1972

A Study of Mormon Knowledge of the American Far West Prior to the Exodus (1830-February, 1846)

Lewis Clark Christian

Brigham Young University - Provo

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A STUDY OF MORMON KNOWLEDGE OF THE AMERICAN

FAR WEST PRIOR TO THE EXODUS

(1830 - February, 1846)

A Thesis

Presented to the

Department of History

Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Lewis Clark Christian

May, 1972
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to acknowledge those who have helped in the preparation of this thesis. Dr. Milton V. Backman, Jr., and Dr. Eugene E. Campbell of Brigham Young University gave of their efforts and time in directing and counseling. The staffs of the Brigham Young University Library, The Utah State Historical Society, and the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City have helped in every way possible. Special thanks is given to the Chicago Historical Society, the Minnesota Historical Society, and the Yale University Library for the permission to reproduce manuscripts found in their libraries.

The author also wishes to give special thanks to Jeff Johnson of the Church Historian's Office and Chad Flake of the Special Collections Library at the Brigham Young University who were invaluable in directing the author to important sources. The author's wife Laurel has admirably fulfilled the wifely duties of encouragement and suggestion.
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## PART I

**THE WEST BEFORE 1846 AS DEPICTED IN WRITTEN WORKS AND ON MAPS**

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INTRODUCTION

A study of the Mormon knowledge of the West prior to February, 1846, has never been fully undertaken. Numerous isolated references have been made to this theme by various writers, but the subject has been consistently examined in broad general terms or isolated aspects. Hyrum Andrus wrote an article entitled, "Joseph Smith and the West," which appeared in the Brigham Young University Studies (Fall, 1960). Andrus merely touched on the problem, suggesting that there is much more to the Mormon knowledge of the West that needed to be explored. William J. Snow and Andrew Neff in their theses entitled, "The Great Basin before the Mormons," and "The Mormon Migration" each devoted a chapter to the problem. One of the most recent works completed on this problem is Richard H. Jackson's doctoral dissertation entitled, "Myth and Reality: Environmental Perception of the Mormons, 1840-1965, An Historical Geosophy." However, like many historians writing on Mormon history, Jackson omitted some aspects of Mormon knowledge of the west, discussing only those that pertained to the purpose of his study. Many of the histories written about Utah and the Mormon movement devote a paragraph or a mere chapter or two on the problem, such as: Leonard J. Arrington's, Great Basin Kingdom; Klaus J. Hansen's Quest for Empire; Nels Anderson's, Desert Saints; Leland H. Creer's The Founding of an Empire; and Andrew Neff's History of Utah. A thorough account, however, of what the Mormons knew about Western America in the 1830's and 1840's and to what extent this knowledge aided them in studying locations in
the West, remains to be told.

THE PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem. The purpose of this study is to bring to light available date pertaining to Mormon knowledge of the West prior to the exodus in February, 1846, and show how this data aided them in their expulsion from Nauvoo, Illinois.

Importance of the Study. A detailed study of Mormon knowledge of the West prior to February, 1846, is of historical significance. It will shed light on the controversy, which has existed ever since the Mormons arrived in the Great Basin, as to what was their destination when they left Nauvoo, and will reveal the nature of their study of the West prior to their departure. This study will also furnish valuable insight into the attitudes of the leaders of the Mormon Church prior to 1846 concerning the West. It brings together, in a more complete form than ever before, information relating to Mormon preparations prior to the exodus from Nauvoo.

LIMITATIONS

Such a study as here undertaken is limited in its scope. Numerous works have been written on the Mormon migration west. This study is limited only to those parts of that history which have direct bearing on the efforts of Mormon leaders to obtain knowledge of the West prior to February, 1846, to aid them in their exodus; and the use of this knowledge to determine locations for their people.
REVIEW OF SOURCE MATERIALS

To the degree possible, this study has concerned itself with material from original sources such as private journals, newspapers, letters, minutes, and historical writings originating in the period before and during the Mormon exodus. The most valuable collection of these materials is found in the Church Historian's Library of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Brigham Young University Library, and the Utah State Historical Society Library. Other helpful sources are the microfilm collection of Illinois history at the University of Southern Illinois and the Coe Collection at the Yale University which have led the author to numerous original manuscripts pertaining to early Mormon history.

Valuable material is also available in numerous printed sources which comment on the period of exodus, such as B. H. Robert's Comprehensive History of the Church. Another source worthy of mention is the Documentary History of the Church. The source used to provide the many maps of this early period was Carl I. Wheat's monumental four volume work, Mapping of the Trans-Mississippi West.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Because of the world-wide nature of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, it is assumed that readers have some knowledge of said church and therefore will be familiar with most of the terms used in this study. However, the following are given as those terms requiring a specific meaning when used in this study:

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: The members
of said church are referred to as "Latter-day Saints," "Mormons," or simply "Saints."

Mormonism: Used to refer to the theology and philosophy of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Zion: The gathering place of the Saints in preparation for the second coming of Christ.

Revelation: A basic Mormon belief is that God is directing the affairs of the Church through a living prophet.

California: Prior to 1847 there were two Californias—Upper and Lower. Upper California, which was the main objective of most of the emigrants, included all of present California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, parts of New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming.

Oregon: Prior to 1847 included all of present Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and part of Wyoming.


Exodus: Refers to the trek of the Mormons from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the Great Basin.
Part I

THE WEST BEFORE 1846 AS DEPICTED

IN WRITTEN WORKS AND ON MAPS
Chapter 1

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT IN RETROSPECT

The exploration and colonization of the West began with the planting of the English colonies in America. After the aggressiveness of imperial Britain diminished, the movement West continued despite other opposition. Frederick Logan Paxson, speaking of the westward movement, said, "Bad roads, dense forests, and Indian obstructers have never succeeded in stifling the call of the West." And so the frontier moved before the relentless push of those seeking refuge, adventure and homesteads in the West. The eminent historian of the American West, Frederick Jackson Turner, gave his interpretation of this westward move—when he said it was the western wilderness that "ever opened a gate of escape to the poor, the discontented and oppressed." 

1 Although the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 virtually removed any influence of the British Empire from the eastern seaboard, the British fur traders and trappers still roamed the wilderness of the Far West. These men eventually explored and mapped much of what was to become Western America. It wasn’t until the beaver hat gave way to the silk that this influence also disappeared.

2 France, Spain and Mexico were the other threats to American supremacy in the West. France found herself removed from American shores by 1803. Spain sold out in the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819. Mexico’s dominion over the Alta California and Texas regions ceased with the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1846.

3 Frederick Logan Paxson, The Last American Frontier (New York, 1911), p. 49.

The story of America has been that of a series of frontiers. Even though Major Stephen H. Long, in 1820, explored and declared the area west of the Mississippi to be "The Great American Desert," and the newspapers of the day described it as "covered with sand, gravel and pebbles, etc.," this frontier succumbed to man's courage and foresight.5

There were many influences that drew people along the trail toward the West. "Oregon fever," manifest destiny," "fur trade," and the wealth of California, each played their part. The cause of western exploration and the eventual settlement was aided when in 1845 U. S. President James K. Polk stated that "our title to the Oregon is clear and indisputable." He recommended to the American people that they carry out this right by "possessing it with their wives and children."6

The lure of Oregon and California and the threat of Britain, this time on Oregon's shores, caused George Wilkes in 1845 to issue a challenge to all Americans to "buckle on our armor, and to draw our swords"7 in defense of the Far West. Wilkes then closed his History of Oregon by pleading:

Arouse then America, and obey the mandate which Destiny had imposed upon you for the redemption of a world! Send forth upon its mighty errand, the spirit of enfranchised man; nor let it pause until it bears down every barrier of unrighteous power; till it enlarges the boundaries of freedom to the last meridian, and spreads its generous influence from pole to pole!8


7George Wilkes, The History of Oregon, Geographical and Political (New York, 1845), p. 3.

8Ibid., p. 62.
Such were the feelings of many Americans in the year 1845. That was a time when those moving West felt it was their mandate from destiny to carry forth the banner of "enfranchised man" to the "last meridian," to the "new West"—the then disputed Pacific Coast. As early as 1828, Timothy Flint foresaw the possible American colonization of the "new West" spoken of by George Wilkes, and found space in his A Condensed Geography and History of the Western States to encourage Congress to adopt measures to possess the Pacific Coast: "Were such settlements authorized, and rendered secure by the requisite military establishments, there can be no doubt, but it [Oregon] would receive large accessions of immigrants." 9

The years of 1841-1847 found Americans responding to Manifest Destiny and the foresight of Timothy Flint. They petitioned Congress for permission to settle the Oregon and California territories and asked Congress to establish military posts along the route for protection. 10

The early 1840's were years of decision for those who placed their earthly belongings in a wagon or on an animal and set their eyes westward. The following questions needed answering: What was the best route for travel? How could the marauding bands of Indians be avoided?

9 For an excellent monograph on the Oregon Question as it then existed, the reader is referred to Albert Gallatin, The Oregon Question (New York, 1846). The cry from the press at this time was for a true American to rush to the aid of his country and help colonize the West. The New York Herald, August 8, 1843 stated its position: "Its [Oregon's] importance cannot be exaggerated. The possession of the territory by this country is essential to our security."

10 Timothy Flint, A Condensed Geography and History of the Western States, or the Mississippi Valley (Cincinnati, 1828), II, 448.

11 Infra, pp. 32-33. These memorials and petitions were typical of those of this period.
What provisions were needed to outfit a wagon for a 2,000 mile journey? Where were the best campgrounds? How could disasters be avoided?

There was a need for a concise, handy reference that would answer questions which arose in the minds of the emigrants.

Soon, men like Jason Lee, the missionary; William Ashley and Jedediah Smith, the mountain men; and Lewis and Clark and John C. Fremont, the explorers, returned to civilization from the West. They sensed the need (either by suggestion, assignment or invitation) to put their experiences on map and in a narrative for future travelers.

After the return of these men in the 1830's and 1840's, as Carl I. Wheat said, "The cartographic floodgates swung wide and engulfed America's last frontier. Armed with these latest cartographic achievements and overland guides that were available, missionaries, explorers and settlers surged upon the new land beyond the Mississippi."

The purpose of the next two chapters will be to determine the types of overland guides, maps, diaries and general histories avail-

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12Carl I. Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West (San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958), III, 31.

13By 1841 there were no more than 400 emigrants on the trail west. However, 1845 saw some 3,000 seeking settlement in either Oregon or California. In 1846 the number was reduced to 1,300. 1847 experienced some 4,000 to 5,000 moving west. Speaking of the western population, Frederick Jackson Turner said: "By 1830, probably hardly more that 16,000 Americans and 3,000 or 4,000 Mexicans lived in Texas; scarcely an American and only a few British Subjects, in Oregon; and in California, but a few hundred Americans. Altogether it is probable there were not over 20,000 Americans in all the Far West beyond the borders of Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana--a land half as large as Europe." Frederick Jackson Turner, The U. S. 1830-1850 (Gloucester, Mass: Henry Holt and Company, Inc. 1935), p. 353.

14The diaries of the West prior to 1847 varied as to reliability and accuracy. Dale L. Morgan gave valuable insight into the writing of the overland journal, when he stated: "Those who kept
able to those who wanted to travel to the Far West prior to July, 1847\(^1\) and to show their significance in the development of the West.

---

journals did not always record what we today might wish. The novelties along the way—the tourist sights like Chimney Rock or Devil's Gate—invariably received attention... descriptive detail on the way particular wagon train or pack party set up camp at night, or the mode of handling animals got into exceeding few diaries." Dale L. Morgan, "The Significance and Value of the Overland Journal," Probing the American West (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1962), p. 31.

\(^1\)As stated in the INTRODUCTION, the main objective of this study is to determine the extent of the Mormon knowledge of the West gained through the available written works at their time; hence, a consideration of the most important written works available. The date of February, 1846 is the stopping point of this thesis since this is the month in which the Mormons began their exodus from Nauvoo.
Chapter 2

A STUDY OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF WESTERN AMERICA PRIOR TO 1847

The years 1845 and 1846 were critical times in the history of the United States. The possibility of war loomed between Britain and the United States over the Oregon Territory and with Mexico over the occupancy of Texas and California.

Although the treaty negotiated with Spain on February 22, 1819 had given the United States claim to all territory north of the forty-second parallel to the Pacific, the United States did not gain sole possession of the Oregon Territory from England until June, 1846. After the two countries had occupied that area jointly for about thirty years, the treaty of 1846 established the boundary between the United States and Canada along the forty-ninth parallel.

One of the main factors in the claim of the United States to the Oregon and California territories was the increasing number of American emigrants to those areas. There was almost no doubt, in the minds of Americans, as to their right of occupancy of the region west of the Mississippi to the Pacific Coast. Ralph Waldo Emerson expressed this claim when he wrote, "The bountiful continent is ours, state on state, and territory on territory, to the waves of the Pacific sea." 1

The origins that promoted the emigrations of the 1830's and

1 The Young American, "The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson" (Cambridge, Mass., 1903, 364-365.)
1840's to California and Oregon and the need for a guide to western travel "may be traced as far back as one has the will to go--to the Oregon Missionary crusade of the 1830's, to the unknown west by the fur hunters of preceding decades, to Lewis and Clark, to the age-long quest for a Northwest passage and a Western sea."\(^2\)

The first main penetration of the Far West provided the catalysis for other expeditions and the eventual publication of guides for western travel to aid the emigrant.

THE FIRST PENETRATION OF THE FAR WEST

**Domínguez and Escalante--**

**1776**

American colonists were declaring their independence and beginning to look beyond the Appalachian mountains even as a Spanish expedition headed by Domínguez and Escalante, two Spaniards, was attempting to open a new route from Santa Fe in New Mexico to Monterey in California.\(^3\) Though this famous expedition failed to reach Monterey, it did produce a well-narrated account\(^4\) of the party's thrust into the interior of Western America, and, according to Leland H. Creer, left "to posterity the earliest recorded description of this country.\(^5\)"


\(^3\) For more detail concerning this historical expedition see Leland H. Creer, *The Founding of an Empire* (Salt Lake: Bookcraft, 1947) pp. 1-25.

Great Basin of which we have any knowledge.5 Accompanying the
Domínguez-escalante Expedition, in 1776, was a young cartographer and
military engineer, Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, who drew several maps
showing the extent of their discovery.6

As far as can be determined, neither the Escalante journals,
nor the Miera maps were printed immediately after the return of the
expedition. A German scientist, Alexander von Humboldt, first publi-
cized their works.7 In his narration entitled, Political Essay on the
Kingdom of New Spain, Humboldt revealed for the first time the natural
scenery of what has become Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Arizona,
Nevada, and California. The significance of Humboldt's work lies in
the influence it had on other explorers and travelers of the West. As
he traveled back to his native Germany in 1814, he left one copy of his
map with the State Department in Washington and another with a friend
in England.8 In a work published in Philadelphia by Mathew Carey in

5Creer, The Founding of an Empire, p. 25. It is interesting
to note that the first historical allusion to the Great Salt Lake is
in the journal of Escalante.

6David E. Miller, Utah Historical Atlas (2nd ed. rev.; Salt
Lake: Smith Secretarial Service, 1968), p. 8. See also Wheat, Mapp-
ing the Trans-Mississippi West, II, p. 108. See Appendix A for two
of Miera’s maps.

7Alexander Humboldt, Political Essay on the Kingdom of New
never personally ventured into the area of the Great Basin and Pacific
West. He traveled mainly in Central Mexico. From the conversations
with learned men and personal observations of the materials in the
archives of the Vice Royalty (where Escalante deposited his journals)
he was able to collect a mass of information on which to base his
Essay. See C. Gregory Crampton, “Humboldt’s Utah, 1811,” Utah His-
torical Quarterly XXVI (July, 1958), 270.

8Crampton, “Humboldt’s Utah, 1811,” p. 270. That Humboldt's
work was available to the general public is evidenced by an advertise-
ment appearing in the Palmyra Register. See Palmyra Register, Octo-
ber 6, 1818, October 13, 1818 or October 20, 1818.
1815, Humboldt\textsuperscript{9} claimed that Montgomery Pike copied the large map of New Spain left in Washington and put it in his book published in 1811.\textsuperscript{10} The map, left with the friend in England, was also published.\textsuperscript{11} Nor was this all, for in 1833 W. MacQuillivray popularized Humboldt's travels in America in a small work published in New York.\textsuperscript{12} Thus it can be seen that within seventy years after the famous Dominguez-Escalante Expedition, their journals and maps on the interior of Western America (published and popularized by Humboldt) were well within the reach of Americans traveling west.

THE EARLY EXPEDITIONS AND MAPS OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Lewis and Clark--1804

The opening of the nineteenth century found the Far West still obscure and undescribed in men's minds and on their published maps.\textsuperscript{13} However, the first part of this new century produced three famous

\textsuperscript{9}Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, II, 24-25. It is interesting to note that Wheat says he was not able to locate the map left at the State Department in 1804. Yet, a careful examination of both maps reveals that Pike had seen a Humboldt map.

\textsuperscript{10}Zebulon M. Pike, Exploratory Travels through the Western Territories of North America: . . . (London, 1811).

\textsuperscript{11}Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, II, 27. See Appendix B for Humboldt's Map.

\textsuperscript{12}W. MacQuillivray, The Travels and Researches of Alexander von Humboldt (New York, 1833). It is interesting to note that John C. Fremont used and acknowledged Humboldt. Crampton, Op. Cit. p. 269.

\textsuperscript{13}Man's lack of knowledge of the West was indicated by four small maps that were published in Philadelphia in 1804. They were a joint effort of Samuel Lewis and Aaron Arrowsmith. In their A New and Elegant General Atlas, Compromising all the New Discoveries to the Present Time, they presented to the American people what was considered to be all of the American West. See Appendix C for the Lewis Arrowsmith Map of Louisiana.
explorations with detailed accounts and maps which influenced westward travel well into the middle of the century.

Lewis and Clark were the real pioneers in the Northwest. Their accurate observations were placed on a monumental map and in well-narrated journals. The results were published in 1814 in Philadelphia and New York and immediately excited interest in the Pacific Northwest. It became a classic in the literature of discovery and exploration, and the influence of this epic expedition found its way into almost every map produced for many years thereafter.¹⁴

Montgomery Pike--1806

While Lewis and Clark were still in the upper-Missouri Country floating homeward from their expedition to the Pacific, Zebulon Montgomery Pike, a twenty-seven year old Lieutenant in the United States Army, left July 15, 1806, for his famous expedition to the Spanish borderlands. The trip resulted in the publication in 1810 of a journal and several maps that offered to the public much new information about the country directly west from St. Louis and as far west as the Rocky Mountains.¹⁵

Stephen H. Long--1819

It was left to Major Stephen H. Long to complete those three


¹⁵ Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, II, 16-17. Pike's work was first published by C & A Conrad & Co. of Philadelphia in 1810. For an explanation of this earlier work see Pike, Exploratory Travels, p. v. See Appendix D for Pike's map.
penetrations beyond the Mississippi begun by Lewis and Clark and Pike. Even though this expedition, which left Philadelphia in 1819 and returned in 1820, failed to accomplish either of its main objectives set down by Secretary of War Calhoun, it did add "greatly to the knowledge of a portion of the country but imperfectly known through hunters and traders." Wheat called Long's map, accompanying the two-volume work, "A distinct step forward in the mapping of the west." Thus three great expeditions laid down in detail the region west of the Mississippi and helped erase some myth and fantasy associated with the area. And so by 1823 Americans were well armed with narrated accounts to begin their exploitation of the Trans-Mississippi West.

THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH MOUNTAIN MEN

According to William J. Snow, the search for furs provided the key to the real exploration and opening of the region west of the Mississippi. In their search for those peltries, the Mountain Men

16Edwin James, Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, . . . (Philadelphia, 1823), pp. 3-4. The instructions to Long were: "You will assume the command of the Expedition to explore the country between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains. You will first explore the Missouri and its principal branches, and then, in succession, Red River, Arkansas and Mississippi, above the mouth of the Missouri."

17Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, . . . ED. R. G. Thwaites, Early Western Travels (Cleveland, 1905), XIV, 20. See also Miles Register, February 8, 1823, pp. 353-354; November 1, 1823, p. 136.

18Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, II, 81. See Appendix E for Long's Map.

19Ibid., II, 4.

"converged" upon the Great Basin and Oregon area "from three directions --the Southeast, the Northwest, and the East." Their names are famous; Provost, Ogden, Bridger, Walker, Astor, Ashley, and Smith (and the list could go on). Each left his name and explorations etched on the West.

The British traders and fur men contributed substantially in the development of the Far West. Although some British materials and maps of this area were available before 1847, most of their records have for the first time been recently published. Consequently we turn to American records for the principal source of published materials during the fur trade era.

Ross Cox--1811

Some western historians believe that after Captain James Cook allowed his men to trade with the Indians on the Columbia River, he caused "a regular stampede to the region where fortunes were to be made overnight." Among those who came in search of this "fur gold"

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22 The maps of David Thompson, Peter Skene Ogden, and Alexander Ross were some of the first to accurately depict the Columbia River area. However, Peter Skene Ogden's journals weren't published until 1950. But, the emigrants weren't left without some British books on the Far West before 1847. Aaron Arrowsmith, the British cartographer, published a map of "British North America" in February, 1835, and made public the works of Thompson, Ross, Kittson, and Ogden. Wheat called this map monumental and indicated that it was soon being copied by most everyone. Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, II, 145-146. See Appendix F for Arrowsmith's Map.

23 For an excellent history of the fur trade era see Hiram M. Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West (3 vols.: New York, 1902).

was Ross Cox, who joined the American Fur Company of John Jacob Astor.\footnote{Ibid., p. xxx.}

After spending about five years in the Northwest, he traveled overland to Montreal on the St. Lawrence, and then to Ireland. He published the account of his travels in London in 1831; and his work was so successful that a later edition was published in New York in 1832.\footnote{Ross Cox, \textit{Adventures on the Columbia River, ...} (New York, 1832). According to Stewart, the editor of Cox's work, even though Cox "wrote largely from memory" and "hearsay", he presented a narrative that was of help and interest to the reader. Ibid., pp. xxxi-xxxii. See also The Evening and Morning Star \textit{Independence, Mo.} \textit{Oct.} October 1832, p. 36.}

\textbf{John Jacob Astor (Washington Irving)--1822}

Another of the classics of the American Fur Trade, which according to Hiram N. Chittenden,\footnote{Chittenden, \textit{The American Fur Trade}, I, 243.} is unapproached in its particular field, is the two volume work produced by Washington Irving in 1837, entitled \textit{Astoria}.\footnote{Washington Irving, \textit{Astoria} ... (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1836), this book received wide circulation. Daniel Lee used part of it in his book published in 1844. See Daniel Lee and J. H. Frost, \textit{Ten Years in Oregon} (New York, 1844), p. 4.} Irving was a good friend of John Jacob Astor, the founder of the American Fur Company, who established Fort Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia River. On one occasion Astor expressed to Irving "a regret that the true nature and extent of his enterprise and its national character and importance had never been understood."\footnote{Ibid., I, 4.} Astor then gave the journals and letters relative to his exploration and activities to Irving, who in turn wrote the history of Astor's fur company. Among the journals used were those of Lewis and Clark,
Bradbury, Breckenridge, Long, and Cox. 30 Irving, using these excellent journals, described the path of future emigrants to the Columbia River. Perhaps most important in his work was the map entitled, "Sketches of the Routes of Hunt and Stuart," proving to the skeptic that one could indeed traverse the land from the Mississippi to the Columbia in Oregon.

Jedediah M. Smith--1831

The study of history reveals that periodically a great personality will emerge, undertake an adventure which becomes "unprecedented and never again equaled in the annals of western exploration," and then escape from the scene without leaving a written account of his travels. Such a man, according to Wheat, was Jedediah M. Smith. 31 Even though Smith did not publish a written account of his western travels before 1847, 32 his influence on later histories must be briefly mentioned. Smith's original journals and maps have not been found. 33 However, it is interesting to know that the Smith map was available for others to copy before 1847. Nearly every important map of the West printed after 1833, depicts the routes of Smith through

30 Ibid., I, 5.

31 Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, II, 119.

32 During the winter of 1830-1831, while at St. Louis, Smith drew a map of his explorations and with the help of Samuel Parkman began writing his journals for printing. Unfortunately this work was cut short by Smith's untimely death on the Cimarron Desert. See Ibid., II, 5-15 for a discussion of Smith's accomplishments and death.

33 Carl I, Wheat claimed to have found the Smith map superimposed over a Fremont map of 1845. Ibid., II, 120. See Appendix G for the Smith-Fremont Map.
CORRECTION FOR PAGE 16

Hall J. Kelley-1830

There were others who published accounts during the fur trade era and thereby provided westward-minded Americans with a better perspective of where they were headed.
the Great Basin from north to south and across the Sierras to California. Many other works include Smith's descriptions of the country, and thereby provided westward-minded Americans with a better perspective of where they were headed. One of these was Hall J. Kelley, a Boston schoolmaster, who from 1824-1844 was actively engaged in arousing interest in the American claim to the Northwest. Kelley saw, in the Oregon Territory, an undeveloped region which was "the most valuable of all the unoccupied parts of the earth." In 1830 he published a small pamphlet in Boston entitled, A Geographical Sketch in which he advocated that the United States government send three thousand "active sons of American freedom" to secure the fruitful soil of Oregon. More definite plans were formulated for his "American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of the Oregon Territory" in another pamphlet in 1832. This publication was described as a general circular of the advantages of the Oregon Territory, with necessary information on how to outfit for that region. The plan was now before the public, and they could read all the details. However, with Congress unwilling to take a stand, the project was discontinued.

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34 For the extensive use of Smith's map in producing other histories and maps for those moving west see Ibid., II, 143-168.

35 Hall J. Kelley, A Geographical Sketch of that Part of North America called Oregon: (Boston, 1830), p. ix.

36 Ibid., p. 60.

37 Hall J. Kelley, A General Circular (Charleston, 1831).

38 Ibid., p. xiii.
Nathaniel J., and John B. Wyeth

(1831-1836)

The crusade of Kelley came to the attention of one of his disciples and townsmen, Nathaniel J. Wyeth, who not only established Fort Hall on the Oregon Trail, but was also the first to show that the route "via Fort Hall . . . was an easy road, practicable even for wagons." 39 Although Nathaniel J. Wyeth did not produce a published work to aid emigrants before 1847, 40 several individuals who accompanied Wyeth wrote accounts of their activities. One of these writers was John B. Wyeth, a cousin, who left Independence with the other adventurers in May, 1832. He traveled as far as Pierre's Hole and returned east with seven others. 41 After arriving in Boston, he was induced by Benjamin Waterhouse to write the narrative of his travels. 42 This book is one of the few negative accounts written about westward travel. Its main theme was to discourage emigrants from traveling to the Oregon Territory. 43 It is impossible to determine the effect this


40 Wyeth's journals and letter books were published as a collection in 1899. It is interesting to note that Wyeth's manuscript was used by Washington Irving in writing his Adventures of Captain Bonneville in 1837. See Chittenden, The American Fur Trade, III, 456.

41 Chittenden, The American Fur Trade, III, 444.


book had on the emigration westward; however, it was countered by another narrative written by John K. Townsend, a scientist who accompanied Wyeth on his second trip west in 1834.\textsuperscript{44}

John K. Townsend--1839

John K. Townsend joined Wyeth's company after obtaining a commission from the American Philosophical Society and the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia for the purpose of studying birds. Because of his orientation as a scientist, the Townsend narrative is a detailed account of the trip to Oregon. He carefully describes all procedures of an emigrant camp. After spending two years in Oregon, he returned to the East and published his journals in 1838. These records immediately became a source of scientific information on the West.\textsuperscript{45}

Zenas Leonard--1831-1836

Another author who wrote about the West was Zenas Leonard. He joined the fur company under the command of Captains Cant and Blackwell, leaving St. Louis in April, 1831.\textsuperscript{46} Nothing was heard from him until the fall of 1835 when he returned East. After his adventures in the West, "he was continually beset by crowds of anxious inquirers."\textsuperscript{47}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{44} Chittenden, The American Fur Trade, III, 452-453.
\item \textsuperscript{45} John K. Townsend, Narrative of a Journey across the Rocky Mountains . . . (Philadelphia, 1839).
\item \textsuperscript{47} Ibid., p. 56.
\end{itemize}
Moreover, he prepared an account that was published in several newspapers. Commenting on Leonard's writings one editor said "the great interest the public took in it was satisfactorily illustrated by the increase and demand for the newspaper in which it was published."\textsuperscript{48} Due to the popularity of the articles, the information written by Leonard was compiled in a book appearing in 1839.\textsuperscript{49}

**Warren A. Ferris--1842**

Another of the fur trappers who left his narrative to be read by those traveling west was Warren A. Ferris. Ferris joined the Western Department of the American Fur Company as a trader and trapper and remained in their employ until 1835.\textsuperscript{50} Returning home in the winter of 1835, he began preparing a manuscript and map of his travels in hopes of selling it, but was unable to have it published.\textsuperscript{51}

In 1842 his brother, Charles, became editor of the *Western Literary Messenger*\textsuperscript{52} and decided to publish installments of his brother's book under the title, "Life in the Rocky Mountains."\textsuperscript{53} Thus Ferris,
who traversed the Rocky Mountains from 1830-1835. left his written work to be published in one of the early western magazines and to be utilized by others in traveling west.54

THE MISSIONARY EXPEDITIONS AND ACCOUNTS

Jason Lee, Daniel Lee and J. H. Frost--1844

During the middle eighteen thirties and early forties, as the fur trade began passing into oblivion, new adventurers stepped forth to tread the soil of the Far West. These men were missionaries, whose goal was not furs but the souls of the Indians; and they began to provide additional guides and sources books on the West.

