielding Smith (6th, 47, Hyrum Smith), Lucy Walker (16th, 22, Joseph Smith), Sarah Ann Whitney (18th, 23, Joseph Smith), Prescinda Huntington (19th, 37, Joseph Smith), Amanda Gheen (20th, 18), Harriet Sanders (23rd, 23), Christeen Golden (25th, 25), Laura Pitkin (30th, 57), Ruth Reese (31st, 30), Mary Ann Shefflin (34th, 32). Charlotte Chase (10th, 23, traveled in Young's 1848 company. She divorced Kimball in 1849), Ann Alice Gheen (5th, 21, traveled in Richards 1848 company. However, remained married to Kimball. They would have 5 children). Martha Pitkin, (22nd of 39) and Sophronia Harmon (26th of 39) had died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernhisel, John (49)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Julia Ann Haight (1st, 42), Elizabeth Barker (5th, 18).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clayton, William (34)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ruth Moon (1st, 30), Margaret Moon (2nd, 28), Diantha Farr (5th, 19).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egan, Howard (32)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tamson Parsley (1st, 24).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fielding, Joseph (51)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hannah Greenwood (1st, 29), Mary Ann Peake (2nd, 45).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmon, Jesse (52)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higbee, Isaac (50)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Charlotte Woods (2nd, 34, Gideon Carter).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langley, George (29)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Martha McKinney Frost (2nd, 22, Harmon Jackson Akes).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lott, Cornelius (49)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Permelis Darrow (1st, 42).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>No. of Plural Wives</td>
<td>No. of Regular Wives</td>
<td>Additional Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitchell, Benjamin (32)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lovina Buckwater (1st, 27), Caroline Conrad (2nd, 19), Lois Judd (3rd, 22). <em>Sarah Fracebuck (actual 1st wife) died before plural marriages on Aug. 21, 1843.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pack, John (39)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Julia Ives (1st, 31), Ruth Mosher (2nd, 24), Nancy Aurelia Boothe (3rd, 22).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peck, Martin (42)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mary Thorn (1st, 32), Arlytia Long Carter (2nd, 19). <em>Susan Clough (actual 1st wife) died before plural marriages on Nov. 6, 1843.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott, John (37)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Elizabeth Menerey (1st, 32), Mary Pugh (2nd, 26), Sarah Ann Willis (3rd, 23).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tippets, John Harvey (37)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Caroline Fidelia Calkins (1st, 39), Nancy Calkins (2nd, 47). <em>Abigail Smith (actual 1st wife) died before plural marriages on Mar. 16, 1840.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Willard Richards Company**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>No. of Plural Wives</th>
<th>No. of Regular Wives</th>
<th>Additional Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richards, Willard (44)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sarah Longstroth (2nd, 22), Nancy Longstroth (3rd, 20), Susannah Lee Liptrot (4th, 39), Amelia Elizabeth Peirson (5th, 23), Jane Hall (8th, 22), Susannah Bayliss (10th, 34). <em>Jennetta Richards (1st wife) died on Jul. 9, 1845.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farr, Winslow Sr. (52)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fullmer, David (44)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fullmer, John (40)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mary Ann Price (1st, 32), Olive Amanda Smith (2nd, 22).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson, Benjamin (29)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Melissa Bloomfield LeBaron (1st, 28), Mary Ann Hale (2nd, 20), Flora Gleason (3rd, 28).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson, Joel (46)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Susan Bryant (1st, 35), Janet Fife (2nd, 20). <em>Anna Pixley (actual 1st wife) died before plural marriages on Sept. 11, 1840.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyman, Amasa (35)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Caroline Ely Partridge (2nd, 21), Eliza Maria Partridge (3rd, 28), Cornelia Eliza Leavitt (4th, 23), Dionitia Walker (Whitney) (5th, 32), Paulina Eliza Phelps (6th, 21), Priscilla Rebecca Turley (7th, 19).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richards, Franklin Dewey (27)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jane Snyder (1st, 25).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richards, Phineas (59)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wealthy Dewey (1st, 61).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robinson, Joseph (37)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Maria Wood (1st, 42), Susan McCord (2nd, 39), Laurinda Maria Atwood (3rd, 27).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanders, Ellis (39)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rachel Broome Roberts (1st, 40).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taken from comparing Smith, George D., *Nauvoo Polygamy: “. . . but we called it Celestial marriage,”* Signature Books, Salt Lake City, Utah, 2008, 574-639, and 1848 company individuals found at [https://history.lds.org/overlandtravel/companies](https://history.lds.org/overlandtravel/companies) (accessed on 3/13/17). Comparisons completed by Jeff D. Smedley.
Appendix 3

“The Welcome Hymn,” by Eliza R. Snow. This song was sung at the celebration held when Brigham Young entered the Valley on September 20, 1848.