After the visit of the Nez Perce Indian delegation to St. Louis in 1831, the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church determined to establish a mission among the Flat-Head tribe of Indians in Oregon.55 In response to the call, Reverend Jason Lee and his nephew, Daniel Lee, offered their services to the Methodist Church and were accepted.56 Although Jason Lee did not publish an account of his


54 An example of the interest in the account of Ferris is exhibited by other periodicals and newspapers extracting accounts. The Mormon newspaper The Nauvoo Wasp, August, 1842, reprinted an article. See Ferris, Life In the Rocky Mountains, ed. Phillips, p. lxiv.


travels prior to 1847, 57 Daniel Lee, his nephew, and a companion, J. H. Frost, produced in 1844 an excellent account of their travels. They wrote that it was their goal "to lay before the readers all the most important particulars connected with the history of that country Oregon, from the time that the Northwest Coast was discovered by Captain Cook, in the year 1792." 58 Accompanying their account was a map depicting the Oregon area, with emphasis on Van Couver's Island. The authors described their work as one of the first attempts to present a "knowledge of the face of that country . . . obtained by actual observation." 59

Samuel Parker--1844

One of the most important and influential writings on the Far West penned by an early missionary was the work of Samuel Parker, first published in 1838, and again in 1840, 1842, and 1844. 60 Parker was careful to write that most of his material "came under the author's personal observation," or "was obtained from gentlemen connected with


58Lee and Frost, Ten Years in Oregon, p. 4.

59Ibid. See Appendix H for the Lee and Frost map.

60Samuel Parker, Journal of an Exploring Tour beyond the Rocky Mountains (Ithaca, New York, 1844). Parker was appointed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to head an exploring mission into the Far West to determine "the condition of the country," and "the facilities for introducing the gospel . . . among them [Indians]." Ibid., p. 3. By 1844 Parker's book had reached wide circulation in the United States and Europe as evidenced by the reviews. Ibid., pp. iii-iv. It is interesting to note that Daniel Lee and J. H. Frost used Parker's book in preparing their publication. See Lee and Frost, Ten Years in Oregon, p. 95.
Perhaps as important as Parker's highly descriptive narrative was the map published with the book entitled, "Map of Oregon Country." This map was advertised as "the earliest" map to contain "reliable information as to the interior of the Oregon Territory." 62

Pierre J. DeSmet and Joseph Williams—1843

Accompanying the first large emigrant group of the 1840's to leave Independence for the West (May, 1841) was a Catholic missionary and a Methodist preacher. Upon reaching Fort Hall, Pierre J. DeSmet, the Catholic missionary, turned north to the Flat Head Indians; Rev. Joseph Williams, the Methodist preacher, continued to the Oregon settlements near the mouth of the Willamette River. Williams returned East in 1843 and published his narrative in Cincinnati. 63 James C. Bell, editor of William's work, described it as throwing a clear light on "the question of the obstacles thrown in the way of emigrants from the States by the agents of . . . the Hudson's Bay Company." 64 It was indeed to become an excellent guide for those traveling west. Meanwhile,

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61 Ibid., p. 2.
62 Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, II, 165. Parker commented on the map: "The map which accompanies this work . . . will be found far more accurate than any which has before been published," Parker, Journal of an Exploring Tour, p. viii. The Oregonian and Indian's Advocate, a newspaper advocating emigration to Oregon, published it in full in 1839. See Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, II, 165. See Appendix I for Samuel Parker's map.
63 Joseph Williams, Narrative of a Tour from the State of Indiana to the Oregon Territory in the Year 1841-2, ed. James C. Bell (New York: Edward Eberstadt, 1921).
64 Ibid., p. 15.
Pierre DeSmet also published an account of his travels and work among the Indians. His first work was printed in Philadelphia in 1843.65

THE EMIGRANT GROUPS AND OVERLAnd GUIDES

Thomas J. Farnham—1844

A flood of published overland guides, journals and maps were made available to eager travelers as the first emigrants to Oregon and California returned East. One of the earliest of these emigrant groups, who styled themselves the "Oregon Dragoons," originated in Peoria, Ill., under the leadership of Thomas J. Farnham.66 Farnham arrived in Oregon with only eight of his original sixteen settlers67 and engaged in agitation for U. S. protection of the Oregon Territory. He also traded throughout California and published two well-written books on Oregon and California.68 According to Catharine Coman, Farnham's "report of what he saw and heard in the course of his journey... was widely read and had great effect in stimulating emigration to the Pacific

65P. J. DeSmet, Letters and Sketches with a Narrative of a Year's Residence among the Indian Tribes... (Philadelphia, 1843).

66To the Rockies and Oregon, ed. LeRoy Hafen, III, 4. This emigrant train under Farnham was mainly induced to go by Jason Lee who traveled throughout Illinois advocating the Oregon cause. Ibid., p. 3.

67One of Farnham's party who turned back at Brown's Hole was Obadiah Oakely. When he returned home in the fall of 1839, the Peoria Register published a detailed account of his trip. It was reprinted in three other national newspapers in November and December of 1839. The Peoria Register announced, due to "the demand for the paper having been greatly above our ability to supply... we have prevailed on Mr. Oakley to write out his journal at length and now commence its publication." To the Rockies and Oregon, ed. LeRoy Hafen, III, pp. 25-26.

Coast."

Philip L. Edward--1842

A small but important emigrants' guide, published in 1842, was that of Philip L. Edwards, who had traveled west in the second expedition of Nathaniel Wyeth in 1834. Edward's guide provided the westward emigrant with a recommended route of travel, a list of provisions, and a suggestion that "emigrants should be prepared to work and not to hunt."  

John Bidwell--1842

The first large emigration train of 1841 formed themselves into a Western Emigration Society with John Bidwell as one of the leaders. Joining the group was Father Desaet and Thomas Fitzpatrick, a guide. Leaving in May, 1841, Bidwell traveled with this group as far as Fort Hall, where he turned south to California. In 1842 he sent a manuscript of his daily journal back east to be published. His narrative

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70P. L. Edwards, Sketch of the Oregon Territory or Emigrants' Guide (Liberty, Mo., 1842).

71Lee and Frost, Ten Years in Oregon, pp. 113-114; Niles Weekly Register, October 11, 1834, p. 92.

72Edwards, Sketch of the Oregon Territory, p. 20

73To the Rockies and Oregon, ed. LeRoy Hafen, III, 203.

74John Bidwell, A Journey to California, ed. Herbert I. Priestly (n.d., or n.p.). Priestly approximates the date at 1842. For a good summary of Bidwell's life during this period of time see John Bidwell, Echoes of the Past (Chico, California, n.d.).
was valuable to the traveler because of its detailed description of the California cut-off and the California area.

Iansford Warren Hastings--1845

Another book designed to aid settlers in their journeying west was written by Iansford Warren Hastings. After traveling with an emigrant train to California, he wrote a work designed to promote the colonization of that land.\textsuperscript{75} He returned east in the summer of 1844, and published his writings in Ohio the next year.\textsuperscript{76} Henry Carey, who edited the \textit{Guide}, said that Hastings could not have found a better time to issue his publication. Due to the "Oregon fever" and growing interest in California, the book found many eager buyers.\textsuperscript{77}

Peter Burnett--1844-1845

Although relatively few who traveled west published a journal or guide, many wrote letters to editors in the East. These letters included valuable information on conditions beyond the Rockies. Peter Burnett, for example, the captain of the main group to leave independence in 1843\textsuperscript{78} wrote a description of a route west which appeared during the winter of 1844 and the spring of 1845 in \textit{The New York Herald}.


\textsuperscript{76}Ibid., p. viii.

\textsuperscript{77}Ibid., p. 93. It is interesting to note that Hastings himself pushed the sale of his book. In the spring of 1845 he met the editor of the Pittsburgh Gazette and told him that "he [Hastings] had supplied "a California-bound company with two thousand copies of his 'Emigrants Guide.'" See Sangamo Journal (Springfield, Ill.) June 5, 1845, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{78}W. J. Chent, \textit{The Early Far West} (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1936), pp. 323-324. For other examples see \textit{The Oregonian and Indian Advocate}, December, 1838, pp. 75-77; \textit{New York Tribune}, July 10, 1843.
Readers learned, through this account, the mode of travel, provisions that should be secured by emigrants, and conditions prevailing in the west. 79

J. M. Shively--1846

A small guide that could have found its way into the hands of westward-minded emigrants was published in 1846 by J. M. Shively. 80 Although consisting of only nine pages, it was packed with pertinent information concerning the road to Oregon and California.

Overton Johnson and W. H. Winter--1846

Overton Johnson and W. H. Winter, two participants in the 1844 migration to Oregon and California, published in 1846 their account of that company. 81 These two men wrote that it was their impression "that any correct information concerning those countries, clad in ever so homely and unpretending a garb would be received . . . with favor." 82 Perhaps the most important part of this book was the appendix entitled:

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79 The New York Herald, December 18, 1844; January 6, 1845; January 18, 1845. Burnett said that they had read Senator Appleton's congressional report on Oregon in 1842 and 1843 to get a better perspective of the country. See Peter H. Burnett, Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1880), p. 97. Letters of Burnett were also published in the Nauvoo Neighbor, October 9, 1844; January 22, 1845; August 27, 1845.

80 J. M. Shively, The Shively Guide--Route and Distance to Oregon and California, with a Description of Water-Places, Crossings, Dangerous Indians (Washington, 1846).

81 Overton Johnson and W. H. Winter, Route Across the Rocky Mountains, with a Description of Oregon and California; . . . (Washington, 1846). See also Morgan, Overland in 1846, II, 17-20.

82 Johnson and Winter, Route Across the Rocky Mountains, p. iii.
"Instructions to emigrants--supplies and equipment--manner of traveling, &c.,--bill of route."^{83}

THE FAMOUS EXPLORERS OF THE MIDDLE 19TH CENTURY

Two of the most famous explorers to awaken public and popular interest in the Interior Basin and California were Captain Bonneville and Lieutenant John C. Fremont. The published accounts of their expeditions gave the "restless homeseekers," and "the ardent expansionists," available information pertaining to the West.^{84}

E. L. E. Bonneville--1847

Of French birth, Bonneville emigrated to America, graduated from West Point as a captain and received an assignment on the western frontier where he felt he could get a fortune in fur trade. He convinced the War Department to grant him a leave of absence from 1831-1833 "for the purpose of carrying into execution" the "design of exploring the country to the Rocky Mountains and beyond."^{85} He planned to keep an accurate journal of everything curious or interesting and to prepare maps and charts depicting the route west and describing geological features. With over a hundred men under his command, Bonneville departed for the mountain country in May, 1832. After spending nearly three and one half years in the Rocky Mountains, he returned on August

^{83}Ibid., pp. 141-152.

^{84}Snow, The Great Basin before the Mormons, p. 140. Bonneville's account was popularized by Washington Irving in 1837. Fremont's expedition was made public by the government in 1845.

22, 1835. He then traveled to Washington where Irving found him "writing at a table, covered with maps of the regions he had explored." Irving acquired the Bonneville manuscript and published it in 1837. According to Edgeley Todd, the most recent editor, it is hard to determine the impact of the book. He said Irving took advantage "of widespread public interest in a country where many people felt the westward course of empire was soon to take its way." In addition to providing emigrants with a description of the West, one historian, Hiram Chittenden, concluded that "the one really valuable result of Captain Bonneville's expedition," for the person contemplating westward travel "was his two maps of the Western country."

John Charles Fremont--1842-1844

The man who was to immortalize the West with his expeditions and "project with mathematical skill and accuracy the many topographical features" of the "remarkable region between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Coast" for the homeseeker, was Lieutenant John Charles

86 Ibid., p. iii.
87 Ibid. It was originally a two-volume work first entitled The Rocky Mountains, and later changed to The Adventures of Captain Bonneville. See Niles Register, September 3, 1836, p. 16 for the announcement of its publication. It is interesting to note that Irving is reported to have given Bonneville $1,000 for the manuscript, perhaps realizing the interest it would create. See John F. McDermott, "Washington Irving, and the Journal of Captain Bonneville," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, III (1956), 461-465.
88 Irving, The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, p. xliv. The interest in this work by Irving is perhaps reflected in The New York Review of October, 1837: "Through these scenes of the Far West the graces of Irving's pen have literally made the solitary wilderness blossom like a garden." Ibid., pp. xliv-xlv.
89 Chittenden, The American Fur Trade, III, 429. Portions of the maps are inaccurate. See Appendix K for Bonneville's two maps.
Fremont of the Topographical Corps in Washington. 90 "The occupation of my prime of life," said Fremont, "was to be among Indians and in waste places." 91 By 1842 many of the would-be colonists were demanding an accurate map and description of routes to the West Coast: a survey which would give them a day-by-day guide to follow. It was at this time, when a demand was pressing for a thorough scientific and mapping exploration, that Fremont came forward to play his part in the West. During the years 1842 to 1846, he aptly earned the title, "Pathmarker of the West."

In May, 1842, when Fremont was only twenty-nine years of age, he was given permission to command an expedition. 92 With Charles Preuss as topographer and Kit Carson as guide, the party left in June, 1842, to explore the territory between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, returning in October of the same year. According to Allan Nevins, Fremont's biographer, the expedition "accomplished all the objects expected by the government." 93 The immediate task of Fremont was to write his report. During the fall and winter of 1842 and 1843, he and his wife devoted day after day to the writing of his adventure. Nevins said, "Jessie took her desk daily at nine and never left it till one, writing madly to follow her husband's dictation." 94 When the report was finally finished, several qualities were apparent.

90 Snow, The Great Basin before the Mormons, p. 140.
91 Quoted in Allan Nevins, Fremont-Pathmaker of the West (New York: D. Appleton Co., 1939), p. 26. Fremont's training for his expeditions was extensive. Ibid., p. 31, 30-35, 45.
92 Ibid. See also Niles Register, July 2, 1842, p. 276.
93 Ibid., p. 104. 94 Ibid., pp. 118-119.
Many questions on topography, climate, water, soils, and weather were answered. Rather than writing a report full of dull information on plants and terrain, Fremont had added his own personal narrative to "respond to the curiosity of Americans."3

Fremont had no sooner finished the report of his first expedition when he "sought and obtained orders for a second one," from Colonel J. J. Abert, Chief of the Corps of Topographical Engineers. Albert's instructions for this second expedition were "to connect the reconnaissance of 1842 ... with the surveys of Commander Wilkes on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, so as to give a connected survey of the interior of the continent." 4 Following this second expedition in October, 1844, Fremont again dictated and Jessie wrote. This report was nearly three times as long as the first and was published by Congress in March, 1845.5 As to the popularity and extent of its use by emigrants, Wheat wrote that it was so popular and attracted "so much attention that it is recorded that it was frequently stolen from libraries."6

5 Ibid.


7 Ibid. The 1845 report included also the earlier report of his journey to the Rocky Mountains, comprising pp. 1-79. The map of the 1842 expedition was also combined with that of 1845, giving the emigrants a clear route of travel from the Mississippi to Oregon and California. For the circumstances behind the publication see U. S. Congress House, "Report from the Secretary of War, transmitting a Report of the Chief of the Corps of Topographical Engineers relative to Lieutenant Fremont's Expedition ..." 26th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1845, House Doc., 151, p. 1-2. See Appendix C for Fremont's significant map.

8 Wheat, Mapping of the Trans-Mississippi West, II, 181-182.
Charles Wilkes--1839-1842

A third significant exploring expedition of the middle nineteenth century was that of Commodore Charles Wilkes of the United States Navy. In 1839, Wilkes was given the "command of a squadron to explore the South Seas," and was to carry out "secret work as advisor of the government as to the conditions there in the Northwest Coast of America" and routes into the country." Before Wilkes left the Pacific Coast in 1842, he prepared a comprehensive report of his exploration in the Oregon and California Territory. Daniel Henderson, Wilkes's biographer, says this report "was in effect a plan and map for American occupation." Wilkes stated in his report that "the Hudson's Bay Company post, . . . would be occupied by a friendly, yet pushing democracy" and suggested routes and army stations "for the quick taking-over of all the country." Wilkes's report was published by the government in 1845 with excellent maps of Oregon and California which Henderson says "filled a great want in Government circles." Thus by 1845 the route to Oregon and California had been explored by land and sea.

98. Wheat, Mapping of the Trans-Mississippi West, II, 181-182.


101. Ibid., 195.

102. Ibid.

Government publications were also an important source for those who were considering traveling to the Far West. Usually, copies were printed not only for the members of Congress but for others seeking the information. Memorials presented to Congress indicated that many people were interested in the land beyond the Rocky Mountains. As early as December 10, 1828, for example, a memorial was presented to Congress by James M. Bradford requesting permission to hunt, trap, and colonize the area west of the Rocky Mountain. Often, members of individual states banded together, petitioning Congress to grant land to settlers, to establish military posts along the route, and to extend the land of the United States to Oregon and California territories. Petitions were also presented from the settlers in the Far West asking Congress to extend "their jurisdiction over" the territory.

and maps were soon known to the American public. As early as November 15, 1843, a letter was written by David Henshaw in which he wanted to use Wilkes's charts of the Northwest Coast and Columbia River for a merchant house in New York which was sending a ship of emigrants and supplies to settle Oregon. See Henderson, Hidden Coasts, p. 198. The Nauvoo Neighbor, July 10, 1844, announced the forthcoming report of Captain Wilkes, and on June 25, 1845 made extracts from this report for its readers. See Appendix L for Wilkes's map of California.

104U, S. Congress, House, Memorial of James M. Bradford, 26th Cong. 2nd Sess., House Doc. 13, 1828, pp. 1-5.

105U, S. Congress, Senate, Petition of a Number of Citizens of Indiana ..., 26th Cong. 1st Sess., Senate Doc. 244, 1840.

106U, S. Congress Senate, Memorial of a number of Citizens of the Oregon Territory, 25th Cong. 3rd Sess., Senate Doc. 154, 1839. This petition is most interesting because it is signed by P. L. Edwards, Jason Lee, and Daniel Lee, early advocates of Oregon settlement. These petitions were an excellent source of the history of the activities of the settlers as well as the advantages and disadvantages of the territory.
Lewis F. Linn--1838

An important Senate document was carried west by emigrants. It was presented by Senator Lewis F. Linn on June 6, 1838. This report supported the U. S. claim to Oregon and presented the advantages of the territory, thereby encouraging settlers to go west.

I. N. Nicollet and Stephen Kearney Reports--1843, 1845

Explorers in the employment of the U. S. Army provided an important source of data for those moving west. The reports of these men were usually submitted to Congress and printed. Such is the case of I. N. Nicollet, who explored and drew a map of the Mississippi and the area west to the Rocky Mountains. Another document was that of Stephen Kearney, who explored the Oregon trail to South Pass, and told the Indians "that the white people traveling upon it [Oregon Trail] must not be disturbed." 109

Robert Greenhow Document--1840

An important document, in terms of availability, to those traveling west was that of Robert Greenhow, translator and librarian of the Department of State. He was asked by the Senate to place in


109U. S. Congress, Senate, Annual Report . . . . 29th Congress, 1st Sess., 1845, Senate Doc. 1, p. 211. The map accompanying the report shows in detail the route from Fort Leavenworth along the Platte River. Newspapers followed Kearney's progress. See Nauvoo Neighbor, July 23, 1845.
their hands as much information as "your department is in possession of 
. . . relating to the Territory of Oregon, its geography, resources, and
the title of the United States to the same." This information was
made available to the public and soon found use by western travelers as
a guide on western travel.

HISTORIES AND GENERAL WORKS

Timothy Flint—1828

The histories published before 1847 on the Oregon and California
territories are numerous, and at least six of them could have been em-
ployed by emigrants. The earliest of these histories was a two volume
work by Timothy Flint published in 1828. He devoted five pages to
the Oregon Territory, describing it as "sheltered, fertile valleys."
He prophesied as early as 1828 that if the Oregon settlement was author-
ized by Congress, "there can be no doubt, but it would receive large
accessions of immigrants."

Albert Gallatin—1836

Another important work which would have been extremely valuable
to individuals traveling west was Albert Gallatin's book, "A Synopsis

110 Robert Greenhow, Memoir, Historical and Political on the
Northwest Coast of North America, and the Adjacent Territories: . . .
(Washington, 1840), p. iii. An example of the use of this report by
pioneers is found in U. S. Congress, Senate, Memorial . . . of Queen
Anne County, Virginia, . . . 29th Cong. 1st Sess. Senate Doc. 220,
1846, p. 3. See also Niles Register, February 15, 1840, p. 397.

111 Timothy Flint, A Condensed Geography and History of the
Western States, or the Mississippi Valley (2 Vols.; Cincinnati, 1828).

112 Ibid., II, 445. 113 Ibid., II, 448.
of the Indian Tribes..." published in 1836. The Indian tribes west of the Mississippi were the concern of all emigrants. What language did they speak? Were they hostile? How could emigrant trains pass safely through their country? In addition to answering these questions, Gallatin published a map and description of the territory in which the Indians lived.

Alexander Forbes--1839

A work devoted entirely to California was Alexander Forbes’s book, A History of Upper and Lower California, published in 1839. Forbes recorded his reason for publishing the work was to give "an account of the Upper Province of California, that being the only one which is of much importance: ..." He was mainly concerned with topography and possible sites for settlement.

George Wilkes--1845

George Wilkes produced a history in 1845 on Oregon in which he presented the geography and advantages of the region. His main concern was creating an interest in the Oregon question. He called on all to "buckle on our armour, and to draw our swords," in defense of

114 Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes Within the United States East of the Rocky Mountains, and in the British and Russian possessions in North America (Cambridge, 1836). It is interesting to note that the information on the region west of the Rocky Mountains was sent to him by William Ashley. Ashley sent a "manuscript map, accompanied with numerous explanatory notes," comprising "various journeys and explorations by...traders and hunters." Ibid., p. 140. See Appendix M for Gallatin's Map.


116 Ibid., p. 3.
the Far West. 117

Robert Greenhow—1845

Another important history produced before 1847 was written by Robert Greenhow and was published in 1845.118 This work was an enlargement of Greenhow's Memorial to Congress in 1840.

H. L. W. Leonard—1846

A small but notable work was published in 1846 by H. L. W. Leonard. Leonard indicated in his opening remarks that since the territory west of the Rocky Mountains was arousing interest and people were anxious to obtain information, "we have been induced to condense a History of Oregon" for the people, that they may know where it is, and what it is."119 Thus, if an emigrant going west were to rely chiefly on histories he could have found much valuable information.

117 George Wilkes, The History of Oregon, Geographical and Political. (New York, 1845), p. 3. Robert Greenhow's work on Oregon presented to Congress in 1840, and the journal of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes as well as letters from emigrants in Oregon were used by Wilkes, as he said, to present a "clear, concise and straightforward picture." Ibid., p. 3.

118 Robert Greenhow, The History of Oregon and California, and the Other Territories of the Northwest Coast of North America, ... (3rd ed.; New York, 1845). This important work was first published in London by Mr. John Murray in June, 1844. Due to an act of the U. S. Congress the history was ordered printed for use of the government and "distributed among states and foreign countries, ..." Ibid., p. viii. See also North American Review, L (January, 1846), 214.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

It is probable that for many Americans, the most available material concerning the West appeared in newspapers and periodicals. In these publications, the public not only read of emigrants leaving and the place of rendezvous, but also read reports submitted by individuals who were traveling west. Only four newspapers and periodicals will be considered to indicate the importance of this type of information.

Miles Weekly Register—1811-1849

Perhaps the most widely read and circulated periodical before 1847 was Miles Weekly Register, founded by Hezekiah Miles at Baltimore, and continued from September 7, 1811 through September 28, 1849. The Illinois Statesman described it as a "highly important and useful periodical." It was said that it circulated from "Maine to Georgia,

120 For an excellent source of newspapers during the 1840-1847 period see Morgan, Overland in 1846, II, 459-733; also Dale L. Morgan, "Mormons in the Newspapers of the West," microfilm collection at Brigham Young University. Perhaps the distinction between a periodical and newspaper can only be made in length and frequency of publication. They contain basically the same type of material and as was often the case before 1847, there was a frequent interchange of articles on the west between publishers of newspapers and periodicals.

121 For examples of letters contained in newspapers written back to encourage emigration see: Cincinnati Atlas, September 8, 1836, September 10, 1836, and September 11, 1836; New York Daily Tribune, July 10, 1843; New York Herald, January 11, 1845; Sangamo Journal (Springfield, Illinois), March 27, 1845; The Oregonian and Indiana Advocate, December 1838, pp. 75-76.


123 Illinois Statesman, July 10, 1843, p. 2.
and from the Atlantic beyond the Mississippi."\textsuperscript{124} Many issues contained articles on the West. Concerning the source of those articles, Neil Luxon writes, "western papers were used extensively as sources of information about the section, the St. Louis Enquirer supplying many items about the fur trade and the Far West."\textsuperscript{125} Typical of articles on the West in the Register is the following, describing a party of men on their way to the Oregon Territory. Of interest to the westward traveler would be the out-fitting of this company:

\begin{itemize}
  \item A good riding horse, say 75.00
  \item A rifle, carrying ball from 13 to 42 lb. 15.00
  \item Brace of pistols 10.00
  \item Hunting knife 1.00
  \item 8½ lbs. powder, with lead in proportion 5.00
  \item 2 woolen blankets 5.00
  \item A pack poney, to be purchased on frontier 25.00
  \item For contingencies 25.00
\end{itemize}

\begin{center}
\textbf{\textcolor{red}{161.00}}\textsuperscript{126}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{124} Luxon, \textit{Niles Weekly Register} ... p. 8. According to Luxon, the periodical was sent from 700 to 800 post offices every week, and also to representatives of foreign countries by the Government. The circulation of this periodical remained between 3,500 to 4,000 throughout its publication period. It was also in the possession of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and other members of Congress. Concerning its importance Jefferson wrote, "I have found it very valuable as a Repository of documents, original papers and the facts of the day ..." Ibid., pp. 7-8.

\textsuperscript{125} Ibid., pp. 228-229.

\textsuperscript{126} \textit{Niles Weekly Register}, May 25, 1839.
Sangamo Journal--1845

One of the major newspapers during the period of Westward emigration was the Sangamo Journal published in Springfield, Illinois. The 1845 period was extremely important in this paper. During this year most issues contained news items about the West. Numerous letters were published from travelers on the road to encourage emigration, such as the one received from Peter Burnett. He wrote the following while traveling the Sweet Water on his way to Oregon:

In fact, our difficulties have been very trifling. The roads are better than any turnpike in the United States. We have travelled many hundred miles on the Platte—the hardest, smoothest road in creation . . . . We had not even to stop once to let our teams rest. California also received its share of publicity. Under the heading of "California," the Journal stated, "Information to this favored portion of the globe is eagerly sought after by our citizens." This introduction was followed by a vivid description of California.

Exploring expeditions departing and returning from the West received almost immediate notice in the Sangamo Journal. Such is the case of the announcement and review of the printing of John C. Fremont's report on his expeditions. The Journal had earlier printed

127 An important series began with the March 13, 1845 issue titled: "Oregon.--No. 1, 2, 3." Typical of the news items were the announcements of those making preparations to emigrate: "April 1st, 1845 is the day agreed upon by those who have been, and are, making preparations to emigrate from Sangamon County, Illinois to meet at the nearest company ground west of Springfield," Sangamo Journal, March 20, 1845.


129 Ibid., July 24, 1845.
numerous reports of Fremont's activities in the West.\textsuperscript{130}

The American Review--1845-1846

One of the Whig journals of politics, literature, art and science, \textit{The American Review} also included many articles on California and Oregon. One article which was entitled "California," described Lower California as "a chain of volcanic, treeless, barren mountains of rock, broken only by still more dreary plains of sand, destitute of streams." The \textit{Review} reported further that the territory must always remain an undesirable possession for any country."\textsuperscript{131} Upper California was described as "not only by far the best portion of the province, but one of the most beautiful regions on the face of the earth."\textsuperscript{132} The area east to the Rocky Mountains, however, was described as a region of "waste perfectly uninhabitable, producing very little vegetation . . . through which the traveler, with danger and difficulty, finds a casual and precarious path."\textsuperscript{133} The center of Upper California, designated as "Timpanogos Desert," was described as the "most utterly desolate region of so great an extent upon the Western Continent."\textsuperscript{134}

The North American Review and Miscellaneous Journal--1835-1846

A periodical similar in name to \textit{The American Review}, yet

\begin{align*}
\textsuperscript{130} & \text{Ibid., September 18, 1845. See also September 25, 1845; October 1, 1845; October 9, 1845; October 16, 1845.} \\
\textsuperscript{131} & \text{The American Review, III (January, 1846), 83.} \\
\textsuperscript{132} & \text{Ibid.} \\
\textsuperscript{133} & \text{Ibid.} \\
\textsuperscript{134} & \text{Ibid.}
\end{align*}
different in purpose, was the important *North American Review*. If a traveler to the West were unable to secure a printed copy of an exploring journal or guide on the West, he could find in the *North American Review* a condensed version of the work. Most of its pages were devoted to forming a catalogue of printed works and histories of North America.\(^{135}\)

Thus, newspapers and periodicals were not only easily accessible to those desiring information on the western part of America, but they also contained a wide selection of material to aid a would-be-home-seeker.

Chapter 3

A STUDY OF THE MAIN CARTOGRAPHIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE AMERICAN WEST PRIOR TO JULY 24, 1847

The year 1804 was a year of expansion for the young United States. She had just acquired from France, the Louisiana Territory, that area designated as the American West. Though this area had been briefly explored by Escalante, as well as other Spanish adventurers and British and French fur trappers, its curious geographic features and real nature had not yet been ascertained. There were still western areas that remained wholly unexplored.

Realizing the potential of the West, Thomas Jefferson sent to Congress in 1803, his famous recommendation of an exploring expedition to the Pacific. The result was that Lewis and Clark made their epic trip to the western sea coast and produced a monumental map of their discoveries that opened part of the Louisiana Purchase for the first time to the sights of man.

The Lewis and Clark map produced in 1814 began the real impetus for map-making of the American western regions. There had been earlier maps such as Humboldt's in 1810 of the Southwest; Pike's in 1806 of the Southwest; Samuel Lewis and Aaron Arrowsmith in 1804 of North America; Alexander Mackenzie in 1801 of a northern overland route to the Pacific; Vancouver's in 1798 of the lower Columbia area; and Miera in 1776 of Escalante's expedition. Yet, Lewis and Clark's style of exploration...
and map-making was soon adopted by other explorers and made available
to the American public.

With the increase in the production, quality and availability
of maps, the West was destined to become an object of exploration,
adventure and homeseeking.

At the turn of the nineteenth century the area west of the
Mississippi River was still a land of uncertainties. Those who
ventured beyond that winding boundary of civilization did so perhaps
with the same apprehension as did the early explorers who left the
confines of European civilization to seek adventure on the Atlantic.

Despite the two-and-a-half centuries of Spanish exploration
prior to 1800 and the many cartographic achievements up to that time,
the Great American West still remained a relatively obscure and un-
known place on the maps being published. Karl I. Wheat said, "Myth
and fantasy still permeated men's concepts of the region, and much
learned but entirely speculative discussion and controversy surrounded" 
man's knowledge of the West.¹ Humboldt, who popularized Escalante's
travels, indicated the problem when he stated in the introduction to
his work, "I chose rather to leave a vacant space on my map than to
draw from suspicious sources."² Therefore, even though Escalante and
other early Spanish explorers had left their mark on the sands of the
West, the geographic features and major rivers were relatively un-
depicted.

¹Wheat, Mapping of the Trans-Mississippi West, II, 4.
²Humboldt, Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain, p.
lxii. A study of Humboldt's map reveals how much vacant space he did
leave due to the lack of documented sources.
As stated in the previous section on exploration, the years after 1800 found an upsurge of interest in the Spanish possessions west of the Mississippi. With this increased interest, maps, emigrant guides, histories, and government reports were gradually printed and made public. Armed with these necessary tools, the adventurer and homeseeker traveling beyond the Mississippi knew the location of choice camping sites, and learned the hardships that many encountered along the trail.

It was one of these tools, the map, that at last began to represent the American West with a truer concept of its size, nature and complexity.³

Dr. John Hamilton Robinson
Map--1819

Accompanying Montgomery Pike on his journey into the Southwest in 1819 was Dr. John Hamilton Robinson,⁴ who prepared a map entitled, "Map of Mexico, Louisiana and the Mississippi Territory, including also the state of Mississippi, Alabama Territory, East and West Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, & part of the Island of Cuba."⁵ On this map, Robinson inserted the area west of the Rocky Mountains and

³Carl I. Wheat in his monumental work entitled, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West makes a careful study of the published maps as they appeared in their respective journals and histories. Many of the maps mentioned in the section on exploration and those to now be studied come from his four volume works. The criteria used to determine which maps would be selected was based on the number of times a map was mentioned as being used by emigrants, and the selection by Wheat.

⁴Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, II, 16-17.

⁵See Appendix N for Robinson's map.
included a legendary river which connected "Lake Timpanogus" with the Pacific Ocean. After listing numerous tables of statistics, Robinson declared "the information on which the Author feels himself justified in the publication of this map, is from his own knowledge of the Country in his several voyages thither and also the several Manuscript maps which are now in his possession."\(^6\)

Henry S. Tanner Atlas, 1822

In 1822 Henry S. Tanner published his New American Atlas, containing a "Map of North America." Even though its western geography was incorrect, Wheat called Tanner "a careful geographer and an able engraver," and his map "must always remain a foundation stone of American mapping."\(^7\) Tanner concluded that his map was "constructed according to the latest information."\(^8\)

Thirty years after Tanner's map was published, another work was produced by Lieutenant Warren. According to Wheat, Warren's map corrected Tanner's "faulty geography," and presented an accurate description of the western regions.\(^9\)

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\(^6\) Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississipi West, II, 70. The St. Louis Missouri Gazette on March 27, 1918 published a prospectus for Robinson's map: "... the Map, with even all its imperfections will be much the most perfect which has appeared before the public. This Map will contain the latest and best information from the discoveries and possessions of the American, Spanish, British and French travellers and navigators..."

\(^7\) Ibid., II, 87. See Appendix O for Tanner's Map. It was reissued in 1829 and 1839. It is interesting to note that Tanner made use of such earlier maps as Humboldt's, Pike's and Long's.

\(^8\) Ibid., II, 82.

\(^9\) Ibid., II, 87.
Aaron Arrowsmith Map, 1834

In 1835 Aaron Arrowsmith published a map of "British North America." Favoring the British fur trappers of the American Far West, Arrowsmith included the travels of Peter Skene Ogden, a trapper with the Hudson Bay Company. Ogden's six Snake Country expeditions from 1824-1830, and his journey down the east face of the Sierra Nevada and back through the central valley of California in 1829-1839 were depicted. The Columbia River and its mouth together with the Snake River and tributaries were extremely well drawn. Much of this information was taken from the British "fur hunts" of the 1820's and 1830's. This map soon found its way into the hands of later cartographers and was to prove invaluable in aiding western travel to the Columbia River area.

Henry S. Tanner Map, 1836

In 1836, Henry S. Tanner published a "Map of North America" in a book entitled A New Universal Atlas containing Maps of the various Empires, Kingdoms, States and Republics of the World. Although this work appears to be an enlargement of his 1822 Atlas, it did include the discoveries immediately prior to 1836. It shows some of the wanderings of Jedediah Smith and accurately depicts for the first time the Oregon region and Great Basin.

Albert Gallatin Map, 1836

In 1836 the American Antiquarian Society published a map of

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10 See Appendix F for Arrowsmith's map.
11 See Appendix F for Tanner's map.
Albert Gallatin's entitled, "Map of the Indian Tribes of North America about 1600 A. D. along the Atlantic, & about 1800 A. D. westward."

By examining this work a westward traveler could become aware of the hostile and friendly Indians he would encounter along the trail. In addition to indicating the location of various Indian tribes he described, for the first time, Jedediah Smith's 1826 trip across the Great Basin into California. He depicted the future Great Basin as the "Sandy Plain" and the Great Salt Lake as "Lake Ashley (salt)."

It also names the Bear River and shows an unnamed Bear Lake. 12

**Washington Hood Map, 1838**

In the same year that Captain Washington Hood was appointed to the corps of Topographical Engineers of the army, Hood published a map entitled "Map of the United States Territory of Oregon West of the Rocky Mountains." 13 This publication accompanied Senate Bill 306 submitted by Senator Lewis Linn. Its purpose was to authorize the president of the United States to take possession of the Oregon Territory. Senator Linn asserted that this map was "believed to be the most correct, and furnishes the most recent and authentic information of any yet published." 14

**David H. Burr Map, 1839**

In 1839 David H. Burr, an engineer, topographer, and surveyor

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12 See Appendix M. The further influence of Jedediah Smith's journeys and map is indicated by "Mt. Smith" in the Sierra Nevadas and "Fort Clavert", Smith's misspelling of Colville in Oregon.

13 See Appendix Q for Hood's map. See also Appendix R for Hood's map of "Passes of the Rocky Mountains."

for the United States Army produced a "Map of the United States," which cartographers called the most complete that had been published. The map was very large and depicted the entire United States. On it, Burr corrected many of the errors of previous cartographers.

The 1840's saw the cartographic floodgates swing wide. Many forces operated in that decade to more clearly portray the American West. Among these forces were the beginning of overland emigration to Oregon and California in 1841, the influx of missionaries of various denominations seeking converts among the Indians, the annexation of Texas in 1845, the acquisition of Oregon by the United States from Britain in 1846, the war with Mexico resulting in a vast western territory, the Mormons establishing themselves in the Great Basin, and the discovery of gold in 1848 in California. In summation of that dramatic era of map-making, Carl I. Wheat said that "by the time the fifties rolled in a great store of added information had been recorded on maps of western United States."  

Sidney Morse and Samuel Breese, Map, 1842

Beginning in 1842 Texas was located on maps appearing in the United States. Morse and Breese, for example, published in their Atlas the Mexico and Texas boundaries, and the area of the Great Basin was shown as "swamps in the Great Basin." The Great Salt Lake was

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15 Ibid., II, 167. See Appendix S for Burr's Map. It is interesting to note that concerning the Great Basin, the future home of the Mormons, the note appears: "Great Sand Plain Some Isolated Mountains rise from this plain of Sand to the regions of perpetual snow, the streams that flow from these are soon absorbed in the sand, It contains a few miserable Indians, and but little game."

16 Ibid., II, 172.
included, oblong in shape and called "Ycuta or Great Salt Lake or Bonneville."

W. H. Emory Map, 1844

In 1844 Lieutenant W. H. Emory of the topographical engineers prepared a map of "Texas and the Country Adjacent" for the Department of State. However, the area of Utah, Nevada, and California were not included. Yet, Josiah Gregg's route into Texas, Pike's route into the Southwest, Fremont's route in 1842 and other roads and trails in Texas were shown. ¹⁷

Robert Greenhow and Josiah Gregg
Maps, 1844

The year 1844 saw two important maps appearing with published works. Robert Greenhow printed a map of "The Western & Middle Portion of North America" to accompany his History of Oregon and California, and the other Territories on the Northwest coast of America. In that same year Josiah Gregg, a Santa Fe trader, included with his first edition of Commerce of the Prairies a map of "The Indian Territory of Northern Texas and New Mexico showing the great Western Prairies." It was said that Gregg based his map on Humboldt's New Spain and Major Long's first expedition. ¹⁸ Even though it relies chiefly on earlier maps, it was well drawn.

¹⁷See Appendix T for Emory's map. See also Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, II, 190.

¹⁸See Appendix U for Gregg's map. See also Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, II, 187. Wheat called both of these maps cartographic landmarks and outstanding achievements.
Stephen Kearney Map, 1845

Colonel Stephen Watts Kearney produced in September of 1845 his "Report of a Summer Campaign to the Rocky Mountains." It contained a map showing the route to the Platte River along the Sweet Water, and to South Pass. It also depicted the route of the company along the Platte River from Fort Leavenworth, and was an excellent map of a route west to the Green River.

Augustus Mitchell Map, 1846

In 1846 Augustus Mitchell published in pocket book form "A New Map of Texas, Oregon, and California with Regions adjoining." It consisted of a concise digest of Western America, and was small enough to be carried easily in the hand or pocket. With the map was an "Accompaniment to the Mitchell's new Map of Texas, Oregon, and California with Regions Adjoining." Concerning this map Mitchell said that it was based on "the most recent published information extant," as evidenced by his including the contributions of Commandore Wilkes and Lieutenant Fremont. After stating that the route to Oregon as depicted on the map was one of the most carefully drawn he had seen, Carl I. Wheat stated, that "this map represents a great step forward in that it was among the first by a commercial cartographer to utilize the recent explorations that had bounded and determined the nature of

19 See Appendix V for Mitchell's map. Concerning his 46 page "Accompaniment" Mitchell said, "The following notices will serve to illustrate the chief portions of the map and render the geography more distinct and intelligible."

20 Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, III, 35.
the Great Basin."\footnote{Ibid.}

Charles Preuss Maps, 1846

One of the last important maps to appear before 1847 was that of Charles Preuss. He had accompanied Fremont on two of his expeditions west and recorded details of these adventures. Shortly before the 1842 expedition left in May, he joined this party as an assistant topographer and surveyor;\footnote{Fremont, Report, p. 11.} he served in the same capacity in 1843. However, when the 1845 expedition started, he decided to settle in Washington, D. C., where he worked on his maps.\footnote{Nevins, Fremont-Pathmaker of the West, p. 207.} One of the important set of maps he produced was made from the Fremont expedition of 1843 "beginning at the mouth of the Kansas in the Missouri River and ending at the mouth of the Walla Walla in Columbia."\footnote{Charles Preuss, Maps of 1846, ed. Nolie Mumey (Denver: n.p., 1952), p. 1. See Appendix W for Preuss' Maps.} According to Mumey, editor of these maps, they were made from a list of geographical positions which never appeared in any of Fremont's books. They were printed in seven sections in 1846 by order of the U. S. Senate to the scale of ten miles to the inch, and carried the following title: "Topographical Map of the Road from Missouri to Oregon commencing at the mouth of the Kansas in the Missouri River and ending at the mouth of the Walla-Walla in the Columbia." Consequently by 1846 the would-be western homeseeker had an abundance of maps at his disposal to aid him in his long journey.
PART II

THE WEST AND THE MORMONS BEFORE FEBRUARY, 1846
Chapter 4

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT IN MORMON HISTORY 1830-1841

On April 6, 1830, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was organized at Fayette, New York. According to the prophet and founder, Joseph Smith, this action was undertaken by direct command from God.\(^1\) From the beginning there arose features in it which contrasted sharply with other branches of Christianity then in existence. According to some who have studied its growth since its inception, these distinguishing features gave Mormonism the power and vitality for a westward movement. Concerning Mormonism's ability to move to new frontiers of settlement following persecution, Robert Bruce Flanders said:

Mormonism was not infrequently referred to as America's Islam. The Church exhibited power--power enough perhaps to establish social, economic, and political dominion wherever it was located by the prophet. Such a sect invited persecution.\(^2\)

Those features which set this Church apart from others and enabled it to establish its "social, economic, and political dominion wherever it was located," are embodied in two concepts that are closely associated and very basic in Mormon history: those of "Zion" and "the

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1The Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1947), 20: 1-2, hereafter cited as D. & C.

gathering."

The impetus for a westward movement in Mormon history and the initial impulse which resulted in the peopling of the Great Basin can be found within these concepts. It will be the purpose of this chapter to give a short history of the "Zion" and concept of gathering as they related to the westward movement of the Mormon Church.

The Concept of Zion and the Gathering as they related to the Mormon Westward Movement

Shortly before the Church was organized and during the first few months after that institution was constituted, Joseph Smith testified that he received several revelations pertaining to "Zion" and the gathering of the saints in the latter-days. While reflecting on early events in the history of the Church, George A. Smith, a Mormon apostle and historian, stated that the first revelations unfolded to the membership of the Church included the concepts that the saints should gather and that elders seek "a place for the gathering of the saints."4

One place to which the saints were to gather was called Zion. In April, 1829, one year before the Church was organized, Joseph Smith was commanded to "seek to bring forth and establish the cause of Zion."5

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3 The majority of the quotations dealing with Joseph Smith's concepts of "Zion" and Gathering are taken from Duane S. Crowther, "A Study of Eschatological Prophecies found in the Scriptures and in the Works of General Authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (unpublished Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1960).

4 Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, March 18, 1855, located in the Church Historian's Office, hereafter this collection will be referred to as Journal History.

He also recorded that he was commanded to "devote all thy service to Zion." In another revelation, recorded by Joseph Smith in September, 1830, the term "Zion" was used in reference to a city of "Zion" to be built at a place yet unrevealed, but located on the borders of the Lamanites.

In December, 1830, Joseph Smith announced that he was commanded to move the Church from the state of New York, west, to Ohio. Thus began the first westward movement of the Mormons with Joseph Smith and several early church leaders arriving in Kirtland, Ohio, in late January, 1831. By the spring of 1831 the headquarters of the Church had shifted to Ohio. However, it is evident that Kirtland became only a way-station to gain strength to proceed further West. No sooner had the saints arrived in Ohio from New York than the Mormon Prophet began to look toward another frontier—one to be established on the edge of the white man's land—somewhere in Missouri.

When Parley P. Pratt returned to Kirtland in the spring of 1831 from his Indian mission to the West, he informed Joseph Smith of the Missouri country, giving a very "glowing" description. In answer

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6 Ibid., 24:7.

7 Ibid., 28:9. This revelation was the impetus for the first extensive missionary journey of the Mormon Church. It resulted in Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt, Ziba Peterson and Peter Whitmer, Jr., traveling some 1,500 miles to the West to visit the Indians who were living west of the state of Missouri on the Great Plains. See Milton R. Hunter, The Mormons and the American Frontier, (Salt Lake: L.D.S. Department of Education; 1940), pp. 50-51.

8 D&c, 37: 1-3.

9 Learning of the increase of Mormon converts in the Kirtland, Ohio area, Joseph Smith established temporary headquarters there. When the next conference of the Church was held in June, 1831 in Kirtland, some two thousand members were numbered in the fold. See Milton V. Backman, Jr., American Religions and the Rise of Mormonism (Salt Lake: Deseret Book Company, 1965), pp. 318-319.
to Joseph's inquiring again of the Lord relative to the location of "Zion," the Mormon Prophet and twenty-six elders of the Church were instructed to travel to Independence, Missouri, where they would learn the location of the New "Zion."\(^{10}\) Arriving in Independence in July, 1831, these men learned that Missouri was to be "Zion," the gathering place of the saints,\(^{11}\) and Independence, Jackson County was designated as "the center place."\(^{12}\) According to Frederic L. Paxson, the Mormon's "spectacular trek in search of Zion brings it in line with other forces that carried American interest toward the Pacific in the decade after the Jacksonian Migration."\(^{13}\)

The Saints were commanded to purchase land in Missouri, and the gathering to "Zion" began.\(^{14}\) As they participated in that first westward movement to "Zion" in Missouri, many early members of the Church recorded in their diaries their feelings and impressions. Such was the case with William Holmes Walker:

In the spring of 1838, a company of eight families left Ogdensberg, New York, for Western Missouri, by wagons. On our journey, we created considerable surprise, and were told almost daily, that in five years \(^{sic}\) Mormonism would be at an end.\(^{15}\)

Luman Andros Surtliff expressed a similar concept when, shortly after joining the Church in Massachusetts in 1836, he said, "In the spring of 1837, I felt the spirit of gathering, but not for Kirtland,

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\(^{10}\)Ibid., 52:2-5.  \(^{11}\)Ibid., 57:2.  \(^{12}\)Ibid., 57:3.

\(^{13}\)Quoted in Hunter, *The Mormons and the American Frontier*, p. 67.

\(^{14}\)D&C, 57: 1-5.

\(^{15}\)William Holmes Walker's journal, p. 3, located in Brigham Young University Library.
for I did not wish to go there but my mind was to gather with the saints in Missouri." 16

Newspapers in Missouri and the surrounding areas commented on the increase of Mormon settlers. The Galenian of Upper Missouri, reported on June 16, 1834 under the subject of "EMIGRATION:"

One of the women we are told observed, in answer to some questions propounded to her, that their object in carrying guns with them was not battle; but as they intended a settlement, or to settle, somewhere in the West, they did not intend to be driven off, as some who had went before them had been. 17

The Arkansas Gazette recorded that "one of the leading tenants of these deluded people is, that the promised land is not Palestine, but a tract of country situated in Jackson County, Missouri." 18

After the membership of the Church had increased in Missouri, additional revelations were received by Joseph Smith adding clarity and new perspective to the Latter-day Saint concept of "Zion." In August, 1833, Joseph revealed that "Zion" was not only a place, but also a condition of the people: "Therefore verily, thus saith the Lord, let Zion rejoice, for this is Zion--THE PURE IN HEART: therefore let Zion rejoice, while all the wicked shall mourn." 19

Commenting on the definition of Zion, William E. Berrett wrote in his book The Restored Church,

To the prophet Joseph Smith the word Zion had two meanings: "The pure in heart," and "The place where the pure in heart dwell

16 Biographical Sketch of the Life of Luman Andros Shurtliff, p. 25 located in the Utah State Historical Library.
17 The Galenian (Galena, Upper Missouri) June 16, 1834.
18 Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock) October 24, 1832.
together in righteousness." It is quite evident that a successful "Zion community" is impossible without a "Zion people." Such an achievement could hardly be attained while the Saints were among people, in Ohio and elsewhere, who were not of their faith. Thus Joseph Smith contemplated a gathering place in the unsettled west, to which the pure in heart might gather from the four quarters of the earth. There a new society, patterned after God's law, might reach fruition. From the central Zion community the idea would grow, until eventually Zion would embrace the whole of the American continent.

As the concept of Zion increased, the Mormon prophet and Church members became aware that the true essence of "Zion" and gathering could only be achieved "in the unsettled west," where they could "get up into the mountains, where the devil cannot dig us out, and live in a healthful climate, where we can live as old as we have a mind to."^21

That the saints in Missouri would be faced with continual problems became evident to Joseph Smith in the spring of 1833. At that time he drew a general plan for the constructing of "cities of Zion" to be "patterned after God's law," but was prevented by persecution from implementing those plans. The oppression which had begun in the spring of 1832 and climaxed in the following November, forced the Mormons to abandon their homes in Jackson County and move to nearby Clay County.

Persecution increased and in 1836 Latter-day Saints moved into Caldwell County, where the town of Far West was founded. Here they hoped to establish a permanent settlement. However, "the intolerance of the Southern stock toward both the religious ideas and the sectional origin and abolitionism of these settlers, forced an exodus from


^21 Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts (2nd ed.; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co. 1950), VI, 221, hereafter cited as DHC.
Missouri to Illinois in 1839.\textsuperscript{22} It becomes apparent from all available evidence that the saints did not realize that this was not the time for the full establishment of their "Zion," but rather a time of preparation for a later return to the area.\textsuperscript{23} Oliver B. Huntington, looking back on that early period of persecution and expulsion, probably expressed the general feelings of the Church membership when he said:

When the Saints were driven from the state of Missouri it was a very surprising circumstance that we could not understand; after having been called there by the word of God, that we, then, must leave the country.

We had been instructed that in Missouri was the most hallowed spot on earth--the very land where the New Jerusalem will be built. Now when compelled to hunt another country we naturally asked ourselves the question, "Where can we go? Where can we find another holy land? How or shall we get back to the consecrated spot for the New Jerusalem that is to be built? ... Such were the reflections of the honest followers of Jesus Christ under the leadership of Joseph Smith; and our only consolation, our only hope was, that as God had given us a Prophet he would certainly get us out of that trouble; he would tell us all how to manage and where to go or what to do. ... Joseph finally led us to Nauvoo.

Well, and how can we build up Zion here? This is not Missouri. Under Joseph's all-inspiring words we quickly resolved that "we will stay here as long as Joseph wants us to--he knows what is best," so we all set to with our mights to do just what the Prophet Joseph directed, and in a few months there was quite a town built up out of as near nothing as God ever made anything.\textsuperscript{24}

Thus the "Missouri Zion" had taken the back trail to Nauvoo or to the City of Joseph; and out of a swamp marsh on the bend of the Mississippi, these so-called "Zionists" built a thriving metropolis.

\textsuperscript{22}Turner, The United States 1830-1850, p. 369.

\textsuperscript{23}D&C, 58: 3-4; 105:9-15, 24-32. See also B. H. Roberts' commentary on this point in D&C, VI, 18.

\textsuperscript{24}Oliver B. Huntington, "Prophecy," The Young Woman's Journal (August, 1889), II, 314.
About ten thousand Mormon colonists located in Illinois and by the end of 1844 about twelve thousand adherents of the Mormon faith lived in the region. The announcement was issued to gather to Nauvoo "the beautiful." Missionaries were sent to European nations, particularly England, as well as most eastern American states, "and the saints were instructed to settle in this country as soon as circumstances" permitted.

The same anti-Mormon attitudes followed in Nauvoo as in previous settlements; the Mormons had again become "obnoxious" to their neighbors. Numbered among the reasons were political and economic factors, theological differences and reports regarding polygamy. These events reached a climax in June, 1844, when Joseph Smith and some of his followers were jailed at Carthage, Illinois, where he and his brother were murdered. Two months prior to his death, Joseph Smith again shed light on the concept of "Zion" that had seemed to become obscure in the building of Nauvoo. During the April, 1844 General Conference at Nauvoo, the Mormon Prophet announced that "Zion" encompassed "the whole of America . . . from north to south." Brigham Young, who also spoke in the same conference, interpreted Joseph Smith's

\[\text{Many of the estimates of the number of Mormons living in Illinois in 1844 are extremely high. For an example of this see Turner, The United States 1830-1850, p. 370.}\]

\[\text{Times and Seasons, II (Nauvoo, Illinois), June 1, 1841, p. 434.}\]

\[\text{Turner, The United States, 1830-1850, p. 370.}\]

\[\text{DHC, VI, 318-319. It was like Bernard Devoto said that "at intervals when Satan raged, Joseph dreamed of the Rocky Mountains. The dream flickered in his sermons, so that the Saints were habitualized to it." Bernard Devoto, The Year of Decision, 1846 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943), p. 87.}\]
remarks to mean "all of N. and S. America is Zion." The Council of Twelve Apostles of the Church commented further upon this new concept when they wrote to Reuben Hedlock, then presiding over the British Isle Mission:

Joseph said last conference that Zion included all North & South America, and after the temple was done & the Endowments they would spread abroad and build up cities all over the United States. But, at present we are not to teach this doctrine, May hold your tongue.

However this concept was not long kept a secret for there were those members present when Joseph Smith spoke who not only recorded it but passed it on to others. One such person was Goudy Hogan, who upon joining the Church in 1843 traveled to Nauvoo where he was present for the 1844 conference. He wrote that "in this meeting he [Joseph] said that North and South America would become Mount Zion." This was, however, not the first time when early Mormon leaders taught that Zion and the place of gathering extended to the Pacific Ocean. Sidney Rigdon, one of the counselors to Joseph Smith in the presidency of the Church, had written to his fellow converts in Ohio in 1831, after visiting Joseph Smith in New York:

The Lord has made known unto us some of the great things which he has laid up for those that love him, among which the fact, a

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29Nauvoo Meetings Minute File, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake. See also DC1, VI, 321.

30Brigham Young to Reuben Hedlock, dated May 3, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake. In December, 1845, Hedlock finally announced to the members in England that "Nauvoo has been the desire of many, but we find that the Church is compelled to say 'give place' that we may have room, ' the whole land is Zion." See Millennial Star, VII, (January 1, 1846), 7.

31Goudy Hogan's Diary, April 6, 1844, p. 6, located in the Utah State Historical Society Library. See also Wandle Mace's Journal, p. 125, located in the Brigham Young University Library.
glory of wonder it is, that you are living on the land of promise and that there (at Kirtland) is the place of gathering and from that place to the Pacific Ocean he had given it to us and our children.