You have come, you have come, to the valley once more,
And have landed your train like a ship on the shore;
You great father in Israel, with hosts you have come,
To this beautiful valley we welcome you home.
You have brought us our husbands, wives, daughters, and sons,
Brothers, sisters, and fathers, and mothers at once,
On a long tedious journey; all together you’ve come,
To this beautiful valley we welcome you home.
By the hand of the Gentiles you’ve long been opprest,
In a land where your sufferings are yet unredressed,
Over deserts and mountains, through kanyons you’ve come,
To this beautiful valley we welcome you home.
Like the pillars of heaven you unshaken have stood,
By Joseph the Prophet, till mobs spilt his blood,
And you, now over Israel, presiding have come,
To this beautiful valley we welcome you home.
Here the breezes are rife with the spirit of health,
And the soil is invested with sources of wealth,
Where by industry’s magic in due season will come,
To this beautiful valley we welcome you home.
Here a bulwark of mountains encircles us ’round,
And with stores for the artist it seems to abound;
Here are rivers and streamlets, whose pure waters foam,
In this beautiful valley we welcome you home.
Here come down on the mountains, snow and hailstones apace,
But the city is low and is in a low place;
Here is no castle, no palace, no proud lofty dome.
To this beautiful valley we welcome you home.
When good order’s established and all with accord,
Adhere to the precepts and law of the Lord,
Which are given and, through Brigham, hereafter will come,
In this beautiful valley we will all feel at home.

Appendix 4

Chapman Duncan’s partial census of some 1848 companies of 10. List included participants, individual assets, and what each contributed to the whole. Duncan is the only 1848 pioneer who recorded what each family contributed to their company of 10.

“1st Capt. H. Duncan, 2 in family, 1 wagon, 2 oxen, 4 cows, 4 calves
C. Williams, 12 in family, 2 horses, 2 wagons, 3 oxen, 8 cows, 4 calves
W. Robinson, 10 in family, 2 horses, 1 wagon, 3 cows, 4 calves, 20 wheat, 1360 corn
Chapman Duncan, 2 in family, 1 wagon, 1 ox, 1 cow, 1 calf, $600 cash
Melvin Ross, 7 in family, 2 horses, 1 wagon, 2 oxen, 2 cows, 720 corn
Wm. Vanansdale, 2 cows, 400 corn
W. Gaugh, 5 in family, 2 horses, 3 cows, 30 corn
Alvin Stewart, 2 in family, 1 cow, 10 wheat, 80 corn
Land Lance, 7 in family, 1 horse, 1 wagon, 2 cows, 80 corn
W. Daniels, 4 in family, 2 cows
W. Owens, 4 in family, 2 cows
Geo Scofield, 2 in family, 1 wagon, 2 oxen, 150 corn

3rd Capt. Chas. Hopkins, 2 in family, 2 horses, 1 wagon, 1 ox, 2 cows, 800 corn, 100 oats
Ezekiel Hopkins, 10 in family, 1 wagon, 1 cow, 520 corn
James Dack, 6 in family, 1 horse, 1 wagon, 1 cow
Wm. Maxwell, 5 in family, 1 ox, 1 cow, 14 sheep, 200 corn
David McKee, 10 in family, 1 wagon, 5 oxen, 3 cows, 6 sheep
Thos. McKee, 3 in family, 1 wagon, 1 ox
Jonathan McHee, 2 in family, 1 horse, 1 cow
Lewis Whiteside, 5 in family, 1 horse, 1 wagon, 1 ox, 2 cows, 2 calves, 400 corn
Thos. Hamilton, 3 in family 300 corn

4th Capt. David Dixon, 4 in family, 2 horses, 1 wagon, 3 cows, 1 calf, 30 wheat, 240 corn, 600 oats
Alex Kelley, 8 in family, 1 horse, 1 cow, 4 calves, 5 sheep, 150 corn
Andy Ross, 8 in family, 1 wagon, 2 oxen, 3 cows, 3 calves, 10 sheep
Chas Eddy
Thos Kerron, 7 in family, 1 ox, 2 cows, 3 calves
Widow Thompson, 2 in family, 1 cow, 1 calf, 25 corn
John Lewis, 8 in family, 2 horses, 1 wagon, 3 cows, 2 calves, 200 corn, 100 oats
Ephrin Lewis, 2 in family, 2 horses, 2 cows, 3 sheep, 200 corn, 100 oats
P D Harper, 4 in family, 1 ox, 2 cows, 4 sheep
John Ross, 7 in family, 1 ox, 2 cows, 150 corn
Amos Tabbs, 9 in family, 3 horses, 2 wagons, 4 oxen, 2 cows, 6 sheep, 50 wheat, 520 corn
John Bannon, 5 in family, 2 horses, 1 wagon, 1 cow, 3 calves, 11 sheep, 20 wheat, 280 corn, 40 oats
Willis Smith, 3 in family, 1 ox, 2 cows, 2 calves, 50 wheat, 150 corn
Alvich Phelps, 5 in family, 2 horses, 1 wagon, 2 cows, 2 calves, 200 corn, 50 oats
5th Capt. Herman Mott, 10 in family, 4 horses, 1 wagon, 3 oxen, 4 cows, 200 wheat, 300 corn, 200 oats
Alex Strotter, 3 in family, 1 ox, 1 cow
Wm Bedford, 1 wagon, 1 ox, 1 cow, 400 corn
Isaac Davis, 11 in family, 2 horses, 1 wagon, 2 oxen, 5 cows, 15 sheep, 125 wheat
C. J Raymond, 3 in family, 1 cow, 10 wheat, 100 corn
Hilan David, 7 in family
Nathan Hining, 6 in family, 1 horse, 1 wagon, 2 oxen, 2 cows, 2 calves, 6 sheep, 30 wheat, 200 corn
Francis Case, 7 in family, 2 cows, 20 wheat, 80 corn
Ezra Tylor, 7 in family
Wm Hawk, 7 in family, 2 horses, 2 cows, 3 calves, 12 wheat, 300 corn, 200 oats
A[llen] Burke, 3 in family, 1 horse, 1 wagon, 5 cows, 4 sheep, 20 wheat, 150 corn
Anthony Shaw, 8 in family, 1 wagon, 1 ox, 1 cow, 4 sheep, 200 wheat, 200 corn
I L Martin, 12 in family, 2 horses, 1 wagon, 1 ox, 4 cows, 10 calves, 30 sheep, 300 wheat, 150 corn
Coto Mead, 2 in family, 1 cow, 1 calf
Allen Birk, 3 in family
Wm Smith, 2 horses, 1 wagon, 1 cow, 1 2 year old [cow]
Lyman Mott, 7 in family, 2 oxen, 2 cows, 7 sheep, 50 wheat, 240 corn

6th Capt. Stephen Chapman
Jon Pugmire, 6 in family, Claim $50.00, 1 ox, 2 cows, 70 potat., 40 wheat, 100 corn
Elkanah Hoskins, 3 in family, 1 horse, 1 colt, 1 ox, 2 cows, 1 2 year old cow, Claim $50.00
Nicholas Remien, 1 horse, 1 wagon, 2 cows, 2 calves, 7 sheep, 40 wheat, 100 corn
Land Brown, 10 in family, 1 wagon, 4 cows, 20 wheat
Elijah Shockley, 6 in family, 1 wagon, 1 ox, 8 cows, 2 2 year old [cows], 7 sheep
Wm Shockley, 1 cow, 1 calf
Benj Hendrix, 1 colt, 1 wagon, 1 ox, 2 cows, 25 wheat
Dan Shoemate, 7 in family, 1 cow, 2 2 year old [cows], 1 calf
Wm Pomeroy, Claim $50.00, 2 cows, 25 wheat, 100 corn, 50 oats

7th Capt. B C Ellsworth, 5 in family, 1 cow, 8 sheep
Thos R Ring, 10 in family, Tools $20.00, 3 cows, 1 2 year old [cow], 4 calves, 250 corn
Peter Robinson, 3 in family, 2 cows, 1 calf, Tools $282.00
Davis Maggard, 10 in family, 1 horse, 1 wagon, 2 oxen, 3 cows, 2 2 year old [cows], 4 calves, 14 sheep, 20 wheat, 300 corn, 25 oats
Orang Warner, 7 in family, 2 horses, 1 wagon, 2 cows, 10 sheep, 300 corn
Rufus King, 100 lbs. potatoes, 1 calf, 200 corn
John Akerly, 2 in family, 1 cow, Property $60.00
W. H. Jordan, 10 lb[s]. potatoes, 2 oxen, 200 corn
R P Baldwin, 1 wagon
W Baldwin
G N Taylor