The Painesville Telegraph, Painesville, Ohio, on January 18, 1831, recorded the arrival of John Whitmer in the area and commented on Joseph Smith's feelings towards the western country stating:

The most important part of the mission was to inform the brethren that the boundaries of the promised land, or the New Jerusalem, had just been made known to Smith from God—the township of Kirtland, a few miles west of this is the eastern line and the Pacific Ocean is the western line; if the North and South lines have been described, we have not learned them. Consequently early leaders of the Church taught three different concepts of "Zion." The term was used in reference to (1) the site of the New Jerusalem, located in Jackson County, Missouri, (2) those who are pure in heart (they are Zion, and Zion is where they are), and (3) the entire continents of North and South America.

From the beginning of the history of the Church, Israel's

32Daniel P. Kidder, Mormonism and the Mormons (New York, 1842), pp. 77-78.
35Crowther, "A Study of Eschatological Prophecies . . . ," p. 15
needle had pointed west. 36 Members had moved from Palmyra to Kirtland then on to Missouri in search of Zion. With the increased concept that "Zion" was where they dwelt in righteousness, Nauvoo became the next settlement. Then when it was announced that the whole land of America came under the term "Zion" it was not difficult for some saints to understand that Nauvoo was to be abandoned so members could flee to "Zion." Daniel Jones adopted this interpretation as evidence in his letter to Wilford Woodruff:

The banishment of the Saints from Nauvoo, was so far from being the downfall of Mormonism and the last of Zion, & the gathering . . . tis another nail in the coffins of scoffers, and laying another corner stone in Zion . . . . The Saints rejoice to understand the superiority of Zion over Nauvoo, and their desire is to rush there. . . . "37

Thus the spirit of the gathering, the desire to be where the saints were, gave impetus to the Mormon westward movement. As the saints were "driven," their concept of Zion grew, not changed; for even though they were forced out of the revealed "center place of Zion" in Jackson County, Missouri, the gathering place of the saints in the last days still continued to be Missouri. That flame never flickered. Brigham Young gave evidence of this fact when he stated in 1864 that before they "were driven out of Missouri I had a vision, . . . and saw that the people would go to the east, to the north and to the west; but we should go back to Jackson County from the West." 38 And it was a segment of "Zion" they were headed for when driven from Nauvoo in 1846.

36 Devoto, The Year of Decision, p. 87.

37 Daniel Jones to Wilford Woodruff, dated January 2, 1846, located in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City, Utah.

The Westward Movement of the Mormons as it was Foreseen by its Leaders prior to 1842

It is agreed among those who have studied Mormon history that the Mormon trek to the Great Basin in the Rocky Mountains was neither a mere accident nor a sudden inspiration; rather, they had a relatively good knowledge of the land prior to their exodus.39

The earliest indication of an interest in the activities of the American Far West is evidenced in the first Mormon newspaper, The Evening and Morning Star published in Independence, Missouri by W. W. Phelps. In June, 1832, the first issue of the Star was "devoted to the propaganda and support of the doctrines of the New Dispensation."40 Since Independence was a vital starting point for caravans going west in 1832, saints living there were constantly in contact with mountain-men, traders, and much of the traffic of the frontier, and Phelps recorded the passing of various caravans and expeditions through the town of Independence:

Early in May, Capt. Bonaville's Company, (150) under the command of Capt. Walker passed this town, on its way to the Rocky Mountains, to trap and hunt for fur in the vast country of the Black Feet Indians. About the middle of May, Capt. Soublette's Company, (70) passed, for the Rocky Mountains, on the same business. At which time also, Capt. Wythe of Mass., with a Company of 30 passed for the mouth of Oregon River, to prepare (as it is said) for the mouth of Oregon River, to prepare (as it is said) for settling a territory. During the month of May there also passed a Company bound to Santa Fee.41

About the 8th or 9th of this month Capt. Blackwell's Company, (60 or 70) passed this place for the Rocky Mountains.

39Snow, The Great Basin, p. 180; See also Neff, History of Utah, p. 73.


41Star, June, 1832, p. 6.
One of the many books written on the American West was reviewed by Phelps in the October, 1832 issue, The work was that of Ross Cox entitled, The Columbia River, describing the Oregon Territory and various Indian cultures in that area. Thus the saints received an early exposure to that region where their attention would be turned in the early 1840's, namely Oregon.

Reflecting back on the beginnings of the Church [1832], Paulina E. Phelps Lyman said that as a little girl she had traveled with her family to Jackson County, Missouri, in the first migration of the saints to that area. It was there, in the house of Lyman Wight, that she was made aware of an intended settlement of the Church somewhere in the Rocky Mountains. She described the incident as follows:

At this meeting the Prophet Joseph blessed the children who were present, and I was one of them. In blessing me he said that I should live to go to the Rocky Mountains. I did not know at the time what the term "Rocky Mountains" meant, but I supposed it to be something connected with the Indians. This frightened me for the reason that I dreaded the very sight of an Indian, and it was this circumstance that impressed this prediction made in my blessing upon my mind.42

According to Wilford Woodruff, Joseph Smith told of the eventual exodus of the Church to the Rocky Mountains and to all of North and South America in a speech to a group assembled at Kirtland, Ohio, on April 26, 1834:

It is only a little handful of Priesthood you see here tonight, but this Church will fill North and South America--it will fill the world. . . . It will fill the Rocky Mountains. There will be tens of thousands of Latter-day Saints who will be gathered in the Rocky Mountains and there they will open the door for the establishing of the Gospel among the Lamanites who will receive the Gospel and

42Affidavit sworn before James Jack, Salt Lake City, July 31, 1902, located in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake. This is the earliest evidence located of the term "Rocky Mountains" being used to refer to an intended home for the saints. The above mentioned affidavit is reproduced in full in Appendix DD.
their endowments, and the blessings of God. This people will go into the Rocky Mountains; they will there build Temples to the Most High. 43

In April, 1836, Erastus Snow was given a blessing prior to his leaving for the mission field at which time it was predicted "That he should yet be employed in the ministry west of the Rocky Mountains, and should perform a good work in teaching and leading the Lamanites west of the Rocky Mountains." 44 In the same year Hyrum Smith gave a blessing to Lorenzo Dow Young who lay near death. Young recorded that "The spirit rested mightily upon him [Hyrum] and he was full of blessing and prophecy. He said that I should regain my health, live to go with the Saints into the bosom of the Rocky Mountains to build up a place there." 45

Sarah Studevant Leavitt, who left Nauvoo with the general exodus in the spring of 1846, recorded in her history that "I had known for ten years [1835] that we had got to go and I was glad we had got started ..." 46 Luman Shurtliff, upon entering the Great Basin in 1851 said that Joseph Smith had contemplated such a movement:

We got into the Salt Lake Valley, September 23, 1851, thankful to the God of Heaven that I and my family were in the valley of the Rocky Mountains—here where the Prophet Joseph Smith had said thirteen years before [1838] that the Saints would go if the government did not put a stop to the mobbing and the persecution of them. 47

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43Conference Report, April 8, 1898, p. 57. See also Millennial Star, LIV (September 9, 1892), 30.
45James Amasa Little, "Biography of Lorenzo Dow Young," Utah State Historical Quarterly, XIV (1946), 46.
46"History of Sarah Studevant Leavitt", n.d., p. 28, located in the Utah State Historical Society Library.
47Biographical sketch of the life of Luman Andos Shurtliff, 1807-1864, September 23, 1851, located in the Church Historian's library.
Orson Pratt spoke of an intended exodus while Joseph Smith was still in Missouri. In a public meeting held during the exodus he stated:

It is eight years today [1839] since we all came out of Missouri. Before that time Joseph the prophet had this move in contemplation and always said that we would send a company of young men to explore the country and return before the families can go over the mountains; and it is decidedly in my mind to do so.

Lyman Wight in writing to Wilford Woodruff in 1857 substantiated Orson Pratt’s statement when he wrote that "such a mission was even talked of while in Liberty jail." After arriving in Nauvoo, Oliver B. Huntington said he was present in his father's home when they were visited by Joseph Smith Sr. in 1840. After being told that it was not to be made public, the father of Joseph Smith told the Huntington family that "the Lord had told Joseph (his son the Prophet) that we would stay there just 7 years and that when we left there we would go right into the midst of the Indians, in the Rocky Mountains."

Shortly after the Church had announced to the people of Illinois that they intended to leave the state, Nancy Richards wrote to Willard Richards concerning her anticipation of the westward movement. She

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48 John D. Lee Diary, 1844, 1846, 1850-51, April 26, 1846, located in the Brigham Young University Library. See also "History of Brigham Young," NS, April 26, 1846, p. 153, located in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake.

49 Lyman Wight to Wilford Woodruff, dated August 24, 1857, located in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake. Joseph Smith and several leaders of the Church were confined in Liberty Jail in Missouri during the winter of 1838. Wilford Woodruff expressed to his family in 1839 and 1840 that he felt their stay in Nauvoo would be short. See Woman's Exponent, IX (July, 1880), 18.

50 Oliver B. Huntington's Diary, II, 210, located in the Brigham Young University Library.
wrote that it was "nearly four years \[10^{1/2}\] since I have felt confident such a time would come. But how soon or how brought about I knew not."\textsuperscript{51}

Reflecting on the early Nauvoo days, Brigham Young mentioned the idea of a westward movement contemplated by Joseph Smith. He said that "I did not devise the great scheme of the Lord's opening the way to send this people to these mountains. Joseph contemplated the move for years before it took place."\textsuperscript{52} On another occasion he explained that "In the days of Joseph we have sat many hours at a time conversing about this very country. Joseph has said, 'If I were only in the Rocky Mountains with a hundred faithful men, I would then be happy'."\textsuperscript{53}

A number of individuals who knew Joseph Smith recorded that he had on occasions prior to his death, drawn the route the saints would follow in making their westward journey to the Rocky Mountains. According to George H. Goddard, he was present in the Masonic Hall in Nauvoo "when Joseph Smith mapped out on the floor with a piece of chalk the Great Basin of Western America, indicating the course they would follow across the continent."\textsuperscript{54} Oliver B. Huntington recorded hearing Hopkins, "an old Nauvoo Mormon," stating that "Joseph Smith, just before he was killed, made a sketch of the future home of the Saints in the Rocky Mountains and their route or road to that country as he had seen in vision; a map or drawing of it."\textsuperscript{55} Levi Hancock drew a copy of that map, and four copies were made from it. One was given

\textsuperscript{51}Nancy Richards to Willard Richards, dated November 19, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake.
\textsuperscript{52}\textit{Ibid.}, IV, 41
\textsuperscript{53}\textit{Ibid.}, XI, 16.
\textsuperscript{54}Quoted in B. Cecil McCayin, \textit{Nauvoo the Beautiful} (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1946), p. 27.
\textsuperscript{55}Oliver B. Huntington's Diary, II, 425.
to Brigham Young, and "one was carried by the Mormon Battalion by which they knew where to find the Church or Salt Lake Valley." 56

Mosiah Hancock, son of Levi, recorded that Joseph Smith visited his father's house some time before his martyrdom, and

stopped in our carpenter shop and stood by the turning lathe. I went and got my map for him. "Now, he said, "I will show you the travels of this people." He then showed our travels through Iowa, and said, "Here you will make a place for the winter; and here you will travel west until you come to the valley of the Great Salt Lake! You will build cities to the north and to the south, and to the East and to the west, and you will become a great and wealthy people in that land." 57

Mosiah Hancock also heard Joseph Smith speak to the Nauvoo Legion shortly before his death; and pointed to one of John C. Fremont's maps, he said "Now I will show you the travels of this people ... Here you will make a place for the winter; and here you will travel west until you come to the Great Salt Lake Valley." 58

Another early Church member living in Nauvoo recorded hearing a Father McBride speak "of Joseph Smith marking out the way the Saints would travel to the Rocky Mountains ..." that he marked "the route with his cane in the sand they would take." 59

In conclusion the West, more specifically the Rocky Mountains, was probably mentioned as a future home for the Saints as early as 1832; and although there was much "hearsay" and remembering after the event, early church members recorded that Joseph Smith planned and mapped such a movement prior to his death.

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56 Ibid.
57 "The Life Story of Mosiah Lyman Hancock," p. 19, located in the Brigham Young University Library.
58 Ibid., p. 28.
59 Charles Walker's Diary, II, pp. 41-42. Located in Brigham Young University Library.
Chapter 5

THE MORMONS STUDY THE WEST 1842-1844

The Americans of the middle nineteenth century, who were contemplating settlements in the Far West, had a motive in studying the increasing number of maps, articles, and books on westward travel. According to Frederic L. Paxson, the underlying forces in that motive were "Manifest Destiny," and "the supply of unclaimed land that could be had in unlimited amounts."¹

The Mormons also had their motives in studying diligently the manner of over-land travel and the location of the best sites for settlement in the intermountain and Pacific Coast. True, they also were caught up in the movements of the time such as "Manifest Destiny."² However, theirs was a different destiny. It was "Zion" they were striving for in their westward movement. It was this dominating religious motive that caused Joseph Smith on February 20, 1844, to ask his close associates to:

Investigate the locations of California and Oregon, and hunt out a good location, where we can remove to after the temple is completed, and where we can build a city in a day, and have a government of our own, get up into the mountains, where the devil cannot dig us out, and live in a healthful climate, where we can live as old as we have a mind to.³

Five days later he told the same group "that within five years

¹Quoted in Hunter, Mormons and the American Frontier, p. 55.
²Ibid.
³DHC, VI, 222.
we should be out of the power of our old enemies, whether they were
apostates or of the world." 4 With such a removal in mind, Joseph Smith,
two months later, stated that "Zion" was all of North and South America,
and the time would come when "they would spread abroad and built up
cities all over the United States." 5 Although Mormon motives were
unique, they were strong enough to cause them to study their proposed
sites of settlement. It is evident, from their history, that in the
study of those sites they became familiar with the more important prin-
ted works. They "led their people to the Utah basin only after gaining
all the information possible concerning it, both from personal contact
and conversation with fur trappers, traders and explorers and from
reading their stories and official reports." 6

Joseph Smith prophesizes a Settle-
ment in the Midst of the Rocky
Mountains--1842-1844

That the Mormons, from the very beginnings of the organization
of their Church up to 1842, were contemplating a westward movement has
been evidenced. Beginning in 1842 and up to the death of Joseph Smith
in 1844 there were numerous instances when members of the Church re-
corded that he prophesied a removal to the Rocky Mountains. A research

4Ibid., 225. See also "The Life of Lucius N. Scovil; Ms. p.
14, located in the Utah State Historical Society Library; Mary Ann West-
ton Naughn Journal, Bk. I, p. 21, located in the Utah State Historical
Society Library; Henry Bigler Diary, p. 13, located in the Brigham
Young University Library; Wilford Woodruff Diary, February 25, 1844,
located in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake.

5Brigham Young to Reuben Hedlock, May 3, 1844, located in the
Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake.

6Snow, "The Great Basin," p. 134; See also Neff, "The Mormon
Migration," p. 151.
of the early writings reveals that the year 1842 marked the beginning of an intensified study of the western regions that culminated in the arrival of the first pioneers in the Great Basin of North America in 1847.

Joseph Smith's most detailed prophecy on the removal west was given on the occasion of installation of certain officers of the Rising Sun Lodge of the Masonic order. According to his journal, he had crossed the Mississippi River to Montrose, Iowa, on August 6, 1842, to witness the installation and was conversing with a group of men outside the Masonic Lodge when he said:

I prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains; many would apostatize, others would be put to death by our persecutors or lose their lives in consequence of exposure or disease, and some of you will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains.  

Anson Call, one of the men present on the occasion of Joseph Smith's prophecy, recorded in greater detail this prediction:

On the 14th of July (43) in company with about 50 or 100 of the brethren we crossed the river to Montrose to be present at the installment of a lodge of the Masonic order, viz "The Rising Sun." Whilst together Joseph who was with us told us of many things that should transpire in the mountains. After drinking a draught of ice-water, he said brethren this water tastes much like the crystal streams that are running in the Rocky Mountains which some of you will participate of. There are some of those standing here that will perform a great work in that land pointing to Shadrack Roundy and a number of others whom I have forgotten. There is Anson he shall go and shall assist in building cities from one end of the country to the other and you shall perform as great a work as has ever been done by man so that the nations of the earth shall be astonished and many of them will be gathered in that land and in assisting in building cities and temples and Israel shall be made to rejoice but before you see this day you will pass through scenes that are but little understood by you

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7DHC, v, 85.
This people will be made to mourn multitudes will die and many will apostatize but the priesthood shall prevail over all its enemies triumph over the devil and be established upon the earth never more to be thrown down. He then charged us all with all the zeal and language a prophet could muster to be faithful in those things that had been and should be committed to our charge with the promise of all the blessings that the priesthood could bestow. Remember these things and treasure them up. Amen.  

At some later date, while residing in Salt Lake, Anson Call made another record of Joseph Smith's prophecy. Although this summary provided additional details, it contains the same essential information. Anson wrote:

In the summer of 1842 Joseph Smith at the installment of the Masonic Lodge the Rising Sun in Montrose, I. A. While transacting business in the house before the congregation was admitted Joseph stated many things to us concerning of our going to the mountains he said we should go and build many cities and we should become a mighty people in the midst of the mountains and we should perform a work that will astonish the nations of the earth he said there are those here that shall help perform the work he said therres Br. Roundy and Br. Call and others that shall participate in it he charged us with the zeal of an Angel to be faithful for said he many before that day will come will apostatise multitudes will die and great over turns will take place with this people and many other things that I cannot recollect.

Anson Call

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8Anson Call Journal, p. 20, located in the Utah State Historical Society Library. Call mistakenly recorded 1843 instead of 1842, in explaining the circumstance of the journal of Anson Call, Byron Call wrote to A. R. Mortensen of the Historical Society on May 21, 1955: "It should be understood that Anson Call dictated to various scribes, as the opportunity offered, that which is contained here-in his journal/, and five separate handwritings as evidenced in the original manuscript. Little appears from the pen of Anson Call himself, although he was capable as is evidenced by his notes in the family bible." See letter under the above date in the Utah State Historical Society Library.

9The author located this statement while doing research in the Church Historian's Office. Through discussion with the officials there and further research it appears that Call was asked to make a statement concerning his being present at the prophecy in 1842, sometime after arriving in Salt Lake. Accompanying this statement, on the reverse side appears to be the same statement in shorthand, as if Call had dictated it to someone who asked for it. The quotation is interesting since it verifies his journal entry. The above mentioned statement by Call is reproduced in full in Appendix E.
Other early church members took occasion to record this same prophecy. Mary Ann Weston Maughn wrote:

On the 8 of Aug 1842 Joseph prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much Affliction and be driven to the Rocky Mountains, that many would fall and some would live to go through and assist in making settlements and Building Citys and see the Saints become mighty in the Rocky Mountains. This was given to his Masonic Brethren about 5 years before the Pioneers entered the valley of Salt Lake.\(^{10}\)

John R. Young, writing his memoirs of the Mormon exodus, stated that it had its antecedent in the prophecy of Joseph Smith made in 1842 and that "all believed in this prophecy and rejoiced that it was on the verge of fulfillment."\(^{11}\) George Washington Bean verified Call's and Young's journal entries when he wrote that "Joseph our Prophet saw in vision our homes in the Mountains a year or so before he was martyred."\(^{12}\) Nathan Young said he had a very vivid memory of the events surrounding the time when the Church was persecuted and its founders murdered. He remembered "hearing the prophet declare two years before his death that the Church would have to emigrate to the Rocky Mountains."\(^{13}\) Edwin and Theodore Turley wrote that Joseph Smith related to them on or about May 6, 1843, that "You will go to the Rocky Mountains and you will see a great and mighty people estab-


\(^{11}\)"Memoirs of John R. Young," p. 53, located in the Brigham Young University Library.


lished..."\(^{14}\)

One of the early Church members who also recorded an interest in the Rocky Mountains was Oliver S. Olney.\(^{15}\) Olney's writings are significant because he recorded them shortly before and after Joseph Smith made his Rocky Mountain prophecy. Olney joined the Church in 1831 and was disfellowshipped for claiming to be a prophet in 1842, and was excommunicated for theft, prior to March, 1843. Somewhat disgruntled by Church action against him, he began to speak out against the society to which he had belonged.\(^{16}\) While making his accusations against Church leaders, and certainly with no aim to help the Church, he recorded in a series of letters the talk in Nauvoo during the summer and fall of 1842 of organizing a company to seek a home in the Rocky Mountains. Writing to a friend, Jimmy, on July 20, 1842, Olney stated:

If they was to the Rocky Mountains as they are there desired to go what would be the consequence if they there should form a home I will reason some little as I know of their plans. A few first will start and go out by degrees until all will follow that has in their faith. They will there form a union as is directed by a few. Other move in until they become a powerful people. They will unite with the Indians as this has long been the theme by then of the leaders of the Church.\(^{17}\)

Two days later Olney continued his writing to Jimmy:

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\(^{14}\) Joseph Smith Letter File 1805-1844, miscellaneous papers, located in Utah State Historical Society Library.

\(^{15}\) HOG, III, 83, 92, 209; IV, 97, 552, 581. See Also, Oliver H. Olney, "The Absurdities of Mormonism Portrayed" (Hancock Co., Illinois, 1843), p. 1.

\(^{16}\) Olney's one published work, The Absurdities of Mormonism Portrayed is full of his accusations. See also Sangamo Journal (Springfield, Ill.), October 1, 14, and November 4, 1842.

\(^{17}\) Oliver H. Olney to Jimmy, dated July 20, 1842, located in the Coe Collection, Yale University Library.
They say with your numerous wives and maidens you are about to start west as far as the Rocky Mountains while you will raise up a Brigham ----(?). Without being molested by the laws of the land . . . . That if they put their plans into practice where will they soon be but on their way to the Rocky Mountains a chosen few say fifty in number that would not be noticed on their way. Others would follow as the way opened.  

Olney's last letter on Mormon preparations for a western movement was written on October 6, 1842, from the city of Nauvoo. He wrote again to Jimmy:

They say for to baffle all in their way until they get ready to go west as that is now the theme for some few to get ready and be off. They are fast a fixing to go west while they can live in peace without being molested by the laws of the land. They may soon to start. If what I learn is correct as far west as Oregon Territory and establish a stake of Zion in the name of the Lord.  

Dale L. Morgan, a compiler and editor of Olney's papers, feels that the true significance of Olney's statements is his making plain "that Joseph Smith was ready to abandon Nauvoo and take his Church west of the Rockies at this early date 1842." A close analysis of the statements supports this conclusion and reveals some interesting data concerning the planned exodus. First, there was talk on the streets of Nauvoo during the summer of 1842 about organizing an expedition for the west; even as far as the Oregon Territory. Second, it appears

18 Ibid., dated July 22, 1842.

19 Ibid. The writer has copied these statements as they appeared in the letters. Olney wrote in a very disorganized and sometimes unreadable manner. His letters appear to have been written in haste as he sometimes leaves out connecting words that would make the material read more smoothly. In summary, his main purpose it appears in making such comments about the planned exodus was not to aid it, rather to throw bad light on the effect of the Mormons to leave. See the Appendix FF for reproductions of Olney's letter.

that the expedition was to leave as soon as possible. Third, there was
to be a lead group of a "few" of "fifty" who would do the initial
colonizing. Fourth, it appears that there was an organized effort to
get the expedition underway. Onley's statements take on added signifi-
cance in light of Joseph Smith's Rocky Mountain prophecy pronounced in
the summer of 1842.

The question naturally arises, why wasn't the exodus that Onley
anticipated undertaken? There are those who feel that the removal
would have started then if it hadn't been for the fact that Joseph Smith,
who was arrested in January, 1843, was acquitted for complicity in the
shooting of Governor Boggs of Missouri. The year 1842 had been a
turbulent one for the Church. The people of Illinois were beginning
to find the Mormons and their peculiar religion obnoxious and the
Mormons were beginning to understand that they would not be able to
practice their particular brand of religion in Illinois for long.
Therefore, with the writs out for the arrest of Joseph Smith and other
Church leaders during the summer of 1842, the talk became serious, as
Onley said, of "fixing to go west Where they can live in peace Without
being molested By the laws of the land."
Then with the acquittal
of Church leaders in January, 1843, persecution of the Church subsided,
and discussion of the westward movement seems to have temporarily
ceased, or declined. A search of journals and writings during 1843

\[21\] Ibid.

\[22\] Onley to Jimmy, October 6, 1842. During the summer and fall
of 1842 Joseph Smith and some Church leaders spent considerable time in
seclusion for fear they would be dragged unlawfully to Missouri. On
occasion however, he would appear and speak to the Saints. See David
Moore Journal, pp. 13-14, located in the Brigham Young University Li-
brary.
fails to reveal any sign of the westward movement that was so prominent during 1842. Yet, beginning in late 1843 and early 1844, anti-Mormon opposition again emerged and the talk of moving west became serious. The prelude to a western movement as it was discussed in the General Council in Nauvoo during the spring of 1844, was initiated in December, 1843. On December 28, 1843, Orson Hyde reported on mob activities surrounding Nauvoo. The mob, he said, was requiring that all Mormons in the vicinity relinquish their guns. Those who did not "have thirteen days to leave in; and if they are not off in that time, we will drive them."23 Beginning in the early spring, 1844, there was increased agitation in Hancock County against the Mormons. On February 17, 1844, the anti-Mormon forces met at Carthage, Illinois, "for the purpose of devising ways and means by which the Saints might be expelled from the State."24 Three days later they appointed a "grand Wolf Hunt" against the saints for March 9th. Consequently not only did Joseph Smith prophesy a removal to the Rocky Mountains, but it appeared also that by spring, 1844, the anti-Mormon forces were going to be instrumental in effecting that removal.

The Westward Movement of the Church Projected by Joseph Smith--1844

On the same date that the anti-Mormon convention met at Carthage, Illinois, to propose a "Wolf Hunt" against the saints in Hancock County

23WGC, VI, 145.

24Historical Record, Andrew Jenson (comp.), VII (January, 1888), 541. Norton Jacobs added additional light on that critical period when he wrote in September, 1845, after receiving word that the Church was leaving Nauvoo, that Joseph Smith had said in 1842 "that about the time the temple was finished all Hell would be raised." See Norton Jacob Record, under date, p. 9, located in the Brigham Young University Library.
February 20, 1844, Joseph Smith called a special meeting of the General Council in Nauvoo. He instructed them to send a delegation to explore California and Oregon. The object was "to hunt out a good location where we can remove to after the temple is completed, ..." This action initiated a series of intensified efforts to organize a "Western Exploration Company" over the next few months, only to be interrupted by Joseph Smith's nomination for the presidency of the United States and later his death in June, 1844.

On February 20, 1844, the General Council and Joseph Smith met and selected a company of men to begin an "exploring expedition to California & pitch upon a spot to build a city." On this occasion Jonathan Dunham, David Fullmer, Phineas Young, David Yearsley, Alphonzo Young, James Emmett, George D. Watt, and Daniel Spencer were selected to form the company.

Two days later, on February 23, 1844, the Council again assembled and considered the "Oregon and California Exploring Expedition." On that occasion the men agreed that the company should number twenty-five and each would be outfitted with "$500, a good horse and mule, a double barrel rifle and the smooth bore, a saddle and bridle, a pair

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25 *DHG*, VI, 222. For a good summary of those early activities see Roberts, *CHG*, II, 210-220; also Milano Pratt's Diary, February 6, 1844, located in the Utah State Historical Society; *Millennial Star*, LXII (July 5, 1900), 400-403, 417-421.

26 Wilford Woodruff's Diary, February 21, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office. See also *DHG*, VI, 223; History of Brigham Young, Ms., February 21, 1844, p. 160, located in the Church Historian's Office.

27 Ibid.
of revolving pistols, bowie-knife, and good sabre."28 A leader was appointed to enlist additional volunteers, and if a sufficient number was not recruited, the expedition was to be postponed until the election."29 However, eight more immediately volunteered, among whom were Joseph A. Kelting and Samuel W. Richards; and reports from subsequent meetings held on February 24th, 26th, 28th, and 29th, indicate additional volunteers.30

Speaking of the proposed exploring company, Wilford Woodruff specified that "Joseph had organized a company to come here [Salt Lake], before his death. He had these things before him, and understood them perfectly."31 Samuel W. Richards, one of those volunteering for the exploring expedition, threw additional light on the destination of the expedition when he said that "California and Oregon if deemed necessary, were to be the fields of our exploration; while it was thought Lower California would offer the greatest inducements for locating a city for the Saints."32 Also among those chosen to help explore the West was Joseph A. Kelting. Writing of that experience

28Ibid., February 23, 1844. See also DHC. VI, 224; History of Brigham Young, Ms., February 23, 1844, p. 160.
29DHC, VI, 224.
30Ibid. Such names as "Mountain Exploring Expedition," "Western Exploring Expedition," "Expedition to the Rocky Mountains," and "Oregon Exploring Expedition" were given to the proposed company.
31Wilford Woodruff, Address delivered at Salt Lake City, December 12, 1869, JD, XIII, 160.
32B. H. Roberts, Succession in the Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (2nd ed.; Salt Lake, 1900), pp. 118-119. At that particular time the limits of California and Oregon had not been defined. "It was not uncommon nor indeed incorrect to apply that term [California] to the territory east of the Sierra." See Hubert H. Bancroft, History of Utah (Salt Lake: Bookcraft, 1964), p. 236. B. H. Roberts also said that "the great western Rocky Mountain plateau was for many years and especially in Mormon literature called Upper California." See CH, III, 61-62.
he later said "that previous to the death of the prophet Joseph Smith there was a movement on foot, looking to the removal of the Church from Illinois to the West. Joseph Smith was the one who took lead in that matter." 33

In summary, it seems evident that in February, 1844, Joseph Smith began a movement among the Saints in Nauvoo to explore the western regions for a future home for the Church. Such areas as California, Oregon, and even Lower California (Mexico and Santa Fe) were being projected as sites to explore for settlement.