8th Capt. Chas Chapman
9th Capt. Wm Sulye, 5 in family, 2 horses, 1 cow, 120 corn
Henry Wilson, 2 in family, 2 horses, 1 cow, 160 corn
Jonathan Sleeper, 4 in family
W King
Jos Murphy, 3 in family
Henry Blackburn, 9 in family, 1 cow, 1 calf, 120 corn
David Young, 5 in family, 2 horses, 4 cows, 1 2 year old [cow], 240 corn, 50 oats
Reason Bain, 3 in family, 1 oxen, 1 cow, 60 corn
I Sulye, 2 in family, 1 cow, House 2 lots Claim 50 acres
I W Sulye, 4 in family, 2 horses, 1 colt, 1 cow, 1 sheep, 680 corn
James Young, 10 in family, 1 oxen, 4 cows, 100 wheat, 600 corn, 100 oats
James Whaley, 6 in family, 2 oxen, 2 cows, 2 2 year old [cows], 160 corn
Harmon Sampson, 6 in family, 1 wagon, 1 oxen, 2 cows, 100 corn
Three widows, 2 cows

10th Capt. Andrew Hamilton, 9 in family, 1 horse, 2 colts, 1 wagon, 2 cows, 2 2 year old [cows],
2 calves, 1 sheep, Double set Harness
G G Akes, 2 in family, 1 wagon
John Winn, 3 in family
Alvin Bennis, 4 in family, 3 horses, 2 wagons, 1 ox, 2 cows, 1 calf
Jepe Mason, 4 in family, 1 wagon, 5 oxen, 2 cows, 1 2 year old [cow], 15 sheep
German Ellsworth, 6 in family, 1 wagon, 1 oxen, 2 cows
Ira Ellsworth, 8 in family, 1 oxen, 1 cow
Alonzo Michan, 3 in family
D D Leach, 3 in family

11th Capt. Rufus Steward[.]

Adapted from Chapman Duncan, Reminiscences 1852-1874, 11-11A, 23-25.
Appendix 5

The skirmish of 1848, June 6, 1848. This is the only fatal conflict that occurred between the Indians and all 1848 pioneers. Although many pioneers wrote about the skirmish, most are under the preface “heard.” This account seems to be the most historically accurate from the journals of 1848. Written by William Clayton.

“Tuesday 6th about 8 o clock an alarm was brought to camp, by one of the herdsboys, that Indians were driving off some of the cattle, from the herd about two miles below. A number of the brethren immediately started in pursuit, some on foot and some on horses. Howard Egan and Wm. H[enry]. Kimball went in company, and were afterwards joined by [Thomas Edwin] Ricks & [Noah Willis] Bartholomew all having horses. They proceeded at a rapid pace about six miles down the river and as they went heard a number of shots fired which created much anxiety for the safety of those on foot. When about six miles from camp, they came suddenly upon a party of about ten armed Indians who appeared very hostile, but the brethren did not anticipate any danger, their object being to hunt for the cattle and if they found any to drive them back.

However, immediately on the arrival of the brethren amongst the Indians the latter fired several shots, one of which took affect on Ricks, who fell from his horse to the ground apparently dead. At the same instant Howard Egan observed an Indian standing about 20 or 25 feet from them, and taking a dead aim with his rifle at Wm. Kimball, quick as thought he levelled his pistol and fired at the Indian to save W's life. The rifle fell from the Indians hands, but in falling it exploded the ball passing through the fleshy part of Wms. horses hip. The Indian then ran off, but during this scene another Indian had fired upon Egan, the ball passing through his right arm above the wrist, mangling it severely, which caused his pistol (a six shooter) to drop to the ground. Another ball passed through his horses neck which caused him to wheel round making it difficult for Egan to keep the saddle. The brethren then saw it was best to retreat on account of lack of numbers and arms, and seeing that the Indians were determined to fight. All this scenery was but the work of a moment, during which time shots were heard in several other directions. The brethren then drew off towards camp, some distance, leaving Ricks on the ground, and on looking back, they observed one of the Indians proceed towards where Ricks lay & they feared it was to scalp him. However he only picked up the pistol and then followed the others down the river. Es Egan soon grew faint with loss of blood and had to be held on his horse by Wm. Kimball, who also bound up his arm with his handkerchief to staunch the blood. They then proceeded onwards towards the camp untill they arrived at the place where they crossed the river (being now on the East side) and here they found several other brethren and informed them of Ricks's situation, requesting them to fetch him to camp, which they agreed to do, and started accordingly by Es Egan and Wm. Kimball then proceeded slowly towards camp taking a circuit towards the bluffs, to avoid the timber, untill they saw some wagons going towards the camp, which proved to be a company with Martin H[orton]. Peck. On arriving at the wagons Es Egan was put in one of them being very faint with loss of blood, and they soon after arrived at the Ford of the Elk Horn. Here Dr. [John Milton] Bernhisel was sent for, and he dressed the wound, and ascertained that no bones were broke. The facts above being made known in camp brother Joel Ricks and T[homas]. [Levi] Whittle with one or two others, took a light wagon, and started to fetch up brother Ricks’ son, proceeding down the East side the river. On arriving near the place where they expected to find the wounded, they were surprised and taken prisoners by a party of 20 or 30 Indians, who took them some distance down the river. The brethren had a trunk or
trunks in the wagon which the Indians ransacked, taking a number of articles, and a good coat, worth fifteen dollars. After doing this, and making many signs and gestures of a hostile character, they let the brethren go without farther harm, and they immediately returned towards camp, learning by the way, that the wounded man, had already been taken to camp by the route on the other side the river. Those brethren who started at the request of Es Egan and Wm. Kimball, together with others who joined them went back to this place, where the affray took place, and found brother Ricks still laying in the same place and alive. They took him up and proceeded with him towards camp, and were met by a carriage, in which he was placed and about two o clock arrived with him at his fathers wagon. Dr Bernhisel examined him and found that he was wounded by 3 large buckshot having penetrated the small part of his back. The Dr dressed his wound but it was generally believed that he could not long survive. However Prest. Kimball and one or two others laid their hands on him and prayed for his recovery. The Lord heard their prayers and he revived immediately. There were still one or two brethren missing who went out on foot, and much anxiety was felt on their account, but towards evening they arrived safe. The Indians succeeded in killing and carrying off an ox belonging to Br John Pack, but on starting away from the Elk Horn, a stray ox came to his wagon for which no owner could be found, so that the loss was in a measure made up. About 3 o clock the camp commenced moving off from the River, as it was considered wisdom to leave the timber as soon as possible, and all the wagons being over which had then arrived, so that we should not be in so much danger from the attacks of Indians, who, it is pretty certainly ascertained are of the Omaha and Ottoc [Otoe] tribes, and from every circumstance are doubtless in the neighborhood for the purpose of plundering us of cattle &c.”

Taken from Heber C. Kimball, Journal, in Autobiography [ca. 1842-1858], in Heber C. Kimball, Papers, 1837-1866, reel 1, box 1, June 6, 1848, [written by William Clayton].
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources


Benjamin, Ashby, “Ashby Benjamin, Autobiography, [ca. 1897-1904], [25-30].” Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[Bigler, Henry W.], Henele Pikale, “Recollections of the Past, Juvenile Instructor,” 21, no. 23 (1 Dec. 1886); 365-66. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Boyle, Henry Green, Reminiscences and diaries, 1846-1888, fd.1, 40-41. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Brown, Lorenzo, Reminiscences and diaries, 1856-[1900], vol. 1, 37-53. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

______. Journals 1843-1849, fd. 1-4. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Burton, William, Diaries, 1839-1851, fd.8. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Cahoon, Margaret Carruth, [Autobiography], in Stella Cahoon Shurtleff and Brent Farrington Cahoon, comp. and ed., *Reynolds Cahoon and His Stalwart Sons—Utah Pioneers* [1960], 117-118, 121. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Conover, Peter Wilson, Reminiscences [ca. 1880], 6-7. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Cook, Phineas Wolcott, Reminiscences and journal, 1843-1886, 52-56. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Call, Anson, Autobiography and journal [ca. 1857-1883]. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Clark, Mary Stevenson, Autobiography [ca. 1908], 2-3. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Crosby, Caroline Barnes, Memoirs and diary, 1851-1882, fd. 2, 7-24. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Crosby, Jonathan, Papers, in Caroline Barnes Crosby, Memoirs and diary, 1851-1882, reel 1, 27-29. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Davis, Caroline Frances Angell, Autobiographical sketch. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Egan, Howard, Pioneering the West, 1846 to 1878, ed. and comp. William M. Egan [1917], 140-45. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Griffin, Charles Emerson, Autobiography [ca. 1875-1893], 6-7. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Hale, Alma Helaman, Autobiography, [ca. 1901], 1. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Hale, Aroet Lucious, Diary of Aroet Lucious Hale, 1828-1849, 12, 16-17. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Heward, John, Autobiography [ca. 1871]. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Hogan, Goudy Ericsen, Autobiography, 5. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Holbrook, Joseph, Reminiscences [ca. 1860-1871], fd. 1, 145-47. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Hovey, Joseph Grafton, Reminiscences and journals, 1845-1856, vol. 1, 130-75. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Huntington, Oliver Boardman, Diary and reminiscences, 1843 June – 1900 Jan., 20-43. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Johnson, Benjamin F., My Life’s Review [1947], 121-23. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Kimball, Heber C., Journal, in Autobiography [ca. 1842-1858], in Heber C. Kimball, Papers, 1837-1866, reel 1, box 1. [written by William Clayton], Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Lyman, Amasa M. and James H. Rollins, [Letter], in Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 12 Sept. 1848, 2. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Lyman, Eliza Maria Partridge, Life and Journal of Eliza Maria Partridge Lyman [n.d.], 43-45. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Morris, George, Reminiscences [ca. 1867-1886], 66-69. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