Special Council organized and Outside Aid Sought to help in the Removal of the Saints West

The interest of Joseph Smith and the early Church leaders in a subsequent removal to some distant and unoccupied territory did not stop with those first few council meetings in February, 1844. The next event to take place was on March 11, 1844. According to Joseph Smith's journal, it was on that date that a special council was organized "to take into consideration the subject matter . . . to secure a resting place in the mountains, or some uninhabited region, where we can enjoy the liberty of conscience guaranteed to us by the Constitution." 34 Those who were present on the date of the organization were to record in their diaries then and later the characteristics of that special council. According to Benjamin F. Johnson, there were approxi-

33 Roberts, Succession, p. 120.

34 TGC, VI, 261. Most of the material relative to this special council is taken from Klaus J. Hansen, "The Theory and Practice of the Political Kingdom of God in Mormon History, 1829-1890," (Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1860).
mately fifty in the group; hence its name, Council of Fifty. Its meetings were kept confidential, and "whenever anything of importance was on foot this Council was called to deliberate upon it." Explaining further the purpose of that council regarding its special mission, Klaus Hansen said that "the prophet's tentative desire to remove the saints from Illinois was thus inextricably bound up with the immediate circumstances leading to the organization of the Council of Fifty."  

That the special council or Council of Fifty was one of the underlying forces in attempting to locate the Saints west is further indicated in the journal of Brigham Young. He reported that subsequent meetings were held on March 12th, 13th, 14th, 19th, and April 11, 1844. Concerning that important first meeting held on March 11, 1844, Brigham Young wrote that the Council "prepared several memorials to Congress . . . and used every available means to inform ourselves of the unoccupied territory open to settlers." Attempting to gain government approval and protection of their western plan, the Council met again on March 21, 1844, to discuss "the propriety of petitioning Congress for the priviledge of raising troops to protect the making of


36Lee, Mormonism Unveiled, p. 173.

37Klaus J. Hansen, Quest for Empire (Michigan State University, 1967), p. 82.

38History of Brigham Young, Ms., p. 164.

39Ibid, Brigham Young's statement that "we used every available means to inform ourselves of the unoccupied territory," is extremely interesting. A search of the available journals and writings at that period of time fails to reveal what it was they used to inform themselves on the west. However, this is further evidence that they were continually searching for data pertaining to the west.
settlements in the uncivilized portions of our continent." Willard Richards was appointed to draw up the memorial to Congress which was read, discussed, and approved by the General Council on March 22, 1844. After a statement of aims in the memorial, Joseph Smith then asked Congress to authorize him to raise one hundred thousand armed volunteers to police "the intermountain and pacific coast west from Oregon to Texas," and to commission Joseph Smith as a member of the United States Army. Another memorial was prepared on March 30, 1844, addressed to President John Tyler, containing the same ideas as in the memorial to Congress.

Elder Orson Hyde was appointed to carry the memorials to Washington D. C. Hyde left for Washington, with the memorials, and an introductory letter in his possession, on April 14, 1844. On May 13, 1844, at the meeting of the General Council a letter was read from Orson Hyde concerning his Washington visit. Hyde wrote that he had conversed with the senators from Illinois and found them deeply interested in the Oregon Question and the Mormon cause. He reported

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40 DHC, VI, 270. 41 Ibid., p. 276. 42 DHC, VI, 276. 43 Ibid., p. 277. The general membership of the Church soon became aware of the memorials before Congress and the desire of Joseph to raise a group of volunteers. Joel H. Walker wrote to Joseph Smith offering his services on the "Western Volunteer Movement." See Joel H. Walker to Joseph Smith, dated May 9, 1844, in DHC, VI, 424-425. 44 Ibid., pp. 281-282. For the presentation of the memorials to Congress by the Senator from Illinois, John Wentworth, see DHC, VI, 282. See also George Q. Cannon, Life of the Prophet Joseph Smith, (Salt Lake, 1887), pp. 447-448. 45 Ibid., VI, 286.
that Senator Hodge thought the memorial before Congress would not pass
since there "already exists between England and America a treaty for the
joint occupancy of Oregon, and that any act of our Government authori-
zizing an armed force . . . destined for that country, would be regarded
by England as an infraction of that treaty." It was the opinion of
the Illinois congressmen that the Church had a right to go to Oregon
with all the emigrants that could be raised; that all those supporting
Oregon in Congress were anxious for the saints to go there and settle.

Singling out Oregon and Texas territories Hyde wrote that:

There is some good country in Oregon, but a great deal of
sandy, barren desert. I have seen a gentleman who has been there
and also in California.
The most of the settlers in Oregon and Texas are our old
enemies, the mobocrats. If, however, the settlement of Oregon
and Texas be determined upon, the sooner the move is made the
better; for there is much jealousy of our rising power
already.

In a letter dated a day later, April 26, 1844, Hyde again wrote
of interviews with President Tyler and Judge Douglas of Illinois. The
feeling was as before that the saints were already authorized to go to
the Oregon Territory. Then, concluding that perhaps the Church would
in all probability settle somewhere in Oregon, he wrote the following:

In case of a removal to that country, Nauvoo is the place of
general rendezvous. Our course from thence would be westward
through Iowa bearing a little north until we came to the Missouri
River, leaving the state of Missouri on the left, thence onward,
until we came to the Platte, thence up the north fork of the Platte
to the mouth of the Sweetwater River in longitude 107 degree, 45
W.; and thence up said Sweetwater River to the South Pass of the

46 Orson Hyde to Council at Nauvoo, dated April 25, 1844,
located in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake. See also DHC,
VI, 369-393.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid.
Rocky Mountains, about eleven hundred miles from Nauvoo; and from said South Pass, in latitude 42°28' north, to the Umpqua and Klamet valleys in Oregon, bordering on California, is about six hundred miles, making the distance from Nauvoo to the best portions of Oregon one thousand seven hundred miles.49

Hyde also pointed out that their proposed trip would not be without guidance, for Judge Douglas had given him a map of Oregon and also a report of J. C. Fremont's expedition of the country lying between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains, which he was sending to the Council.50 Judge Douglas had expressed a desire to speak with the Prophet on his return to Illinois and direct Joseph Smith to several men who had been in California.51

Another letter was written by Hyde, relative to his stay in Washington, before the close of April, 1844. In this letter, dated April 30, 1844, Hyde reversed his position and, on the basis of information received, advised the council that "Oregon is a good way off, and is not a very good country when you get there." He further wrote that he had not only read histories of the area but had also conversed with people who had been there, concluding that "the tax upon women and children in removing there, would be severe."52 He then offered a

49 Orson Hyde to Council at Nauvoo, dated April 26, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City. Hyde did not include the source of this information on the route to Oregon. It appears to have come from the same gentleman who informed him on Oregon and California that he mentions in the letter dated April 26.

50 Ibid. The report and map would have been the result of Fremont's 1842-1843 trip west.

51 Ibid. The map spoken of by Hyde was received by Joseph Smith and used to study the West before his death in June, 1844, as indicated in "The Life Story of Mosiah L. Hancock," p. 19.

52 Orson Hyde to Council at Nauvoo, dated April 30, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City.
proposition to the Council gained after much deliberation and conversation with those in authority:

Now then for a proposition; as Texas will not be admitted into our union; how would it do for you to write to Prest. Houston and ask him what encouragement he could give us if we would commence an immediate emigration there, and supply him with 1-2-3-4 or 5 thousand soldiers to help fight the battle; and then if Mexico would not acknowledge the independence of Texas, but continue to harass her by small parties, make our tremendous rush upon Mexico and capture and subdue the whole Country. This would secure Texas, Mexico, and California. If Mexico should acknowledge the independence of Texas without bloodshed, then we should have a delightful soil and climate, and an opportunity of extending our settlement into California, and we should not be out of the reach of Communication, or the necessaries and comforts of life. Texas would be a central point for emigration, for the coming in and going out of Elders. Of it this would not do, let some man whose mind is well balanced with judgment and discretion go and establish a stake in Texas, and let the converts from the south who have slaves gather there and raise our sugar, and we in Illinois raise their provisions.\textsuperscript{53}

It is amazing that the proposition offered by Hyde was already being carried out by the Council.\textsuperscript{54} Yet, even though he offered such suggestions, Hyde felt inclined to suggest that

If we were to get Texas, or rather go there under the most favorable circumstances which we have every reason to hope for; there is an Army to support, and also a navy. An executive and legislative government ministers and consuls to all nations. Would not this enormous weight of taxation keep out capitalists and sink the infant government?\textsuperscript{55}

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{53}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{54}A special delegate had been chosen on March 14, 1844 and sent to Texas to feel out Houston and Texas government relative to the Saints settling there. A report was received back before May 6, 1844. The full scale of the Church interest and activities in Texas will be considered in a later chapter.
\textsuperscript{55}Hyde to Council, April 30, 1844. This particular letter of Hyde's dated April 30th, 1844 does not appear in the journal of Joseph Smith as do the letters of April 25th and April 26th. There is however, a response in the Journal to the April 30th letter that is extremely interesting. See DHQ, VI, 405.
The April 30th letter of Hyde was received on May 25, 1844. An immediate answer was written by the council. Hyde was informed that Lyman Wight and Heber C. Kimball would soon be in Washington and he would be told "all things relative to Texas, &c;" that "our great success at present depends upon ... the ... election" of General Smith. 56 According to the correspondence between Orson Hyde and the Special Council in Nauvoo, by June 1, 1844, the Church leaders had become aware of advantages and disadvantages of possible settlements in California, Oregon and Texas; they had a map and report of an expedition to those areas; and they had determined a proposed route of travel to Oregon. However, due to pressing matters on the home front, interest in the West declined temporarily in order to advocate Joseph Smith for the presidency of the United States in the 1844 election. 57

The Proposal of Joseph Smith for the Presidency of the United States as it relates to the Westward Movement

As the time for the presidential election for 1844 approached,

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The interest in advocating before Congress the Church's cause for settlement in the West was partially dropped at this time. It also becomes apparent from further correspondence between Hyde and the council that the memorials before Congress weren't as serious as they appear on the surface. In a letter written by Hyde to the Council on June 9, 1844 it is learned that Wight and Kimball had just arrived to inform Hyde of council deliberations. Hyde wrote back that "Bro. Wight says that it is now said in council that it was not expected that Congress would do anything for us. The memorials were only to tease them, and that we might as well tease them with one thing as another." See Orson Hyde to Council, dated June 9, 1844, in Church Historian's Office.
there was much discussion among the leaders and members of the Church concerning the probably candidates for the high office. Under these circumstances Joseph Smith wrote to each of the five candidates for the presidency—John C. Calhoun, Lewis Cass, Richard M. Johnson, Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren. These letters emphasized the oppression of the saints by their enemies and asked each candidate if elected to that high office what he would do relative to the saint's grievances. Only three returned answers. One of these, Henry Clay, commented that "you had better go to Oregon for redress." When it therefore became apparent that none of the candidates would offer assistance to the Saint's cause, the council voted unanimously "that we have an independent electoral ticket, and that Joseph Smith be a candidate for the next presidency." A pamphlet was promptly published on the views of Joseph Smith; and a nominating convention held in Nauvoo on May 17, 1844, formally advanced his candidacy. It is difficult to determine Joseph Smith's real intentions why he wanted to become president. At times he was quoted as saying that he cared "little about the presidential chair." It appears from all available evidence that most saints realized he wouldn't be elected; that the main purpose of the campaign was to place the views of the saints before the people of the United

58 DHC, VI, 188  59 Ibid.  60 Roberts, CHC, III, 205-207

60 Ibid., 209. See Roberts, CHC, II, 207-209 for a discussion of the problem. Yet there were those who felt it was a serious matter. Willard Richards in writing to James Arlington Bennett indicated that "your views about the nomination of Gen. Smith for the presidency are correct. We will win popularity and extend influence, but this is not all. We mean to elect him. And nothing shall be wanting on our part to accomplish it." See Willard Richards to James Arrlington Bennett, dated June 20th, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office.
States. This program generally attracted favorable comments from the press of the country. 62

As an outgrowth of Joseph Smith's candidacy, there are some facts that arise concerning the westward movement. One of these concerns James Arrlington Bennett, of New York, who was asked as early as March 4, 1844, to be vice-president on the ticket with Joseph Smith. 63 In the same letter to Bennett asking him to accept the position, it was noted that "All is right at Nauvoo. We are now fitting out a noble company to explore Oregon and California." 64 It thus becomes apparent that, even though Joseph Smith's candidacy was being advocated, the flame of a western movement never really flickered. This is further evidenced by a series of letters between Willard Richards and Bennett. Upon learning of the Council's activities to explore the western country (from the letter of March 4th), Bennett wrote to Richards:

The Mormons should settle an Empire of their own. Not only thousands but millions would flock to an independent people. In This Country a Patriarchal Government with Joseph at the head would be just the thing. In unity there is power. Nothing would stop such a people.

If I were the Mormon Prophet I would abandon Nauvoo or at least have a small Colony leave and settle out of the present influence of the States. Just look back at the history of the world. Can you with a prophetic Eye view the millions flocking to his standard from all Nations of the Earth! Your present position is to circumscribed—you have not a field big enough for your operations. Can you get hold of California or Texas. Or when will you be able to Conquer . . . Mexico? 65

62 Roberts, CHC, III, p. 205. See also DHC, VI, 232.
63 Roberts, CHC, II, 207.
64 DHC, VI, 232.
65 James Arrlington Bennett to Willard Richards, dated April 14, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City.
It is amazing how clearly Bennett was able to know the activities and attitude of the Church. It is apparent from his letter that there had been talk of colonizing Mexico. Willard Richards wrote to Hyde, summarizing the attitude of the council:

Your views about the nomination of Gen Smith for the presidency are correct... And we call upon all patriots far and near to lend a helping hand to put down the mob & return peace. If this is not done immediately and the mob attempts to execute their threats, you may soon have the opportunity of beholding that glorious "Vision" in the West, you have so ably contemplated in your letter. And I write to you at this time at the request of the prophet & invite you to come to our assistance with as many volunteers as you can bring and if the mob cannot be dispersed, & the government will not expound our righteous cause, you may soon, very soon behold the downfall of our nations freedom, for to live without the free exercise of thought, and the priviledge of worshipping God according to the dictates of our conscious we will not! We will... go where the wicked cease to trouble—but we firmly believe there are virtous men & patriots enough yet left, to sustain those principles which alone are worth living for. Will you come? Here is Oregon. Here is California.66

Thus the "vision" of a home in the west was constantly before the Council throughout the spring of 1844. Was Richards, in writing on behalf of Joseph Smith, intimating a quick movement west if the mob threats did not subside? It would appear that he was prophetic for two days later, on June 22, 1844, Joseph Smith, his brother Hyrum, and Richards, crossed the Mississippi River probably to start for the Great Basin in the Rocky Mountains.67

It was also during the projected candidacy of Joseph Smith that another fact comes to light. Those men who were called to begin the "Exploring Expedition" to Oregon and California to search out a

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66 Willard Richards to James Arrlington Bennett, dated June 20, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City. See also DHC, VI, 516-518.
67 DHC, VI, 547-548.
home, never left Nauvoo. Edmund Ellsworth, one of the volunteers, mentioned in his journal that he was one of the twenty called to explore the Rocky Mountain country in the spring of 1844. However, he added, that soon after this appointment "the prophet concluded to run for president of the U. S. I was called to go to the State of New York," he said, "on a Lectioneering Mission." 68

When Lyman Wight and Heber C. Kimball traveled to Washington to inform Orson Hyde of the council's views of Texas, they were campaigning for Joseph Smith. As those elders traveled east, they were not only "drumming up" interest in Joseph Smith's candidacy, but were also carrying news of the western movement to members of the Church. In letters written to his wife and daughter in Nauvoo, Kimball reported of further activities in support of a western movement. He mentioned that our representatives in Congress "have not got it in their hearts to do the first thing for us, because it is not popular . . . . Elder Wight and myself have presented a petition . . . for them to give us some lands somewhere in the world. Either in the Texas or Oregon." 69

Three days prior to writing this letter, Heber C. Kimball had informed his daughter that since Congress would not aid the Church, they would immigrate to "a home and worship God in His own way . . . .

68 "Life of Edmund Ellsworth," Ms., p. 2., located in the Utah State Historical Society. Others testified also of this fact. See Norton Jacob's journal, p. 5; William S. Hyde Journal, pp. 11-12, located in the Brigham Young University Library; Benjamin F. Johnson wrote that "not in the prophet's day did any properly organized company start." See "An Interesting Letter," p. 14.

69 Heber C. Kimball to Violeta Kimball, dated June 12, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake. See also Heber C. Kimball's journal, dates of May 21, June 2, and June 7, 1844.
And it will not be long before this exodus will commence," he added.  

As Kimball and Wight left Washington to continue their "lecture mission," they stopped in Wilmington, Delaware, to hold a conference on June 22, 1844. They wrote to the council in Nauvoo that:

The brethren came in from the adjacent country, and after much instruction from Brothers Kimball and Wight, we took a vote to know whether they would go whithersoever the Presidency, Patriarch and Twelve went, should it be to Oregon, Texas, or California, or any other place directed by the wisdom of almighty God. The Saints numbering about 100, rose to their feet and exclaimed, whithersoever they go, we go, without a dissenting voice . . . . We have not the least idea that anyone will back out; they are nearly all men of wealth, and have commenced this morning to offer all surplus property for sale, that whenever you say go, they are ready.  

The same day that Kimball and Wight wrote to the Council of their success in the east, Joseph Smith and some of his close friends had crossed the Mississippi River, heading for the Great Basin in the Rocky Mountains as has been discussed. Yet, as George A. Smith later declared, the campaign for the presidency and "the premature death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith" prevented their departure.  

Events surrounding the death of Joseph Smith as they related to the Westward Movement

According to those who knew Joseph Smith, immediately prior to his death on June 27, 1844, the Mormon Prophet once again revealed the

70Heber C. Kimball to Helen M. Kimball, dated June 9, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake.

71Lyman Wight to Joseph Smith, dated June 21, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake. See also DHC. VII, 157.

72George A. Smith. Address delivered in Salt Lake City, June 20, 1869, JB, XIII, 80-81.
eventual home in the Rocky Mountains for the Latter-day Saints.
Erastus Snow said that when the pioneers left Nauvoo in 1846, they
were not "seeking a country on the Pacific Coast, neither a country
to the north or south; we were seeking a country which had been pointed
out by the prophet Joseph Smith in the midst of the Rocky Mountains,
in the interior of the great North American Continent." 73 Elijah
Averett specified that the twelve apostles "thought it best to leave for
the mountains where Joseph Smith had told them to go." 74 Irene Hascall
wrote to her relative, Ashael G. Hascall, that "the Twelve and Joseph
received revelations concerning it [the exodus] before Joseph died." 75
Joseph Watson Young wrote that prior to Joseph Smith's death, a company
was organized to cross the mountains and Joseph told "the Twelve . . .
that the Saints never would have peace until they were beyond the
Rocky Mountains." 76

Several members of the Nauvoo Legion recorded that on June 18,
1846, Joseph Smith told that body of some five thousand men that he
"would have gone out there (pointing to the West), if they had not
supported him." 77 Then again on June 22nd he addressed the Legion for
the last time, telling them that their mission would be to the Nations

73 Erastus Snow, Address delivered in Salt Lake City, September
14, 1873, JD, XVI, 207.
74 Elijah Averett's Journal, p. 11, located in the Utah State
Historical Society Library.
75 Irene Hascall to Ashael G. Hascall, dated October, 1845,
located in the Utah State Historical Society Library.
76 Joseph Watson Young's Journal, p. 1, located in the Utah
State Historical Society Library.
77 Wandle Pace's Journal, p. 136, located in the Brigham Young
University Library. See also, William B. Pace's Journal, pp. 3-4,
located in the Brigham Young University Library; DHC, VI, 449.
of the Earth. You will gather many people into the fastness of the Rocky Mountains as a center for the gathering of the people." 78

On the night of June 22, 1844, Joseph Smith met with other church leaders in the upper room of his house in Nauvoo to discuss the mob force that was threatening Nauvoo. In that meeting he was reported to have said that "the way is open. All they want is Hyrum and myself; ... We will cross the river tonight, and go away to the west." 79 At 9:00 p.m. that evening Hyrum Smith met Reynolds Cahoon and related the events of the meeting. Cahoon was told that the Lord had warned Joseph Smith to flee to the Rocky Mountains in order to save his life from a company of men seeking to kill him. 80 Willard Richards recorded that the next day, June 23, 1844, at daybreak the group consisting of Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Willard Richards and O.P. Rockwell arrived on the Iowa side of the Mississippi River. It was then that Joseph Smith sent O. P. Rockwell with instructions to hasten back to Nauvoo and "to return the next night with horses for Joseph and Hyrum, pass them over the river in the night secretly, and be ready to start for the Great Basin in the Rocky Mountains." 81 On the afternoon of June 23, 1844, O. P. Rockwell and Reynolds Cahoon arrived in Montrose where "they found Joseph, Hyrum and Willard in a

78 Samuel H. Rogers's diary, p. 199, located in the B.Y.U. Library.

79 Historical Record, Andrew Jenson (comp.), VII (January, 1888), 557.

80 DHC, VI, 547. See also "The Prophet Joseph warned to flee to the Rocky Mountains," Improvement Era, X (June, 1907), 566-67.

81 Millenial Star, LXII (July 5, 1900), 420; DHC, VI, 548.
room by themselves, having flour and other provisions on the floor ready for packing."

Cahoon presented a letter to Joseph Smith from the Prophet's wife requesting him to return and face trial. Confronted with this and accusations, from others, of cowardice for wishing to leave his people, Joseph Smith returned to Nauvoo and later, Carthage, where on June 27, 1844 he was martyred.

Consequently Joseph Smith did not live to witness a fulfillment of his "prophecy" that the Saints would become a mighty people in the Rocky Mountains. His premature death prevented him from personally directing the exodus and colonization program. An important foundation, however, had been laid by the Mormon Prophet. Joseph Smith had organized an exploring company and had created a Special Council of Fifty to become in part an eventual force in effecting the Exodus in 1846. Meanwhile, the Saints had sought assistance from the nation's leaders relative to aid for a western removal and learned that such aid was not then available. They had gained valuable information regarding Oregon, California and Texas, and a reliable map had been acquired. The knowledge of the western mission had been carried to church membership by "Lectioneering Missionaries," and prior to Joseph's death, the prophet had designated the Great Basin as a site for future settlement.

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82 N. B. Lundwall, The Fate of the Persecutors of the Prophet Joseph Smith, (Bookcraft: Salt Lake, 1952), pp. 120-22.

83 George A. Smith, Address delivered in Salt Lake City, June 20, 1869, MD, XIII, 80-81.
Chapter 6

THE MORMONS STUDY THE WEST, 1844-1845

Shortly prior to the death of Joseph Smith on June 27, 1844, Isaac C. Haight wrote on June 1, that "the enemies of the Church began to rage without and hypocrits and dissenters manifested themselves within."¹ The Warsaw Signal on June 17, 1844, confirmed Haight's report when it made a public appeal to all "old citizens" to assist in "exterminating the leaders of the saints and driving away the people."² Even after the martyrdom, when no serious steps were taken to bring the guilty parties to justice, rumors were extant that forces were being gathered from Missouri to "exterminate the Mormons after harvest."³ Thus it became apparent to all concerned that either the Mormons or the old settlers of Hancock County had to leave the area; and even Governor Ford had been appealed to by a committee of citizens to cast the deciding vote as to whom should leave.⁴

There is no doubt that the Mormons felt they would have to leave Nauvoo. Their prophet had predicted it; and the mobs were now

¹ Isaac C. Haight's journal, June 1, 1844, p. 13, located in the Brigham Young University Library.
² DHC, VI, 497. ³ Ibid., VII, 201-202; VII, 195-196.
⁴ Ibid., VII, 195. Governor Ford was reported to have replied that "it was not for him to decide such a question, or to order any body of citizens, whether Mormons or anti-Mormons, out of the county or state." See DHC, VI, 195.
demanding it. Then with the premature death of their prophet, the reality of a movement west became clearer. Benjamin F. Johnson confirmed this general feeling when he reported that even though the death of Joseph Smith prevented any organized company from starting west, yet "at his death the star of our hopes for a home of peace began more plainly to rise in the Great West, somewhere to be found." Johnson went so far as to mention that Oregon and Van Couver's Island were projected as possible Mormon refuges at that early date. Another who wrote of events after the death of Joseph Smith and the removal plans of the Mormons was John Brown, then in the east on a "lectioseering mission" for Joseph Smith's presidency campaign. He wrote, in July, 1844, of learning about the assassination in Carthage Jail and of the many rumors and excitement prevalent. He mentioned among other things that the Mormons were being ordered to leave the state and "were going either to the Rocky Mountains, California, or Van Couver's Island." It appears that after the death of Joseph Smith, the hope of a settlement in the West was frequently considered by Latter-day Saints. A new possibility of refuge is noted in the writings of the saints as early as July, 1844, namely, Van Couver's Island. However, during the summer, fall and

5Johnson, "An Interesting Letter," p. 14. See also, Brigham Young, Address delivered in Salt Lake City, March 3, 1861, JD, VIII, 356. It should be noted that despite the knowledge of a possible westward movement, the saints were continuing to build up Nauvoo. See Flanders, Nauvoo, Kingdom on the Mississippi, p. 322.


8The Mormon colonization scheme of Van Couver's Island is beyond the time period and scope of this work. Hence, it will not be considered.
winter of 1844, there was not as much discussion and planning of a westward movement in the records which have survived, as there had been prior to the Prophet's death. The reason appears to lie in the turmoil and confusion resulting from the death of the Mormon prophet; and the attempt by the twelve apostles to stabilize the Church during that crucial period. It was not until January 1, 1845 that serious planning was again revived among the leaders of the Church to send an expedition west, as originally planned by Joseph Smith. However, even though there was not any organized effort during the remainder of 1844, Mormon knowledge of the West was continually increasing, due to newspapers reporting western activities.

Mormon Knowledge of the West
as Revealed in Mormon Newspapers, 1839-1845

A medium reflecting Mormon thought concerning the West during 1844-1845 and perhaps an indication of interest that was kept alive of a home in the West, was the newspaper. The saints had, since 1832, published a Church newspaper to promulgate doctrine and news to its members. During the 1844-1845 period, three papers were being published simultaneously; the Times and Seasons, a bi-monthly publication; the Nauvoo Neighbor, a weekly publication; and the Millennial Star, a bi-monthly publication issued in England.


10Prior to 1839 there had been three newspapers published by the Church; namely, the Evening and Morning Star, 1832-1834; the Messenger and Advocate, 1834-1837; and the Elder's Journal, 1837-1838.
The *Times and Seasons*, the fourth newspaper established by Mormon leaders, was first issued as a monthly in November, 1838, and later changed to a semi-monthly. Two objectives were stated by its editors; first, to "advocate the doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints ... and ecclesiastical and theological matters," second, to print news from various fields, such as the literary and scientific world. A survey of the six volumes of the *Times and Seasons* running from 1839-1846 reveals that most of its pages were devoted to Church doctrine and very few to scientific and literary news. It wasn't until December, 1845, when preparations for the Mormon exodus from Nauvoo were in progress that pages were devoted to articles about the West. In the December 1, 1845 issue, for example, under the title of "from the west", the following information appeared:

As Oregon, California and Vancouver are all the "go" in these days, we have thought it advisable to give in this number of the *Times and Seasons* the following intelligence. Although it is not of so religious a cast as we generally publish, yet it may be of general benefit to the exodus of the Mormons next season. We must be ready and profit by what we learn.