______. Reminiscences [ca. 1880-1890], 12-13. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Neff, Elizabeth to Anna Bitner, 21 Aug. 1848, in Musser family, Letters 1847-1849; 1877. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Peart, Jacob, Diary, 1847-1872, 33. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


______. Cache Valley Historical Material, reel 4, item 88, 33-46. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Richards, Franklin Dewey, Narrative of Franklin Dewey Richards, in University of California (Berkeley) Bancroft Library, Utah and the Mormons Collection, reel 2, item 3, 33-38. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Richards, Phinehas, Diary, in Richards Family, Collection, reel 16, box 13, fd. 10. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Richards, Willard, to Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, 10 Sept. 1848, in Brigham Young, Office Files 1832-1878, reel 55, box 41, fd. 28. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Robinson, Joseph Lee, Autobiography and journals 1883-1892, [manuscript:] vol. 1, 60, 66-67. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Rogers, Mary Ann Mayer, Reminiscence. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Scott, Mary Pugh, [“Life Story of Mary Pugh Scott,”] in Carol Cornwall Madsen, Journey to Zion: Voices from the Mormon Trail, Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1997, 399-402.

“Second 50, reports, 1848 June.” In Camp of Israel schedules and reports 1845-1849, Willard Richards’ 1848 emigration division. MS 14290, Reel 3, Box 2, Folder 33, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Smith, John, Autobiography, 4-5, reel 3, in University of California (Berkeley) Bancroft Library, Utah and the Mormons collection. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Smith, Samuel Harrison Reminiscences and diary 1856-Apr.-1863 July, [3-4]. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Taylor, Allen to Brigham Young, 6 Sept. 1848. In Brigham Young, Office Files 1832-1878, General Correspondence, Incoming, 1840-1877, S-Y, 1848. (CR 1234 1, reel 30, box 21, folder 14). Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Terry, James Parshall, Reminiscences and Journal, 1886-1893, 112. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


Thompson, William, [Letter], in Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 23 July 1848, 2-3. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

________. [Journal], in Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 24 Sept. 1848, 17-54. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Wood, Daniel, Journals [ca. 1862-1900]. (MS 1488, Box 2, Fd. 2, 33-54. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Wood, Joseph, Autobiographical sketch, in [Frank Wood], “History of Joseph Wood.” Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


______. [Journal], Salt Lake Telegram, 7 Jan. 1935. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Young, Brigham, “Letter From President Brigham Young to Orson Spencer,” Winter Quarters, 23rd January 1848, *Millennial Star*, vol. 10 no. 8, April 15, 1848, 115.

______. [Letter], in *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 17 July 1848, 3-9. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

______. Brigham Young office files: General Correspondence, Incoming, 1840-1877, General Letters, 1840-1877, A-C, 1848. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

______. [Letter], in *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 20 Aug. 1848, 2. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

______. [Letter], in *Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 24 Aug. 1848, 2. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

______. Young, Brigham and Heber C. Kimball, [Letter], in *Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 28 Aug. 1848, 2-4. Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Secondary Sources


Ford, Gary, *Cornelius P. Lott and his Contribution to the Temporal Salvation of the Latter-day Saint Pioneers Through the Care of Livestock*, BYU Scholars Archive, 2005. @http://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/719/ (accessed on 1/31/17).


The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Faith In Every Footstep*, Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1996.