Following this introduction was a description of Dr. Elijah White's trip from the Willamette colony in Oregon to Independence, Missouri, giving a daily computation of the distance in miles to each major stopping place. Included also was a letter from Dr. White describing the advantages of Oregon. The last two articles on the West appeared in the December 15, 1845 issue. Under the title of "California" and "Emigrants for California," appeared a general description of California,

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12 *Times and Seasons*, December 1, 1845, VI, 1046.
including advantages of that territory over Oregon.\textsuperscript{13} Enticements such as the following were also cited for those contemplating removal to California:

It is of no use to Mexico, but an eyesore, a shame, a bone of contention. Here are many fine ports; the land produces wheat even to an hundred fold; cotton and hemp will grow here, and every kind of fruit there is in New England; grapes in abundance of the first quality; the rivers are full of fish; the woods of game . . . .\textsuperscript{14}

In the same issue valuable information was published relative to a party being organized for an expedition to California, which was to leave on the first Monday in April, 1846. Among other things, every person was to be "armed with a rifle or heavy shot gun, sixteen pounds of shot or lead, four pounds of powder, caps, &c., two horses or miles for each person, or a wagon and eight cattle for every five persons, tents, &c."\textsuperscript{15} Thus the Times and Seasons, even though devoted mainly to church doctrine and Mormon-centered activities, found occasion to record information on the American Far West.

The newspaper during the Nauvoo period which was devoted "to the dissemination of useful knowledge of every description; the Arts, Religion, Science, Literature, Agriculture, Manufacture, Trade, Commerce, and the general news of the day," was the Nauvoo Neighbor.\textsuperscript{16} From the time of its inception, the Neighbor published articles on the West

\textsuperscript{13}\textit{Times and Seasons}, VI (December 15, 1845), 1068-1070.\textsuperscript{14}\textit{Ibid.}\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Ibid.}\textsuperscript{16}Nauvoo Neighbor, "Prospectus," May 3, 1843, p. 3. The forerunner of the Neighbor was a small weekly periodical called the Wasp, begun on April 16, 1842 at Nauvoo. See DHC, IV, 600. The Wasp ran for about a year and then was enlarged and changed its name to the Nauvoo Neighbor.
almost every month. Beginning with the May 24, 1843 issue and running through April 30, 1845, the subject of Texas, its annexation, and value as a place of settlement received considerable attention. Concerning its policy on Texas, the Neighbor stated:

We say that Texas should be annexed to the United States, for two reasons, those of commercial, and national advantages. Should it be ceded to Great Britain, in case a national war should ensue, she would be possessed of a country that will give her a decided advantage over us. We are glad to see that Gen. Smith, (our candidate for President,) is decidedly in favor of this important measure.

Since California and Oregon were the objectives of the majority of the settlers headed west, they received the most attention in the Neighbor. Beginning with August 9, 1843, the "Oregon Question," as discussed before Congress and among the people, was given considerable space. The British and American claims, Joseph Smith's views, and the Oregon Bill were among the subjects discussed in this paper. Concerning the question of the occupation of Oregon, the Neighbor commented as follows:

Thousands of our hardy pioneers have settled there. They went there because it was American soil and they believed when they went there that they would be protected by American power, by American influences, and by American spirits. And shall they now be bartered away to a foreign power and become the serfs of British Lords, and the subjects of British

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17 The following issues in the Neighbor contained such information: May 24, 1843; June 28, 1843; July 19, 1843; August 16, 1843; December 6, 1843; December 20, 1843; March 13, 1844; March 20, 1844; March 27, 1844; April 10, 1844; April 17, 1844; December 18, 1844; January 15, 1845; February 12, 1845; April 30, 1845.

18 Ibid., April 10, 1844.

19 Ibid., August 9, 1843; September 20, 1843; October 25, 1843; December 27, 1843; March 13, 1844; March 27, 1844; March 30, 1844; April 17, 1844; May 27, 1844; August 21, 1844; January 15, 1845; February 26, 1845; February 26, 1845.
tyranny? Our western statesmen say not. Gen. Smith says not. And if we understand anything about the tone of public feeling, not is reiterated [sic] by all the hardy sons of the west. We say let them have their rights; let them be protected, and let them know that Columbia never forsook any of her noble sons.20

Information relating conditions within the territory of Oregon also appeared in the Neighbor. A common item included in this paper was letters written to friends and relatives living in the states, by those on the trail or already in Oregon. Such valuable sources of information were received from Peter H. Burnett,21 M. M. McCarver,22 W. B. Ide,23 and J. M. Shively.24 Also included were announcements of emigrant trains leaving the states, names of the guides and places of departure.25 Miscellaneous items such as new settlements being founded,26 activities of the legislature in Oregon,27 and conditions of the emigrants on the trail received their share of space.

California also received considerable attention in the Neighbor. Concerning its importance, one author predicted in an article appearing in this paper that "information in regard to the California favored portion of the globe is eagerly sought after by our citizens, as it is destined ere long to be annexed to the United States."28 Letters from

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20Ibid., March 27, 1844.
21Ibid., October 9, 1844; January 22, 1845; August 27, 1845. Typical in such letters were accounts of the trip itself, what to expect, the soil, harvest, wages, climate, fisheries, navigation, water, power, timber, wild animals, mountains, and commercial advantages.
22Ibid., April 17, 1845. 23Ibid., June 25, 1845. 24Ibid., August 27, 1845.
25Ibid., February 12, 1845; February 26, 1845; April 2, 1845; May 27, 1845; June 4, 1845.
26Ibid., September 11, 1844. 27Ibid., February 19, 1845. 28Ibid., July 2, 1845.
emigrants were also printed telling of the advantages.\textsuperscript{29} Articles were included concerning the possibility of war over its annexation.\textsuperscript{30} The soil, mountains, natural advantages and geographical situation all received space.\textsuperscript{31} The activities of Lansford W. Hastings, and particularly extracts from his book, Emigrants Guide to Oregon and California, were included in the Neighbor.\textsuperscript{32} Hastings went on a lecture tour to New York in late spring, 1845, where he met Samuel Brannan, editor of a Mormon newspaper in the area called the New York Messenger. From July 12 to September 6, 1845, Brannan published extracts from Hasting's Guide in his newspaper. It was those extracts which were published in the Neighbor during the same period of time. Brannan prefaced the extractions from Hasting's Guide with:

\begin{quote}
Mr. Hastings has recently been lecturing in this city upon the advantage of emigrating to California. The principle indentorments held out, is a grant of land from the Mexican Government, not less than one square league nor over nine to every emigrant. The climate is never so cold as to freeze--and an instance of death on the coast by a fever, has never been known. The soil produces the fruit and vegetation of every climate in the world. Its commercial advantages and natural resources are the greatest in the known world.\textsuperscript{33}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{29}Ibid., September 10, 1845. \textsuperscript{30}Ibid., October 16, 1844; July 30, 1845.

\textsuperscript{31}Ibid., July 7, 1845; September 10, 1845.

\textsuperscript{32}Ibid., April 10, 1844; August 13, 1845. Later during the winter of 1845, the Mormon leaders studied Hasting's Guide rather extensively. Hasting and his relationship to the Mormon movement west will be discussed in greater detail in a later chapter.

\textsuperscript{33}Quoted in Morgan, Overland in 1846, I, 27-28. See Nauvoo Neighbor, August 13, 1845 for the same quote. The Neighbor prefaced its remarks with: "The following extract treating upon the soil and production of California we copy from a late work published in Cincinnati by Capt. Lansford W. Hastings, leader of the Oregon and California emigrants of 1842. Mr. Hastings has been recently lecturing in this city, upon the advantages of emigrating to that country."
Information was also printed in the Neighbor for the membership of the Church concerning government exploring parties. The Neighbor followed with interest the summer campaign of Stephen W. Kearney and his regiment of dragoons to the South Pass.  

Captain Charles Wilkes' exploring expedition along the western sea coast and inland to Oregon and California received extensive publication. Moreover, on July 10, 1844, the Neighbor announced that the report of Captain Wilkes' would shortly be published. Again in December, 1844, further progress was reported on the work of publication. Then beginning with June 25, 1845, installments of the report were published.

The exploring expedition of John C. Fremont received the most publicity in the Neighbor. Beginning with October 25, 1843, the publication of a "Report of an Expedition to the Country lying between the Missouri and the Rocky Mountains on the line of the Kansas and the great Platte River" was announced. Page 208 of the Report described in detail Fremont's trip from the North Fork of the Platte to Fort Laramie. In 1844 considerable space was given to Fremont's second expedition west. On January 29, 1845, the Neighbor extracted portions of that report, with emphasis on the Salt Lake region. On March 19, 1845, it was announced that the report of the second expedition

34 Nauvoo Neighbor, July 23, 1845.
35 Ibid., July 10, 1845.  36 Ibid., December 4, 1845.
37 Ibid., June 25, 1845. On February 19, 1845 the Neighbor published a letter from an emigrant in Oregon who had read Wilkes' Report, saying it was very accurate and true.
38 Ibid., October 16, 1844; July 30, 1845.
39 Ibid., January 29, 1845.
contained a map of the survey of the Great Salt Lake.\footnote{Ibid., March 19, 1845.} Again on September 17, 1845, Salt Lake was singled out by the *Neighbor*. It was reported that "the great Salt Lake ... is for the first time revealed to our view; by one who has surveyed its shores and navigated its waters. The Bear River Valley, ... is for the first time described."\footnote{Ibid., September 17, 1845; September 10, 1845; September 21, 1845. The *Millennial Star*, the Church publication in England also reprinted portions of Fremont's 1844 expedition. See dates of July 15, 1846, VIII, 2-5; August 1, 1846, VIII, 17-19; August 15, 1846, VIII, 52; October 1, 1846, VIII, 65-67; October 15, 1846, VIII, 80-84.} Then followed Fremont's accounts of those areas.

An Interest in the West Revisited--1845

As the year 1844 drew to an end, events transpired that eventually resulted in the demand that all Mormons leave the State of Illinois or be exterminated. Brigham Young and other church leaders at Nauvoo were warned of the prelude to that eventual demand.

On December 8, 1844, Ammon W. Babbitt wrote to the Council at Nauvoo informing them of the introduction of a bill in the Illinois Senate to repeal the Nauvoo City Charter.\footnote{Ammon W. Babbitt to Brigham Young, dated Springfield, Illinois, December 8, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office.} Another letter was received on January 23, 1845, reporting the actual repeal of both the City Charter and the dissolving of the Nauvoo Legion by the State of Illinois.\footnote{Ammon W. Babbitt to Brigham Young, dated Springfield, Illinois, January 23, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office.} In light of such activities, Brigham Young called the Special Council on January 7, 1845, to discuss sending a company to
California and soliciting the aid of the saints in securing teams for the group. On January 22 and 23, 1845, letters were written to the leading men of the Church in Kirtland, the eastern United States, and New York. The young men in these areas who could leave their families were instructed to come to Nauvoo to help cultivate the ground, work on the temple, so they could better "prepare themselves with money, clothing & implements of self defense against wolves & other ravenous beasts with which this country is much infested." The saints at Kirtland were instructed to bring to Nauvoo all that was necessary to sustain themselves in a new country where they have to hunt for a living. Particularly young men who could leave their families were encouraged to stay in Nauvoo to help sustain the saints so the temple could be completed. Then, as Brigham Young wrote to his brother, Phineas, they could "go forth to all parts of the earth" and "roll forth & spread & build up the glorious and beautiful kingdom of God in every place whithersoever they are sent." It was in search of such a place from

[44] Willard Richards journal, January 7, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office. See also DHC, VII, 350; "History of Brigham," H, January 7, 1845, p. 4. Just five days prior to the 7th of January, Brigham Young wrote that he and several others spent the evening discussing the propriety of settling a new country. DHC, VII, 349. See also George A. Smith's journal, January 1, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office. Smith recorded on that date that "we counseled on the subject of settling a new country and many amusing anecdotes were related on the subject."

[45] Brigham Young to Parley P. Pratt, dated January 22, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office.

[46] Brigham Young to Phineas Young, dated January 21, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office.

[47] Ibid.
which they could roll forth the "kingdom" that the Special Council, on March 1, 1845, selected nine men to go westward. 48 Again on March 4, 1845, further plans were organized and the Western Mission discussed. 49 On March 19, 1845, Hosea Stout was told by Brigham Young that the headwaters of the Colorado of the West were under contemplation for a settlement. 50 March 22, 1845 found the Special Council again in session with the subject of the Western Mission occupying most of the day. 51

Members of the Church recorded in their journals the news of the contemplated exodus. Canute Peterson said he heard rumors of the Church moving west in the spring of 1845 while residing at Fox River. 52 Mary Ann Weston Maughan recorded a visit to her home by Willard Richards in April, 1845. Richards informed the family that the Church was going beyond the Rocky Mountains. 53

Governor Ford of Illinois wrote to offer his suggestions. On April 8, 1845 he informed Brigham Young that the saints could never enjoy peace while surrounded by their present neighbors, and that he

48 "History of Brigham Young," Ms., March 1, 1845, p. 31; See also Heber C. Kimball's journal under same date; DHC, VII, 379.

49 Ibid., March 4, 1845, p. 33; DHC, VII, 379.

50 DHC, VII, p. 387.

51 Ibid. See also "History of Brigham Young," Ms., March 22, 1845, p. 39; Willard Richards's journal, March 22, 1845. April 11, 1845 found the council spending "the day in discussion of the subject of hunting a home in the West." See George A. Smith's journal, April 11, 1845.


53 Mary Ann Weston Maughan journal, p. 25.
had been informed by Joseph Smith the previous summer of a contemplated removal west. It was then suggested by Ford, in confidence, that California would offer the saints the best area in which to establish an independent government. Ford also stated that he "would be willing to exert all . . . feeble abilities and influence to further" the "views" of the saints in this respect if it was the wish of the Latter-day Saint people. 54 With the offer of assistance from Governor Ford in mind, letters were drafted on April 24, 1845, to President Polk and the governors of all states of the Union, except Mississippi and Illinois. The purpose was to determine the attitude of these national leaders on the "Mormon Question." Asylum was sought where the saints could enjoy the rights of conscience and religion, unmolested. 55 It appears that only one answer was received from these requests; that of Governor Thomas L. Drew of Arkansas on May 27, 1845. He expressed his inability to aid the saints, and suggested they settle in either Oregon, California or

54 DHC, VI, 396; "History of Brigham Young," Ms., April 8, 1845, pp. 53-54. Andrew Jenson, a later Church Historian, comments that "This course was suggested by others as well as Governor Ford, and leading men in the nation thought it the only possible solution of what they called the 'Mormon Question.' They were willing to promise the saints any amount of land belonging to Mexico, and some were even in favor of letting them have a portion of Oregon to settle upon." See Historical Record, Andrew Jenson (Comp.), VIII (March, 1889), 810.

55 DHC, VII, 402-404. B. H. Roberts states that as early as March, 1845, John Taylor drafted that document. See Roberts, CHC, II, 522. As early as February 1, 1845, such a move for asylum was being considered, according to Willard Richards. See Willard Richards to James A. Bennett, dated February 1, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office. For other accounts of the letters to the governors, see JD, XI, 18; JD, XIII, 80; "Memoirs of John Young," p. 21, located in the Brigham Young University Library; "History of Brigham Young," Ms., April 24, 1845, pp. 58-62. According to George A. Smith as late as May 10, 1845, they were still writing the letters to the governors. See George A. Smith journal, May 10, 1845. For a reproduction of the letter to the governor of Rhode Island, see Appendix X.
Nebraska. Finally, sometime between May 23 and May 31, 1845, Samuel Brannan and Orson Spencer were sent to Governor Ford by the Twelve to interview him relative to his offer of assistance, and to find out, specifically, what the state of Illinois would do if the mob forces became too great. They informed the governor that it was "the intention of the saints," as soon as "the temple was finished, to colonize distant parts of the country." Brannan and Spencer returned to Nauvoo on May 31, 1845 and delivered the report to the Twelve that the state of Illinois could not offer the best militia to defend the Mormons.

By the summer of 1845, the Mormon leaders undoubtedly knew neither the United States Government nor the individual states would offer assistance of any kind toward seeking a home in the west. Therefore, during the summer of 1845, the saints directed all their efforts toward the completion of the Nauvoo Temple in anticipation of a removal in the immediate future. On August 21, 1845, evidence again appeared in the records and journals of preparations for an exodus to the far

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57 It would appear that that visit took place sometime after May 23 and before May 31, 1845, since Brannan did not arrive from New York until May 23. See DHC, VII, 417. However, Andrew Jenson, a later Church Historian, places the visit somewhere between April 10 and April 24, 1845. See Historical Record, (March, 1889), VIII, 810.

58 DHC, VII, 423-424; Historical Record, (March, 1889), VIII, 810.

59 DHC, VII, 423.

60 For an excellent summary of events during the summer, 1845, and the emphasis that was placed on building the temple as first priority, see Brigham Young to Wilford Woodruff, dated June 27, 1845, located in DHC, VII, 430-432.
western territory.

Proposed Scheme of Settlement—
Summer, 1845

The Mormon leaders knew by summer, 1845, that Nauvoo would have to be abandoned. As fall approached, they sensed the urgency of beginning to lay definite departure plans and studying and selecting sites of settlement. Oregon, Upper California, Lower California, Van Couver's Island, Texas, the head waters of the Colorado, and the Great Basin had all been spoken of in general terms. A careful study of the writings toward the end of the summer, 1845, reveals that the idea began to unfold that there would be many areas of settlement in the west, with one central "Zion" headquarters located somewhere within the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains. This plan was suggested in a letter written to inform Woodruff that "within one year many of our brethren will be planted on the coast of the Pacific, or nearby, ready to receive their friends from the islands." On August 27, 1845, the council discussed possible sites in Oregon for those saints who would

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61 The author is convinced that the summer, 1845, found the Church leaders making an intensive study of the west, although no evidence of such a study appeared in the many journals and papers studied. By this period of time the saints had available for their study the following works: Fremont's 1842-1843 trip to the South Pass, and his 1844 expedition to the Salt Lake and California; also a Fremont map of his journeys to those areas; Charles Wilkes' account of his 1838-1842 sea expedition to the western sea coast. Included were descriptions of California and Oregon as well as maps of those areas; Lanford W. Hastings Guide for emigrants interested in Oregon and California; the Mormon newspaper accounts of western activities contained in the Nauvoo Neighbor, and The Prophet, a newspaper in New York; and the numerous letters written back by those on the trail west. Thus it was not an idle summer.

62 Brigham Young to Wilford Woodruff, dated August 21, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office. See also Millennial Star, VI (October 1, 1845), 124, for a reproduction of that letter.
colonize that area. Then on August 28, 1845, it was decided "that 3,000 able-bodied men should be selected to prepare themselves to start in the spring to Upper California, taking their families with them." 

A letter was written on August 28 by the Council to Addison Pratt, then serving a mission in the Sandwich Islands (Tahiti) in the Pacific. This letter is most valuable since it brings into focus more clearly the plans of colonization and describes a more specific "Zion" headquarters. After giving Elder Pratt specific instructions concerning the operation of the mission, the council wrote:

If any of the brethren of the islands wish to emigrate to the continent, have them come to the mouth of Columbia River in Oregon, or the Gulph of Monterey [sic] or St. Francisco, as we shall commence forming a settlement in that region during next season and make arrangements with agents in each of those places so emigrants will be enabled to get all necessary directions, and will probably be in the neighborhood of Lake Tampanagos [the Great Salt Lake] as that is represented as a most delightful district and no settlement near there.

It appears at this early date, August, 1845, that plans were being formulated by Mormon leaders to colonize the Pacific coast, Van Couver's Island, Oregon, and other proposed sites for "stakes of Zion," but that the center would probably be somewhere near the Great Salt Lake.

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63 Heber C. Kimball's journal, August 27, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office.

64 "History of Brigham Young," Ms., August 28, 1845, p. 16. See also Heber C. Kimball's journal, and John Taylor's journal under the same date.

65 Council to Addison Pratt, dated August 28, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office. The "Lake Tampanagos" mentioned falls within the Great Basin and is the Great Salt Lake. It was first called "Timpanagos" by Escalante in 1776, and later copied on to other maps of the area.
The above plan of settlement was explained in a letter written by Parley P. Pratt to Isaac Rogers, residing in New Jersey. After describing how rapidly things were progressing in Nauvoo, he wrote:

But dear friends, I write this letter mostly for the purpose of telling you of our Council in regards to California. We have decided [on August 28, 1845] on sending from one to 3 thousand men to that place next spring. They will start from here with ox teams, cattle, cows, provisions, arms, tents, etc. . . . Our intention is to maintain and build up Nauvoo, and settle other places, too.

I expect we shall stop near the Rocky Mountains about 800 miles nearer than the coast [Lake Timpanogos], say 1,500 miles from here, and there make a stand until we are able to enlarge and to extend to the coast.66

In light of the foregoing evidence, an isolated reference in the Documentary History of the Church (referred to as DHC) takes on added meaning. On September 9, 1845, the General Council "resolved that a company of 1500 men be selected to go to Great Salt Valley."67 Thus, the Salt Lake Valley of the Great Basin was definitely being considered as a site of settlement. Also in the same meeting, on September 9, 1845, a committee of five was appointed to gather data relative to emigration to the Great Salt Lake and make a report to the Council.68 On September 11, a selection was made of council members to

66 Parley P. Pratt to Isaac Rogers, dated September 6, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office. This letter is evidence that the plans of settlement were still indefinite. Anywhere between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Coast was under contemplation.


68 This report was forthcoming on October 3, 1845. It will be discussed later. These references to the Salt Lake Valley take on added significance since it was at that same time (August through September, 1845) that Fremont's reports were published in the Nauvoo Neighbor. In them, the Salt Lake Valley was singled out as an excellent place of settlement.
start west the next spring; and on that same day, church leaders learned that "a mob [had] collected in and about the Lima precinct," had burned "several houses belonging to the peaceable citizens," and threatened "to commit further depredations."  

Persecution Forces Church Leaders
To Issue Official Statement of Exodus-September, October, 1845

According to Norton Jacob, about the first of September the Church received rumors of mob meetings in several parts of Hancock County. The first official outbreak was recorded on September 10, 1845, when the mobs commenced burning houses and grain in the Morley settlement in southern Hancock County. On September 11, the council sent word to Solomon Hancock, who was presiding over the Morley area, to "propose to the mob to sell out the land and possessions of the brethren to them for good working cattle, beef cattle, & cows, good horses, good wagons, & sheep, dry goods & money." He was told further that the next day a few hundred teams would arrive to bring

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69 DHC, VII, 440. See also "History of Brigham Young," Ms., September 11, 1845, p. 21; Heber C. Kimball journal, September 11, 1845.

70 Brigham Young to J. F. Backenstos, dated Nauvoo, September 11, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office. Word had been received on the 10th that the mob was burning houses at Yelrome. See DHC, VII, 439.

71 Norton Jacob's journal, p. 8, located in the Brigham Young University. See also Matthias Cowley's journal, p. 5, located in the Church Historian's Office.

72 Ibid. See also George A. Smith's journal, September 10, 1845, who collaborates this date; Thomas Ford, A History of Illinois ... (Chicago, 1854), p. 406; For an excellent summary of the persecution of the saints during September and October, 1845, see Historical Record, VIII (March, 1889), 813-822.
back provisions and people to Nauvoo. All the brethren with a team were requested on September 12 to go immediately to the Morley settlement, and all families in the outlying settlements were to transport their families and grain to Nauvoo.

The Council proposed on September 16, 1845 that they seek peace from the mob by agreeing to emigrate the ensuing spring. The same day, a letter was written to the citizens of Hancock County and Levi Williams, the supposed leader of the mob forces. The Council wrote that if the mob would cease all hostile operations and give the saints time to prepare for their journey, they would leave Nauvoo the following spring. No communication was received concerning those propositions by the Church; and on September 22, 1845, in response to an inquiry by Thomas Gregg as to what the Church intended to do, the

73 Brigham Young to Solomon Hancock, dated September 11, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office. The saints were told to offer no resistance, since it was believed that "the object of our enemies is to get opposition enough to raise popular excitement, but we think it best to let them burn up our houses, while we take care of ourselves, families and grain." Young to Hancock, dated September 12, 1845. In total, some 44 houses and outhouses had been burned by September 14, 1845. See George A. Smith’s journal, under date of September 15, 1845.

74 Brigham Young to the Brethren in and about Nauvoo, dated September 12, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office; See also DHC, VII, 441. Williams Holmes Walker said that some 135 teams actually made the trip to aid the saints in that area. William Holmes Walker's journal, p. 15, located in the Brigham Young University Library.

75 DHC, VII, 443.

76 "Brigham Young History," Ms., September 16, 1845; Willard Richards journal, September 16, 1845.

77 Proclamation to Col. Levi Williams, dated Nauvoo, September 16, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office. See also "History of Brigham Young," Ms., September 16, 1845, p. 39. For a reproduction of the above proclamation, see Appendix C3.
Council wrote that they were "willing to sell our property in this city and county at a fair price, and remove from said county as soon as all payments" were "received, and the necessary preparation" ... made for "their departure." 78

A committee of citizens from Quincy convened at Carthage on September 22, 1845. A delegation was appointed to meet the leaders of the Church and learn if the Church's intentions were to leave the state. They arrived in Nauvoo on September 24, with a copy of their resolutions "requesting the saints to leave the state in 6 months and a written answer to be returned by the Twelve." 79 As a result, the first official communication of an intent to leave the state was issued by the Council. 80

The latter part of September, 1845, another anti-Mormon convention met at Carthage to consider the Mormon Problem, and as a result, four delegates were sent to converse with the Twelve. They discussed with the Council the subject of the proposed removal. Van Couver's Island and Oregon were suggested by the visitors as suitable places for settlements by the saints. 81 In response to a request by the committee

78 Brigham Young to Thomas Gregg, dated September 23, 1845, located in the Chicago Historical Society Library. For a reproduction of this letter see Appendix Y.

79 Norton Jacob's journal, September 25, 1845, p. 9. According to Isaac Haight the Quincy Committee was still meeting on September 27, 1845. See Isaac Haight's journal, September 27, 1845, p. 18.

80 The original copy as reproduced in full in Appendix II is located in the Church Historian's Office.

for a written document of intention to leave the state, the Council
issued the second official statement of their desires to move west. 82
On October 2, 1845, the Council at Nauvoo was informed by the committee
from Carthage that the propositions to remove in the spring had been
accepted by the delegates at Carthage, and that all further violence
would be restrained to permit the saints to depart in peace. 83

On October 6, 7, and 8, 1845 the General Conference of the
Church was held in Nauvoo, and resolutions for a removal west were pre-

cented to the general membership of the Church for the first time. In
those meetings it was unanimously resolved that they would remove
en masse to the west. 84 The saints were told that they would be taken
to "a land where a white man's foot never trod," and where they could
enjoy the country, "with no one to molest" them; that they would "set-
tle a country where the air, the water, soil and timber is equally free
to every settler." 85

Immediately following the October, 1845 conference, an official
circular was sent to all the saints in the United States and England,
informing them of the plans for exodus. 86 In England, for example,
the saints were told that the utmost diligence would be required of

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82 The original copy as reproduced here in full in Appendix Z,
is located in the Church Historian's Office. For a reproduction of the
request for a written document, see Appendix HH.

83 Erastus Snow's journal, III, 23, located in the Utah State
Historical Society Library; Heber C. Kimball's journal, October 8, 1845;
Historical Record, VIII, 825; DHC, VII, 457-458.

84 Erastus Snow's journal, III, 23, located in the Utah State
Historical Society Library; Heber C. Kimball's journal, October 8, 1845;
Historical Record, VIII, 825; DHC, VII, 457-458.

85 DHC, VII, 467. 86 DHC, VII, 478-480.
everyone to begin preparations for such a removal, and that it was the
design to remove nearly all saints early next spring on the first
appearance of vegetation.\textsuperscript{87} Families were urged to purchase wagons,
oxen, cows, mules, horses and feed for travel. A special note was
added to the circular specifying that all wagons were to be construc-
ted to the track of five feet and that many good settlements were
available on the Pacific, especially at Vancouver's Island.\textsuperscript{88} By
October 8, 1845, saints in the United States and Great Britain were
fully aware of the intended removal, and intense preparations were
being effected to carry out the exodus.

\textbf{Preparations for an Exodus--}
\textit{September to December, 1845}

After the official decision was made to move west, many of the
saints recorded the nature of preparations that were being made in
Nauvoo during the winter of 1845, indicating that they had been looking
forward to such action for a long time.\textsuperscript{89} The tasks were many for
such a move, and each had his assignment. Mary Ettie V. Smith recorded
that she was directed to "drying potatoes, and pumpkins, and beef, and
to parch corn and make strong, durable clothing."\textsuperscript{90}

When the Council had written to the Carthage delegation of
their intended removal, they indicated that preparations for such a

\textsuperscript{87}\textit{Millennial Star}, VI (December 1, 1845), 198.

\textsuperscript{88}\textit{DHC}, VII, 430.

\textsuperscript{89}\textit{DHC}, VII, 467.

\textsuperscript{90}Mary Ettie V. Smith, \textit{Fifteen Years among the Mormons: being
the Narrative of Mrs. Mary Ettie V. Smith}, Nelson Winch Green (ed),
(New York, 1880), p. 54.
move had begun previous to the disturbances causing the anti-Mormons to request the saints to leave Illinois; that as of October 1, 1845, four companies of one hundred families had already been organized; and that six more were in the process of being outfitted. 91 George Washington Bean wrote that "one of the first moves toward our departure was the organization of all companies into companies of fifty each, with a captain over all, and one over ten." 92 Each company was to procure wagons and make ready provisions for its members. Consequently, as John Taylor wrote, "Nauvoo was converted into one great wagon shop. In fact, nothing else seemed to be spoken or thought of but making wagons, purchasing teams, and preparing for a removal." 93

The provisions necessary to sustain a group in the west, and all items needed to outfit a company, were of interest to the saints. In order that all might be properly outfitted, Brigham Young appointed a committee of five, on September 9, 1845, to gather information relative to emigration. 94 On September 30, 1845, Parley P. Pratt made

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91 Brigham Young to John J. Hardin, et. al., dated Nauvoo, October 1, 1845, located in the Chicago Historical Society Library. The organizing of companies began on September 13, 1845. See DHC, VII, 442, also "History of Brigham Young," September 13, 1845, p. 25.


94 DHC, VII, 439.
a preliminary report, calculating what a family of five persons would
require. Then on October 4, 1845, the committee made their report
as follows:

REQUIREMENTS OF EACH FAMILY OF FIVE FOR
THE JOURNEY ACROSS THE PLAINS

Each family consisting of five adults, will require 1 good
string wagon, well covered. 3 good yokes of oxen between the
ages of four and ten. Two or more cows. One or more good
bees, some sheep if they have them.
One thousand pounds of flour or other bread stuff and
good sacks to put it in.
One bushel of beans.
One hundred pounds of sugar.
One good musket or rifle to each man.
One pound of powder and three lbs. lead (or perhaps more).
Two lbs. tea, 5 lbs. coffee.
Twenty-five pounds of salt.
A few pounds of dried beef, or bacon, as they choose.
A good tent and furniture to each two families.
From ten to fifty pounds of seed to a family.
From twenty-five to one hundred pounds of farming or
other tools.
Clothing and bedding to each family of five persons not to
exceed five hundred pounds.
One or more sets of saw and gristmill irons to each company
of one hundred families.
Cooking utensils to consist of a bake-kettle, frying-pan,
coffee pot, tin cups, plates, and forks, spoons, pans, etc., as
few as will do.
A few goods to trade with the Indians.
A little iron and steel, a few pounds of nails.
Each wagon supposed to be loaded on the start with one ton
without the persons or twenty-eight hundred including them.
If going to the east it is not necessary to carry seed
wheat, oats or grass. Nor are cattle and sheep absolutely
necessary except to live on while upon the journey, as the country
abounds in both cattle and sheep. A few horses will be necessary
for each company. Also a few cannon and ammunition for the same.
The journey to the east will require some four or five months,
being upwards of two thousand miles.
Two sets of pulley blocks and rope for crossing rivers to
each company.
Two ferry boats to each company.
One keg of alcohol or five gallons for each two families.
Ten pounds of dried apples for each family.
Five pounds of dried peaches.

95Ibid., VII, 447.
Twenty pounds of dried pumpkin.
Two pounds of black pepper.
One pound of cayenne.
One-half pound of mustard.
Twelve nutmegs. One fish seine for each company. Hooks and lines for each family. 96

Meetings were held throughout the winter with the various emigrating companies giving the saints needed instructions relative to emigration. 97 The general council also met periodically, discussing the western mission and reviewing the progress of the preparation. 98 By November 23, 1845, they reported that 3,285 families were organized into companies; that 1,504 wagons were on hand; and that another 1,892 wagons were in the first stages of construction. 99

George A. Smith wrote to Wilford Woodruff, who was in England, conveying an excellent summary of the extent of preparation and the attitude of the saints toward their planned exodus:

We are all making preparations to move beyond the Rocky Mountains early in the Spring coming. The timber is already got out for several hundred wagons & a multitude of men at work getting more & everything possible is doing to get

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96 DHC, VII, 454-455. It is interesting that in preparing their report the committee obtained their information from "calculations and from the best works on the subject." No mention is ever made of what the works were. However, it is known that by that time they had many exploring expedition reports and newspaper accounts of trips to the west.


98 Heber C. Kimball's journal, November 19, 21, 22, 24, 1845.

99 Ibid., November 23, 1845; DHC, VI, 532. Not only were provisions and wagons readied, but also arms for protection were gathered. A letter was written to Orson Pratt in New York to purchase "six barreled pistols for self defense while journeying in western wilds." See Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, dated October 31, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office; DHC, VII, 509. These guns were actually forthcoming. Pratt arrived in Nauvoo on December 1, 1845 with four hundred dollars worth of guns. DHC, VII, 543.
ready in good season . . .

Nothing but the power of God has preserved us this season, & nothing can keep us here in peace this Winter . . . . We have four pieces of cannon & a great number of fifteen shooters, rifles, & many six shooters, pistols & if a collision should take place with the mob we would stand a good chance to give them a sound dubbing, but I feel confident that we shall move away without the loss of life. All the brethren are anxious to go & a great many others are going with us.100

Proposed Destination of the Church
Prior to January 1, 1846 As Revealed in the Journals and Letters of the Members

After the announcement was made of a removal west and preparations were undertaken, a common question asked by the saints was "Where are we going; where will the next location of the Church be?"

Since the Church leaders intended to colonize a vast section of the West, the general membership of the Church did not learn where their home would be located. However, they did know that they would cross the Rocky Mountains. As early as September 26, 1845, shortly before the announcement of the exodus, Irene Hascall wrote to Ursulia B. Hascall in Massachusetts that she thought they would probably cross the Rocky Mountains to a healthier climate.101 Isaac Haight remarked that it was unanimously agreed upon at the October 1845 conference in Nauvoo that "we should go to the Pacific Ocean or some place."102 On October 21, 1845, a Mr. Mack wrote to Gideon Whittmore that "the church expected to leave the United States next spring for some part of the far off
Northern World we know not where but intend going until we can find a country where we can have the privilege of Worshipping God."  
It was William Thomson's feeling that since the Church could no longer live among its persecutors, it was making ready to leave the United States "for some distant land unknown to me as yet, where they can worship God."  
On November 1, 1845, John Needham wrote to his father that because of recent persecution, members of the Church intended to move west "for some remote place, where, exactly, I don't know."  
Sarah Ricks said that "on account of continual persecutions the Church began making preparations to remove west, although very few, if any, knew where that journey would end."  
Charles Sperry said the location would be "somewhere west of the Rocky Mountains."  
Alfred Cordon wrote in his journal that they intended "passing through the Rocky Mountains and somewhere find a suitable place for a City of Refuge."  

Some saints mention specific places of destination in their writings. Such was the case with Minerva Corey. She wrote to her

103 Temperance Mack to Gideon Whittmore, dated October 21, 1845, located in the Utah State Historical Society Library.
105 John Needham to James Needham, dated November 17, 1845, located in Millenial Star, VII (February 1, 1846), 38.
108 Alfred Cordon's journal, p. 127, located in the Church Historian's Office.
sister that they intended to "start for California in the Spring and I cannot say but we shall go to Van Couver's Islands." Levi E. Riter wrote to his daughter that he thought the belief was general that they would go as far as the Pacific coast in Upper California.

There were also those during that period of time (September to December, 1845) who gave freely of their advice as to where the saints ought to settle. As already discussed, the Carthage delegation, consisting of John J. Hardin, W. B. Warren, Stephan A. Douglas, and J. A. McDougal, suggested Van Couver's Island or the settlement of Oregon as approved locations for the saints. After learning from Phineas Young that the Church intended to seek a new home "somewhere west of the Rocky Mountains," Oliver Cowdery wrote to Brigham Young on October 7, 1845, and offered his advice. Cowdery suggested that no place seemed to offer the advantages as to climate, and pleasantness of situation, as Upper California; that an exploring company ought to be sent out first, ranging "effectually over the whole Country, west of the Mountains, and between the 42 degree of north latitude, (the southern limits of our claims) and at least as far south as the Bay of

109 Minerva Corey to sister, dated December 8, 1845, located in the Utah State Historical Society Library.

110 Levi R. Riter to his daughter, Susie, dated Salt Lake City, June 10, 1917, located in the Utah State Historical Society Library. Riter went west with his father when the first groups left Nauvoo. He stated that it was when they got ready to go west from Winter Quarters in 1847 that it was understood that the destination was not the coast, but the midst of the Rocky Mountains.

111 DHC, VII, 449.

112 Oliver Cowdery to Brigham Young, dated October 7, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office. Cowdery's sister, Lucy, had married Phineas Young, the brother to Brigham Young. See DHC, VII, 482, for mention of the letter.
San Francisco. He closed his letter with the offer of personally soliciting the aid of the government, if the Church so desired. Letters were also received on October 20, 1845, from Charles A. Lovell of Massachusetts, recommending California as suitable for the saints; from Thomas J. Farnhaus of New York, also favoring California; and from Edward Warren of Boston, on October 22, 1845, advising the settlement of San Francisco Bay.

Proposed Destination of the Church
Prior to January 1, 1846, as Revealed in the Journals and Letters of the Leaders

The leaders of the Church, particularly those of the General Council who helped plan the exodus, wrote on numerous occasions in their letters and journals of their feelings about a proposed destination. As mentioned earlier, on August 28, 1845, Lake Timpanogus was suggested to Addison Pratt as being a good place for the future

113 Ibid.
114 DHC, VII, 510. Of interest here is the name, Thomas J. Farnhaus. The author feels the last name could have been Farnham, author of the books, Travels in the Great Western Prairies, and Travels in California. This is possible since Farnham was in New York during the summer and fall of 1845, and from Samuel Brannan and Orson Hyde was made aware of the Church's interest in the west. Farnham's main interest in California and possible reason for wanting the saints to emigrate there was that he felt it must be "wrestled from the faltering hand of Mexico—the only question was proper timing." See Morgan, Overland in 1846, I, pp. 25-26. Orson Pratt, writing to Brigham Young on October 21, 1845, stated that he had had a number of conversations with Farnham and he was willing to render any aid in moving to California. See Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, dated October 21, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office. It is highly probable that the Thomas J. Farnhaus (Farnham) letter dated October 20, was included in with the Orson Pratt letter dated October 21. There is no evidence of Farnham's aid to the Church.
headquarters. Parley P. Pratt wrote on September 6, 1845, of a settlement, 800 miles nearer than the west coast, which would place it somewhere within the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains. On September 9, 1845, the General Council decided that an expedition be sent to the Great Salt Lake Valley. Prior to August, 1845, general terms such as California, Oregon, and Texas were used.

Some interesting information is revealed in the correspondence between Church leaders and Wilford Woodruff, a member of the Twelve apostles, then on a mission in England. The Council wrote to Woodruff on October 16, 1845, giving him directions concerning the shipping of emigrants to America. They counseled Woodruff "to send no more emigrants here [Nauvoo]; but let them wait in England until they can ship for the Pacific Ocean, say the Bay of St. Francisco, or Van Couver's Island, or such other places as may be wisdom." November 19, 1845, saw another letter directed from the council to Woodruff. They suggested that emigrants "be shipped for the Pacific, making the Bay of St. Francisco their destination, or they may come to this place and go by land. Upon this they may act as seemeth good, but I would suggest the propriety of shipping to the Pacific direct."

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115 Council to Pratt, dated August 28, 1845. Prior to August, 1845, Joseph Smith had singled out the Great Basin. However, a precise location had not been mentioned.

116 Pratt to Rogers, dated September 6, 1845.

117 DHC, VII, 439.

118 Brigham Young to Wilford Woodruff, dated October 16, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office.

119 Brigham Young to Wilford Woodruff, dated November 19, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office.
Two weeks earlier, George A. Smith, a member of the Special Council, had written to Woodruff that he was fitting his wagons "for Van Couver's Island, Salt Lake or somewhere else." That Woodruff received the information relative to emigration is evidenced by his issuing an editorial in the Millenial Star. He informed the saints that they could "at any rate, by-and-by escape around Cape Horn, and sail up the Pacific Ocean when informed of their precise locality. All possible information will be given as it is obtained." In a final note written by Woodruff from England (to the General Council) he concluded, "we shall live to see the faces of our friends again in Nauvoo, and go with them to California or west of the Rocky Mountain."

Willard Richards, also a member of the Special Council and clerk and historian of the Church, revealed in his writings interesting data pertaining to the destination of the saints. He wrote to his brother on October 15, 1845, that "we shall go out hence; not knowing precisely whither we go, but locate where we may, on the shores of the Pacific." His advice to his brother was "if you want to make money out of a nutshell, fit out your ship with such goods as are wanted in a mild climate, run across the Indian ocean and meet us on the shores of

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120 George A. Smith to Wilford Woodruff, dated November 9, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office.

121 Millenial Star, VI (December 1, 1845), 201.

122 Wilford Woodruff to Council, dated December 18, 1845, located in Times and Seasons, VI (February 15, 1845), 1130.

123 Willard Richards to R. C. Richards, dated October 15, 1845, located in Our Pioneer Heritage, "Historical Letters," XII, 137-139.
the Pacific next summer."\textsuperscript{124} On November 24, 1845, Willard Richards wrote to Theodore Turley that "we are in bonds and threats, and imprisonments and deaths daily, but have liberty as yet. The brethren generally are wide awake for the Pacific Journey."\textsuperscript{125}

Orson Pratt, residing in New York and presiding over the saints in the eastern United States, wrote to the council of hearing about the persecutions and resolutions to leave Nauvoo in the spring. It was his desire to "fly upon the wings of the wind & be with you when you go. I want to go. Where you stop I want to stop, brethren give me counsel in this matter."\textsuperscript{126}

Communication was still kept open by Brigham Young with James A. Bennett in New York who had been nominated as the vice-presidential candidate with Joseph Smith in 1844. Brigham Young wrote to Bennett that they planned to remove \textit{en masse} "beyond the Rocky Mountains . . . We design to go to some unfrequented spot, . . . where we may enjoy the luxuries of the Sea, without being molested by 'mobbish neighbors!"\textsuperscript{127} That Bennett was told of their plans and destination is

\textsuperscript{124}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{125}Willard Richards to Theodore Turley, dated November 24, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office.

\textsuperscript{126}Orson Pratt to Council, n. d., located in the Church Historian's Office. This letter, because of information contained therein, was written sometime between September, 1845 and December 11, 1845. The Council did write to Pratt on October 31, 1845, informing him to purchase fire arms for the journey. He arrived in Nauvoo on December 11, 1845. See DHC, VII, 509.

\textsuperscript{127}Brigham Young to James Arrlington Bennett, dated October 17, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office. It is interesting to note that Brigham Young wrote that since transmission of letters was uncertain, they couldn't write particulars concerning plans and principles.
revealed in an article appearing in the New York Sun. He wrote that
the Mormon empire was "about to be established on the Pacific Ocean!
... The whole Mormon people are called in from Europe and America,
so that they expect about two hundred thousand persons to congregate
within one at the Bay of San Francisco!" 128

As the Special Council held its meetings throughout the fall
and winter of 1845, there is information revealed from their minutes
that sheds further light on the area of destination. 129 On October
12, 1845, at 2:00 p.m., the Council met in the partially completed
Nauvoo Temple. There, Brigham Young spoke as follows:

We calculate to go 3 months journey into the wilderness.
Let every man learn to hold his tongue & I will say to you there
are a great many good places not yet settled by Whites & large
enough as England, France, &c. There are many Countries not
yet explored. Excellent Islands well watered, good with privi-
ledges. Some say Van Couvers Island is very fruitful, & would
make an excellent beginning for a K. When we get ready to start
we can say we are from every place but this & we will soon be
from this, but where we go we know not. Van Couvers Island is
perfectly healthy & no winters there." 130

The council met again in the temple at 10:00 a.m. on November
9, 1845, at which time Brigham Young again addressed those assembled.

128 Times and Seasons VI (December 1, 1845), 1051-1052. It is
feasible Bennett could have had contact with Samuel Brannan in New York.
Brannan was told in September, 1845 by Brigham Young to sail as soon as
he could for the Bay of San Francisco. See DHC, VII, 444-445.

129 It should be pointed out that the writer made as an exhaust-
ive search as possible in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake,
The Utah State Historical Society Library, and the Brigham Young Uni-
versity Library for any minutes of the meetings of the General Council
which directed the exodus. However, very few of these minutes were
located. Were they to be discovered at some future time, they would be
a most valuable source of information.

130 "Nauvoo general meetings; conferences and public, 1845-1846"
dated October 12, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office.
His feelings were that all would be able to get away; that he personally could "take my knapsack on my back & pack it all the way to the Pacific without anything else. But we have got to take women and children & wagons & things to make all things comfortable."  

The *Times and Seasons*, the official Church voice during the exodus-preparation period, commented on proposed sites of settlement. On November 1, 1845, a letter was published to all saints in the United States. It closed with the suggestion that "there are said to be many good locations for settlements on the Pacific, especially at Vancouver's Island, near the mouth of Columbia."  

On November 15, 1845, the opening of missionary work in China, by Christians, was discussed. It was then stated that "this . . . will open the door for the Elders of the Latter-day Saints, as our future location will embrace California, Oregon, or Vancouver's Island. We may bring the Chinese, with their wealth, directly into the kingdom of God."  

Letters written to the church leaders during 1845 advised them where they ought to settle. One such letter was received on October 22, 1845, addressed to the Council in Nauvoo by a person signing his name as the "Back Woodsman." He wanted to know from the Church what their intentions were in settling California. His proposal was that Mormons and other migrating citizens jointly occupy California, but live in separate communities.  

Brigham Young described that letter as typical

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131Ibid., November 9, 1845. The same idea is expressed again by Brigham Young in the temple on December 10, 1845. See Heber C. Kimball's journal, December 10, 1845, p. 44.

132*Times and Seasons*, VI (November 1, 1845), 1019; DHC, VII, 480.

133Ibid., November 15, 1845, p. 1031.  
of those he was receiving at the time and did not place much value in it. 135 It appears, however, that the letter carried much more significance than Brigham Young assigned to it in his writings. Twelve years later, on September 13, 1857, Young took occasion to comment on that letter. Speaking to the saints in Salt Lake City, he said that he was "written to . . . by the President of the United States through another person [the Back Woodsman], inquiring, 'where are you going to, Mr. Young?' I replied that I did not know where we should land." 136 Brigham Young continued that they had men in England trying to negotiate for Van Couver's Island, and a ship had been sent around Cape Horn to California. And when asked, "where are you going to?" the answer was "we may go to California, or to Van Couver's Island." 137 Further light is shed on Brigham Young's response to the "Back Woodsman" and the Church's involvement in settling California in a speech delivered in October, 1863 in Salt Lake. His comment was:

Before we left Nauvoo, members of Congress made a treaty with the Latter-day Saints, and we agreed to leave the United States entirely. We did so, and came to these mountains, which were then Mexican territory. When we were ready to start upon our pilgrimage west, a certain gentleman, who signed himself "Backwoodsman," wished to know on what conditions we would overcome and settle California. He gave us to understand that he had his authority from headquarters, to treat with us on this matter. I thought that President Polk was our friend at that time; we have thought so since, and we think so now. We agreed to survey and settle California--we drawing the odd numbers and the Government the even numbers; but I think the president was precipitated into

135 Ibid., p. 502.

136 Brigham Young, Address delivered in Salt Lake City, September 13, 1857, JD, v. 230-231.

137 Ibid.
the Mexican war, and our prospective calculations fell through, otherwise we should have gone into California and settled it. Many of you were not aware of this. 138

The closing days of December, 1845, reveal an interesting letter written by Brigham Young to Samuel Brannan, giving further evidence of the Church's proposed destination, as held by its leaders. Brannan had written earlier asking the council where the intended location of the Church would be. Brigham Young wrote:

Sir

In answer to your letter according to your request I will say we have not determined to what place we shall go, but shall make a location where we can live in peace and not be hunted down like the wild deer on the Mountains. We shall leave when the grass is sufficient to sustain our cattle on the prairies. We shall go the best route we can find. The requirements for the emigrants is to have teams sufficient to take themselves, bread stuffs for eight months. Clothing farming utensils seeds of all kinds &c &c. As to the number of emigrants that is uncertain but all the Latter-day Saints and then as many more as are a mind to go. As to the time in making the journey, I will tell you when we get to the end if you are there for it will altogether depend on our good or bad fortune. As to the other questions we shall plow, plant, sow, reap, and mow, build [houses crossed out] Temple, cities towns and cultivate the ground, build school houses to teach our children and preach the gospel to all the nations of the earth.

I have the honour to be yours respectfully 139
(signed) Brigham Young

Thus, it would appear that prior to January, 1846, not only was the general membership of the Church unaware of a final location, but

138 Millennial Star, XXV (December 19, 1863), 805. Further research may reveal the real importance of Brigham Young's intended involvement with the Government in California.

139 Brigham Young to Samuel Brannan, dated December 26, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office. This letter was in response to one from Brannan written December 11, 1845. See Heber C. Kimball's journal, December 11, 1845.
also the Council members had not yet settled definitely on a spot for a location of the headquarters within the Rocky Mountain region. It becomes clear from their writings that it was believed there would be settlements throughout the west—at Van Couver's Island, San Francisco Bay, Gulf of Monterey, and generally along the Pacific Coast. There is reason to believe, however, that by August, 1845, the interior basin of North America (the Great Basin) was being studied extensively by the Church leaders as an excellent spot for the main location.

The Church Studies the West—

December, 1845

One of the major activities of the Church after the members knew they would have to leave Nauvoo, was the building and completing of the Nauvoo Temple. It was far enough along in construction that by October, 1845, they could meet in the lower story to hold their meetings. It was their intention to continue working on it throughout the winter and spring and dedicate it before they left.\(^{140}\) While preparations were carried out for the exodus, work on the temple was also done. The month of December found all efforts concentrated on completing it sufficiently to begin giving the anticipated "endowments." On December 10, 1845, the first persons received that temple ordinance.\(^{141}\) The temple then became an extremely important place in the

\(^{140}\) DHC, VII, 542. Heber C. Kimball's journal is extremely significant during that period of time for the information it contains concerning the temple work and other activities in the temple. It becomes the often spoken of "Nauvoo Temple Minutes." See also Millennial Star, (December 1, 1845), 178.

\(^{141}\) Ibid. See also Heber C. Kimball's journal, December 10, 1845.
eyes of the members. It was a refuge from the outside world and a
place where the leaders made an extensive study of the West in the
latter part of December, 1845.

Heber C. Kimball wrote in his journal on December 11, 1845,
that they were busy decorating the various rooms of the Nauvoo Temple.
Concerning the items hung on the walls, he recorded:

There are also a number of maps. A large map of the world
hangs on the north side wall, and three maps of the United
States . . . hangs [sic] on the west partition. On the south
wall hangs another large map of the United States. 142

The names of the maps that hung on the interior walls of the
Nauvoo Temple are not revealed by Kimball or any other Church leader
at that time. However, this is the second time that maps are mentioned
as being in the possession of the saints. 143

On December 20, 1845, Brigham Young and a few of the council
members listened to F. D. Richards read in the temple from Fremont's
journal concerning his trip to California. 144 Heber C. Kimball
revealed additional details concerning the reading of Fremont's trip,
recorded in his journal:

Pres. Young having slept in the Temple last night was early
at his post, and dictating in relation to the business of the day,
and arranging the workmen in order &c &c after which he listened
to a reading from Capt. Fremont's journal by Franklin D. Richards
in the east room . . .

142 Heber C. Kimball's journal, December 11, 1845.

143 The first map mentioned was that of Fremont's, sent to
Joseph Smith from Washington in June, 1844. On December 5, 1845, Kim-
ball recorded the putting up of hooks to hang up "looking-glasses, por-
traits and Maps." See journal for that date.

144 DHC, VII, 348; Heber C. Kimball's journal, December 20, 1845.
This was the 1844 account of Fremont's trip to California, first pub-
lished in March, 1845.
Amasa Lyman came in during the reading, also Elder H. C. Kimball, at quarter to 10. The reading was finished at 10 o'clock.

On December 25, 1845, the council was again in the temple with Brigham Young holding "considerable conversation about the western country." On December 27, 1845, all of the Council took part in a general conversation on California, and Parley P. Pratt read from Lansford W. Hastings' Emigrant Guide to Oregon and California. Again on December 29, 1845, Parley P. Pratt read from Fremont's narrative of his journey to California. Heber C. Kimball recorded that after the reading on the 29th of December, Brigham Young spent nearly an hour reading along in Fremont's narrative, after which he retired for the night. On December 30, 1845, Parley P. Pratt was working on a "schedule for a pioneer company of 1,000 men to precede the body of emigrants, to find a proper location and put in seed early in the summer." It was also on December 30, that the saints found time to relax and dance in the temple after the labors of the day had been completed. That day the song, "Upper California" was sung by Erastus Snow.

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145 Heber C. Kimball's journal, December 20, 1845.
146 Ibid., December 25, 1845; see also DHC, VII, 552.
147 Ibid., December 27, 1845; see also DHC, VII, 555.
148 Ibid., December 29, 1845; see also DHC, VII, 556.
149 Ibid., Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball had beds in the Temple and would often sleep there if it were late at night when the work was completed, as was the case with this date.
150 Ibid. See also DHC, VII, 557. It would appear that Pratt used Fremont's narrative and Hasting's guide in preparing his schedule.
151 Ibid., December 30, 1845; See also DHC, VII, 557. John Taylor was the composer of the song that is here reproduced in full.
This was a song that was sung on other occasions by the saints. Heber C. Kimball recorded that on December 5, 1845, Phineas Young "sang Callaformia [sic]" in the presence of himself and Brigham Young. Thomas Atkin said that even while residing in England, he could remember "singing ... Upper California oh that's the land for me it lies between the mountains and the great Pacific sea." On December 31, 1845, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball examined "maps with reference to selecting a location for the saints west of the Rocky Mountains and reading the various works which have been written & published by travelers in those regions." 

By the end of December, 1845, the leaders of the Church had a wealth of information on the American Far West. They had at their disposal some of the most recent journals, guides, and maps of those who had visited the far west regions and were making use of these to select locations of settlement.

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152 Ibid., December 5, 1845.
153 "Biography of Thomas Atkin," p. 10, located in the Church Historian's Office.
154 Heber C. Kimball's journal, December 31, 1845. There is no mention of the authors of the works and maps studied on that occasion, or the titles. As already pointed out, they had Fremont's and Hastings' accounts at hand, as well as those of Thomas J. Farnham, Charles Wilkes, as well as numerous letters on the route and conditions of a trip to the west.
Chapter 7

PREPARATIONS FOR AN EXODUS CONTINUE

JANUARY, 1846 - FEBRUARY, 1846

The year 1846 began with the saints in possession of a wealth of knowledge on Western America. They had not only studied the more important published books on the west, but had prepared proposed travel schedules for the exodus. During the next month and a half, events transpired that revealed vital information on the Mormon plans for a westward movement.

Rumors of Government Intervention of the Exodus

During the first part of January, 1846, the Latter-day Saints were rapidly completing their work on the Nauvoo Temple. On January 2, 1846, after the saints had sung and danced in that edifice, Brigham Young informed those who had assembled that they would emigrate to a land where there were "at last no old settlers to quarrel with... where we can say that we have killed the snakes & made the roads." ¹ Two days later, on January 4, 1846, Ammon Babbit brought to the Council

¹Heber C. Kimball's journal, January 2, 1846, p. 310. It is interesting to note that on the same occasion Brigham Young commented that had Joseph Smith "lived we should not have been here at this time, we should have been in some other country." See DHC, VII, 562; "History of Brigham Young," Ms., January 2, 1846, p. 3. As the year opened the saints in England were also discussing the proposed exodus. In an address to the saints in Britain, Reuben Redlock reminded the members of the hardships of the exodus about to be undertaken by the Church in
in Nauvoo a letter containing some startling, but well-known news of possible government intervention of the Mormon Exodus.²

Governor Ford had written to Sheriff Backenstos on December 29, 1845, that the government would likely "interfere to prevent the Mormons from going west of the Rocky Mountains," as they would undoubtedly "join the British" and become an increased menace to the United States.³

Several years later, as Governor Ford was writing his History of Illinois, he shed some light on his letter to Sheriff Backenstos. According to Ford, he wrote the letter "with a view to hasten their removal," and make them believe "that the president would order the regular army to Nauvoo as soon as the navigation opened in the spring."⁴ Brigham Young, upon reading the above-mentioned letter, is reported to have said that "should Governor Ford's speculations and suppositions in relation to U. S. troops prove correct, and Government send a regular force to arrest us, we will run no risk of being

America. He said they would travel a journey "of about 1500 miles." A journey west from Nauvoo a distance of 1,500 miles would put the Church in the midst of the Rocky Mountains. See Millennial Star, (January 1, 1846), II.

²There seems to be some disagreement as to exactly when the letter arrived in Nauvoo. According to Brigham Young's history, it was received on January 5, 1846; See also DHC, VII, 562. However, Heber C. Kimball's journal places the date of receiving the letter as January 6, 1846.

³"History of Brigham Young," Ms., January 4, 1846, p. 5.

⁴Ford, History of Illinois, p. 413. Ford commented further that the letter had its intended effect and the leaders, with some two thousand followers, crossed the Mississippi before the breaking up of the ice.
murdered by them as our leaders have been." From all evidence available, it would appear that the church leaders were fully aware of possible government intervention at least a full month before learning of Ford's letter. In the early part of December, 1845, a letter was received from Samuel Brannan stating he had been in Washington where he had learned that the Secretary of War and several other cabinet officers were making plans in a determined effort to prevent the saints from moving west. According to Brannan, they conceived that they could intervene on the basis that it was against the law for an armed force to leave the United States and settle in the dominion controlled by another government. The rumor was then prevalent among government circles that the church would probably settle in Oregon territory which was then being occupied jointly by United States and Great Britain. Upon learning of such intervention by the government, Brigham Young states that "they would go out from this place [Nauvoo] in spite" of all the efforts of officers and others to prevent them. The day after the arrival of Brannan's letter, the Illinois State Register (December 14, 1845) encouraged the general government to look into the expected removal of the Mormons "in order to prevent a hostile force, numbering many thousand, from taking a


6Heber C. Kimball's journal, December 11, 1845, pp. 57-58. As early as December 1, 1845 two newspapers, the New York Sun and the Washington D. C. Union discussed government intervention. See Roberts, CHC, II, 535-536; Times and Seasons VI (December 1, 1845), p. 1051.

7DHC, VII, 544; "Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois," Historical Record, VIII (March, 1889), 832.
position which may prove seriously detrimental to American interests in that quarter [the West]."  

Upon learning of the attempts made to induce the government to prevent their removal, letters were written on December 17, 1845, to the Secretary of War and members of Congress from Illinois. An example of such letters was one written to W. S. March, the Secretary of War:

_Nauvoo (Ill.) Dec. 14, 1845_

_Sir:_

As there is a recommendation to Congress in the President messages for a suitable number of stockades and block houses to be erected between our western frontier, and the Rocky Mountains. If some of our people could be favored with the Agency, for that purpose we would build them cheaper than in any otherwise could be done, as we expect to emigrate west of the mountains next season. If we should eventually settle on Vancouvers Island, according to our calculations we shall greatly desire to have a mail route, established here and Oregon. We would like to contract for the same through the summer months. When we arrive at the place of our destination we fondly anticipate we shall have no old settlers to find faults with us and if Oregon should be annexed to the United States, which in all probability will be, and Vancouvers Island incorporated in the same, by our promptly paying the national revenue, and taxes, we can live in peace with all men.

_Hon. W. S. March_  
_Sec of War_  
_Washington D. C._  
(signed) Brigham Young  
_President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints_

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8 _Illinois State Register [Springfield],_ December 12, 1845. It was the opinion of the _Register_ that the Mormons intended to form their own government, make war, and join other nations.

9 See _DHC VII, 547_, for the circumstances of the letters to these government leaders: Stephen A. Douglas, J. R. Hoge, W. S. March, and John Wentworth.

10 Brigham Young to W. S. March, dated December 14, 1845. It appears that the letter was drafted on December 14, and sent on the 17th.
It appears that the letters carried a two-fold purpose: first, to assure the government of the peaceful and non-defensive actions of the saints in moving west; and, second, to solicit the aid of the government in such a move, thereby exhibiting that there was no feeling of independence from the nation.\(^\text{11}\) The letters reveal one other significant concept, namely, that in December, 1845, Oregon, specifically Vancouver's Island, was still being considered as a site for one of the many settlements to be made in the West. It also becomes apparent from the evidence considered that one of the reasons for the intensive study of the West during the closing days of December in 1845 was the anticipation of possible government aid and the willingness to be ready to emigrate should such aid be forthcoming. However, after receiving Ford's letter to Backenstos on January 4, 1846, some saints believed they would encounter trouble (mainly from the government) in leaving.\(^\text{12}\) Therefore, the Church leaders began to make rapid preparations for an early start in order to prevent their "enemies" from interfering with their exodus.

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\(^{11}\) No evidence is available of replies to those letters by church leaders.

\(^{12}\) It also became apparent to the Church that to receive aid from the government was highly improbable. This becomes fully evident in an article published in the Times and Seasons. It was learned that a law would pass Congress to give facilities for the poor in the eastern countries who wished to emigrate to Oregon or the Northwest Coast. However, the article pointed out that the saints had "little hope of its being soon enough to benefit our company." Times and Seasons, VI (January 15, 1846), 1090.
emigration. Two days later, on January 13, the captains of fifties and tens reported that should the persecutions of enemies compel the move, one hundred and forty horses and seventy wagons were ready to begin the exodus in mid-January. On January 15, 1846, the High Council of Nauvoo issued an official circular to the saints setting forth the proposed plans:

We intend to send out into the Western country from this place, sometime in the early part of the month of March, a company of pioneers, consisting mostly of young, hardy men, with some families . . .

The object of this early move is to put in a spring crop, to build houses, and to prepare for the reception of families, who will start as soon as grass shall be sufficiently grown to sustain teams and stock. Our pioneers are instructed to proceed West until they find a good place to make a crop, in some good valley in the neighborhood of the Rocky Mountains, where they will infringe upon no one, and be not likely to be infringed upon. Here we will make a resting place, until we can determine a place for a permanent location.

This circular revealed that a company of pioneers prepared to emigrate sometime in March, ahead of the main exodus. They were to go west to a valley in the Rocky Mountains, plant a crop and prepare for the reception of their families. This notice was undoubtedly the first official plan of exodus and pinpointed the Rocky Mountains as the


14Ibid., January 13, 1846, p. 12; DHC, VII, 567.

15"A Circular of the High Council of Nauvoo to the Saints," Times and Seasons VI (January 15, 1846), 1096-1097. It should be noted that a way was left open to find a "permanent location." Yet, the midst of the Rocky Mountains was singled out as being the place to find that spot. Another circular was sent on January 20, containing essentially the same information. See DHC, VII, 570-572.
place of gathering.16

On January 18, 1846, the captains of the emigrating companies met in the attic of the temple to again determine the number of saints willing to start "before our enemies shall intercept and prevent our going." The next day the call went out for all men who could leave their families and become part of the advance pioneer company.17

On January 24, 1846, Brigham Young noted in his personal journal that there had been a change in the proposed plans. The intention was now to send a company of young men, in just a few weeks, to find a place where the Church would not be "obnoxious" to others.18

During the latter part of January, word was once again received of the government's intentions to intercept the Mormons as they moved west and confiscate their firearms, believing they were intending to join another nation.19 That knowledge was the impetus necessary to cause the saints to begin immediate preparations for traveling west. On February 2, 1846, boats were secured and held in readiness to ferry wagons and teams across the Mississippi River. All families were informed that when the word came to go, they should be in such a

16DHC, VII, 569; "History of Brigham Young," Ms., January 15, 1846, p. 15. On that occasion Ammon W. Rabbit, Joseph I. Heywood, John D. Fulmer, Henry W. Miller and John M. Bernhisel were selected as a committee to remain in Nauvoo and dispose of property and aid emigration.


18"History of Brigham Young," Ms., January 24, 1846, p. 23.

19DHC, VII, 577. The letter here mentioned was from Samuel Brannan who reportedly had his information from the Postmaster General, Amos Kendall. The full implication of the involvement of Samuel Brannan in the exodus is beyond the scope and time period of this work.
state of readiness as to move within four hours.20 A count was taken and revealed that some two thousand persons were ready "to pioneer the way, and make arrangements for summer crops at some point between this and the Pacific."21 On February 8, 1846, the saints were informed in the last discourse delivered by the Twelve in Nauvoo that the first wagons would cross the river within a few days.22 On February 15, Brigham Young and his family crossed the river and moved to the first encampment at Sugar Creek, some seven miles from Nauvoo.23

Many non-Mormons noted the evacuation of Nauvoo, and thereby revealed important information concerning the exodus. Thomas Ford wrote to W. B. Warren that he had an interview with Brigham Young on the eve of his departure for the Far West. Ford said that he had counted some one hundred wagons on the opposite side of the river in two encampments and six ferries running constantly.24 W. E. Matlock, in his first issue of the Hancock Eagle, noted on February 23, 1846,

20DHG, VII, 578. Besides the knowledge of government intentions to intercept the Mormons, there was one other thing which caused the Mormons to abandon Nauvoo earlier than planned; namely, the charge of counterfeiting issued against the twelve apostles and news of possible arrival in Nauvoo of federal authorities to issue arrest warrants. For the full implication of this problem, see Bruce Flanders, Nauvoo, Kingdom on the Mississippi (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1905), pp. 335-337; Ford, History of Illinois, p. 413.

21Times and Seasons, VI (February 1, 1846), 1114.

22"History of Brigham Young," Ms. February 8, 1846, p. 8. Charles Shumway and several others were the first to cross on February 4, 1846.

23History of Brigham Young, Ms. February 15, 1846, p. 8; Horace K. Whitney's journal, February 15, 1846, p. 3, located in the Church Historian's Office.

24Thomas Ford to W. B. Warren, dated February 12, 1846, located in the Illinois State Register, February 20, 1846.
that two or three thousand had already left to re-establish "in some
distant region whose waters flow into the Pacific Ocean."\(^{25}\)

As the hour of the exodus approached, Latter-day Saints
recorded in their journals and personal letters their feelings con-
cerning leaving their homes in Illinois and beginning the exodus west.
Lorenzo Dow Young, a brother to Brigham Young, noted on February 1,
1846, that they were "now fixing to leave" their home. "All the
material possessions we are transporting west have been placed in two
wagons," he continued, "and our place of destination \textit{sic} we know
not."\(^{26}\)  Henry Bigler recorded that he crossed the Mississippi River
on the ninth of February "for the Rocky Mountains, as we sometimes
said, or to California. To tell the truth I knew not where we were
going."\(^{27}\) Clara Decker Young, reflecting on the period of the exodus,
noted that she was concerned when they began their "uncertain pilgri-
mage"; that they "didn't know where they were going, only that it was
across the plains."\(^{28}\)

Others also wrote of the uncertainty of where they were
going. Priddy Meeks noted, as he started west, that they enjoyed

\(^{25}\) \textit{DHC}, VII, 576. Joseph Holbrook noted that he arrived in
Nauvoo on February 16, 1846, to find the Church already beginning to
leave Nauvoo because "our enemies gave them no peace night nor day and
thus they were compelled to leave their comfortable homes for the
wilderness in the dead of winter." "History of Joseph Holbrook," Ms.
p. 56, located in the Utah State Historical Society Library.

\(^{26}\) Lorenzo D. Young's journal, p. 1, located in the Utah State
Historical Society Library.

\(^{27}\) Erwing Giddle, Bigler's Chronicle of the West, (Berkley:

\(^{28}\) "A Woman's Experience with the Pioneer Band," Clara Decker
Young, \textit{Utah Historical Quarterly}, XII (1946), 175.
themselves the best they could "not knowing what we was going to come to and not making any particular calculations, trusting in the Lord to guide us."29 John M. Wolley wrote that "the place talked of was California."30 Benjamin C. Critchlow, writing of that early period, said he crossed the Mississippi River at Nauvoo, "not knowing our destination, only that we expected to cross the Rocky Mountains."31 Lorenzo Brown expressed in his journal the general feelings of the saints as they moved west. He wrote that they left their

abodes of civilisation to go forth as wanderers on the Earth without homes not knowing on what part of the continent we might be permitted to stop some asserting our destination was Salt Lake valley Some that we were going to some point on the upper Mississippi etc & so on while I believe it was thought by many that we should locate ourselves in Van Couver's Island at the mouth of Columbia river which is British territory.32

From the above evidence, it appears that as the exodus commenced some church members were uncertain concerning the final resting place of the saints. Most thought, however, that the saints would locate beyond the Rocky Mountains, in what was called California.33

29Priddy Meeks' journal, p. 12, located in the Brigham Young University Library.

30John M. Wolley's Journal, pp. 24-25, located in the Utah State Historical Society Library.

31Benjamin C. Critchlow, "Sketch of Life of Myself," p. 3, located in the Utah State Historical Society Library.

32Lorenzo Brown's journal, May 28, 1846, pp. 23-24, located in the Brigham Young University Library.

33This same information is evidenced in the writings of the saints then living in the British Isles who were anxiously waiting to hear where the Church was headed. Such terms as "across the Rocky Mountains to California," and "settle in California" were used by Reuben Hedlock and Wilford Woodruff. See Millenial Star VII (February 1, 1846), 42-44.
The writings of church leaders on the eve of the departure west also reveal interesting concepts concerning the destination of the saints. Answering a letter from Luther C. White, Brigham Young advised him to sail around the Cape Horn "for the place of destination." Upon reviewing the exodus, Brigham Young commented, in 1853, that it was just seven years ago when he crossed the Mississippi River, "not knowing at the time, whither we were going." When the Church left Nauvoo in February, 1846, one of the apostles, Orson Hyde, remained in the city to oversee the completion of the temple, to supervise the disposition of property, and make sure difficulties with the mob were avoided. In an attempt to remove any fears of the people that the saints would set up an independent empire in the west, and in answer to the question, "where will the Mormons go, and what do they intend to do," Apostle Hyde prepared a letter for the Illinois State Register. Concerning "where will the Mormons go," Hyde wrote:

We have talked of Oregon, of California, and of Van Couver's Island as places of our destination and future residence. But we have not determined upon any one of these . . . We would like to have congress give us a territory of land somewhere in a healthy country where there is plenty of wood and water; we are not particular where it is, if it is not too cold. We care not to go to California, to Oregon, or to Van Couver's Island . . . .

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34 Brigham Young to L. C. White, dated January 29, 1846, located in the Church Historian's Office.

35 Brigham Young, address delivered in Salt Lake, February 14, 1853, JD, I, 279.

36 "Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois," Historical Record, VIII, 837.

37 Illinois State Register /Springfield/, February 27, 1846. For the full letter see Appendix CC. The letter does not carry the name of Orson Hyde, rather it is merely signed "a Mormon." However, the
As can be seen by the above evidence, it was not settled within the minds of the Church leaders, as the exodus commenced all the sites the saints would settle in the West. It would appear, however, that those in authority had ruled Oregon, Vancouver's Island and the California coast as unfavorable for the main headquarters of the Church. Others who have studied that early period of Mormon history conclude that due to Fremont's reports, and other information on the West, the attention of the saints was directed toward the midst of the Rocky Mountains; that when they left Nauvoo, it was the intention of Brigham Young and other leaders to proceed forward as fast as possible to some location within the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains.  

It is evident that by March 8, while still camped at Sugar Creek, such a plan had been conceived. On that date, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, George A. Smith, Amasa Lyman, Willard Richards, and John D. Lee, assembled in Council. John D. Lee, taking minutes of that meeting, recorded that

Pres. Young said ... we must divide and arrange the camp so that part might cross the Mountains to the Great Basin soon enough to plant wheat this spring ... that 300 men were wanted for the expedition.  

author feels that the style of writing and contents reveal it to be from Orson Hyde, who remained in Nauvoo.

38 See Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, (2nd ed.; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968), p. 40. Arrington comments that California was not as isolated as the Mormons desired, and was still under Mexican influence. Yet, nobody would envy the Mormons settling in the isolated Great Basin. See also Morgan, Overland in 1846, I, 89; CHC, III, 67.

39 Diaries and Official Records of John D. Lee, March 8, 1846, located in the Brigham Young University Library. See also Willard Richard's journal, March 8, 1846, for the same information. As the exodus began, Lee was selected as the private clerk of Brigham Young
It can thus be seen that as the new year opened, the Mormons were in command of a wealth of knowledge of western America. During the month of January, they were made aware of a possible government intervention in their moving West. In an effort to "out wit" their "enemies" they began leaving Nauvoo earlier than planned. The tentative plans were to send ahead a company of pioneers to proceed to the spot and put in summer crops for those following. Various places had been spoken of as sites for that settlement: Oregon, Vancouver's Island, and California. Yet, by the time the camp had been made at Sugar Creek, it becomes evident that the Church leaders had decided they wouldn't go as far as the Pacific Coast. It was the isolated Great Basin that became the proposed destination on March 8, 1846.

During the rest of that year as they proceeded further west, more information would be gathered to confirm the decision to settle in the Great Basin.

and kept a very accurate journal of council proceedings. His journal will be referred to quite extensively through the period of the exodus.
Chapter 8

THREE FORERUNNERS: JAMES EMMETT, LYMAN WIGHT,
GEORGE MILLER

All that want to draw away a party from the Church after them, let them do it if they can, but they will not prosper.

Thus spoke Brigham Young on August 18, 1844, in an attempt to stabilize the Church and discourage, as he said, the sheep from scattering now that the shepherd (Joseph Smith) was taken away.

James Emmett, who was especially selected for the exploring expedition in the spring of 1844 and Lyman Wight and George Miller, both members of the special Council of Fifty, felt reluctant to accept Brigham Young's leadership of the Church after Joseph Smith's death. They all claimed they had received special authority from Joseph Smith—Emmett in the exploring expedition, and Wight and Miller in the Council of Fifty—that was superior to that of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, the governing body of the Church. Consequently, each gathered his loyal followers around him in defiance of counsel and set out into the wilderness to make true the plans of Joseph Smith to move the Church west.  

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1DHC, VII, 232. That speech of Brigham Young's was given just four days after James Emmett took his group of followers into the wilderness.

2Brigham Young's counsel to them was that when the time came they could go all over North and South America and build up stakes of
As the saints moved across the Mississippi River under the leadership of Brigham Young in February, 1846, they had been preceded by James Emmett and Lyman Wight, each with his own group headed for what they thought was the proper location for the saints. George Miller, who was in the main body of saints in February, 1847, soon severed relations with the Church and joined Wight in Texas. A close examination of the activities and destinations of those three individuals prior to 1846 reveals some valuable data pertaining to Mormon knowledge of the West.

James Emmett and the Rocky Mountain Exploring Company, 1844-1847

James Emmett's life in the Mormon Church could be described as being erratic. It is not known when he became acquainted with Joseph Smith and affiliated himself with the Church. However, in April, 1832, he was mentioned as attending a meeting of High Priests in Missouri and voting as one of their quorum. In April, 1837, fellowship was withdrawn from Emmett by the presidency of the Church at Far West, Missouri, for unwise conduct, and in May that same body restored fellowship, after Emmett had made satisfaction. He was involved in Zion; that all the whole continent of America was to be organized into districts with presiding elders over each. Yet, he counseled that the time wasn't ripe to implement such an idea. First, things had to be set in order at home; endowments received in the proper place, the temple completed, and the saints cared for spiritually and physically; then, they would move as a body. See DHC, VII, 258.

3James Emmett Manuscript, p. 1, located in the Church Historian's Office.

4DHC, II, 482.
missionary work in Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, and Missouri, organizing branches of the Church in each of those areas.\(^5\) In April, 1841, he was chosen a member of the High Council in Iowa, and in 1843, moved to Nauvoo where he was selected as First Corporal of the city police.\(^6\) Emmett is next mentioned in the history on February 21, 1844, when he was selected by Joseph Smith, along with seven others, to explore Oregon and California and locate a new city for the saints.\(^7\) Two days later, Emmett again volunteered with eight others to head an "Oregon and California Exploring Expedition."\(^8\) On March 13, 1844, he was in a special council with Joseph Smith and others discussing the Exploring Expedition.\(^9\) It becomes apparent that Emmett, sometime between February 21, and March 13, 1844, received special instructions from Joseph Smith pertaining to his part in the western mission. The specific instructions received by Emmett aren't clearly brought out in the history. However, others who later joined Emmett's company in the West wrote their experiences and many agreed on one item; namely, that Emmett informed them that he was given a special calling by Joseph Smith.

\(^{5}\)Emmett Manuscript, p. 1.

\(^{6}\)Ibid. See also Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, April 24, 1841, December 29, 1843, located in the Church Historian's Office; hereafter this collection will be referred to as Journal History; DHC, IV, 352; VI, 149.

\(^{7}\)Ibid. See also Journal History, February 21, 1844; DHC, VI, 233.

\(^{8}\)DHC, VI, 224.

\(^{9}\)Ibid. It is highly probably that Emmett on that day became a member of the Council of Fifty. Emmett was again mentioned as being one of Joseph Smith's body guards and was involved in the burial of the casket after the Prophet's death. See DHC, VI, 628; VII, 135.
to head an exploring company to the Missouri River in order to determine a possible future location for the Church. One of those individuals, James Holt, said that he had been approached by Emmett during the summer of 1844 to go with the company into the wilderness; that "he [Emmett] had been appointed before Joseph's death to choose a few families and travel among the Indians; to go on to the Rocky Mountains; to preach to the Indians along the way, and prepare them to receive the saints in the Valleys of the Mountains."\textsuperscript{10} Isaac Riddle, as a fifteen-year-old boy, together with his father, became a member of Emmett's company. According to Riddle, in August, 1844 they met Emmett, "a friend of the prophet [Joseph Smith], who had been called to fulfill a mission to the tribes of Indians in the north and the northwest."\textsuperscript{11} William D. Kartchner said that prior to Joseph Smith's death an expedition in charge of James Emmett and John L. Butler was ordered to take a few families to the Missouri River, and plant crops in preparation for the rest of the Church to move west. He and his wife were ordered to join the expedition, since they wanted young couples.\textsuperscript{12} According to Lyman Hinman, another member of the company, they left Nauvoo with two or three others "expecting to fall in company with others ... We knew not where we were going but desiring to

\textsuperscript{10}"Reminiscences of James Holt," ed. Dale L. Morgan, \textit{Utah Historical Quarterly}, XXIII (January, 1955), 22. For a further comment by Holt on the exact purpose of the exploring company of which Emmett was a part, see the above reference.


\textsuperscript{12}William Decatur Kartchner Document, located in the Church Historian's Office.
find a place where we could breathe free and worship God according to the dictates of our own consciences.”

Exactly when the company left Nauvoo is not clear. Two of these involved, Isaac Riddle and Lyman Hinman, said in their accounts that they left Nauvoo in August, 1844. Hinman specifically mentions August 3, 1844. However, Kartchner places the date sometime in September, 1844, when he sent his blacksmith tools to Nauvoo, and boarded a flat boat manned by James Emmett. It appears that the instructions from Emmett were for some families to leave in August and travel some fourteen miles above Nauvoo on the Iowa side of the Mississippi, where they were to wait for the others. Emmett himself did not leave Nauvoo until after September 9, 1844. George A. Smith recorded that September 2, 1844, was spent trying to counsel James Emmett against taking his company from Nauvoo. On September 3, fellowship was withdrawn from him, in an attempt to turn him away from his "stubbornness." September 8th and 9th were again spent in counsel with Emmett, "that he might be persuaded to desist from his intended course of taking away a party of misguided saints into the wilderness." Their efforts were to no avail, however, and Emmett left Nauvoo in

13 Lyman Hinman to Brother and Sister Taylor, dated June 27, 1847, located in the Utah State Historical Society Library.

14 Ibid. See also Isaac Riddle to Frank Taylor, n. d. located in the Church Historian's Office. This letter was written sometime in the spring of 1902 and published in the State Register /Pierre, S. D./.


16 George A. Smith's journal, September 2, 3, 8, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office. See also DHC, VII, 269-270; "History of Brigham Young," Ms, September 9, 1844, p. 26.
defiance of counsel. Two accounts concur that the members were told to keep their departure and movements secret since "all would want to go if word went forth that we were going west." 17 According to Kartchner, that information came from Zachariah Wilson, the presiding elder of the Liberty Branch on Bear Creek, located some twenty miles below Nauvoo. Wilson brought word that the Church at Nauvoo commanded the Branch at Liberty to remove immediately to the west without passing through Nauvoo. 18 James and Rebecca Nelson, members of the Liberty Branch, wrote that they removed to Madison, Iowa, where they had been led to believe that one of the twelve apostles would act as their guide. However, upon arriving in Iowa, they were informed that the twelve had been unable to take care of pressing matters in Nauvoo so they had sent James Emmett as a substitute. 19 John L. Butler arrived in the camp at Madison, and reportedly informed the group that Brigham Young had sent his blessings, and the counsel was to remove further into the wilderness where they were to raise grain for the whole Church and be ready when they should come. 20 While on the Iowa River, the company was organized. Emmett was appointed trustee-in-trust, James Holt as

17 Kartchner Document, p. 1; See also the James and Rebecca Nelson Account, contained in the Emmett Company Manuscript. Zachariah Wilson further told those in the company that they were not to seek counsel from Brigham Young as he might detect their "faint-heartedness and discourage them from going." See Kartchner Account, p. 1.

18 Ibid.

19 James and Rebecca Nelson Account, p. 2.

20 Ibid., p. 2. A search of the journals and letters around that period of time fails to produce such an account of the directive from Brigham Young. It would appear to be in direct contradiction to the efforts of the Church leaders to persuade Emmett from leaving Nauvoo.
Bishop, and the company was put under covenant to divide everything equally.\(^{21}\) Holt estimated the number in the group as twenty-five or thirty families.\(^{22}\) Riddle wrote that the company consisted of some thirty wagons and about ninety persons,\(^{23}\) while Hinman placed the number near two hundred.\(^{24}\) It is apparent that families arrived and left the company in the early stages of its existence as the organizing was being effected, which would account for the variation in numbers. However, once the company was organized, they moved some two hundred miles up the Iowa River where they built log cabins and prepared for the winter of 1844 and 1845. Concerning the attitude of the Church in Nauvoo toward Emmett's actions, William Clayton wrote to Wilford Woodruff that "James Emmett has drawn off a party and gone somewhere west but I don't know where. There are but few gone with him, but there are enough to go to destruction with one man for that is their fate."\(^{25}\) Yet, despite such an attitude, it appears that from September 9, 1844 to February, 1845, there was no effort made to influence Emmett to come back to Nauvoo. A search of the history of the Church during that period fails to produce any evidence of contact with the group by Church authorities."

On February 27, 1845, after learning of the condition of

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\(^{22}\)Ibid.

\(^{23}\)Isaac Riddle to Frank Taylor.

\(^{24}\)Lyman Hinman to Brother and Sister Taylor, p. 1.

\(^{25}\)William Clayton to Wilford Woodruff, dated October 7, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office.
Emmett's company, Amasa M. Lyman and Daniel Spencer were chosen to visit the group and carry a letter from the council in an attempt to dissuade them from going further. Lyman and Spencer returned to Nauvoo on March 15, 1845, with the information that they found Emmett and his company located some one hundred and fifty miles west of the settlements on the Iowa River, in a deplorable condition. Emmett had defied their counsel saying that "he had evidenced the driving from Missouri with Patience, and that he was clear from the blood of the Gentiles. He seemed determined to go ahead against the advise of God, man, or the devil." In further defiance of counsel from Church headquarters, Emmett moved his group across the plains into what is now Dakota. There they joined a company of fur traders living at Fort Vermillion, who invited them to come to the Fort and spend the following winter.

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26 DHC, VII, 377-383; "History of Brigham Young," Ms. February 27, pp. 28-30; Willard Richard's journal, February 27, 1845; George A. Smith journal, February 27, 1845; "Reminiscences of James Holt," p. 25. For a copy of the letter carried by Lyman and Spencer see Emmett Company Manuscript, pp. 6-7. The conditions of the company were reported to Brigham Young sometime in February, 1845 by Moses Smith. Concerning those conditions, Lyman Hinman wrote to Brother and Sister Taylor that they ate "wild potatoes artichokes and onions peas and leeks adding to our half pint of corn per head per day ... We had little or no meat for the Indians went before us and killed or scared all the game away." See Hinman's letter, p. 1. James Nelson reported that they had to resort to "pulverising elm bark and baking it for bread and thickening soup with it ... We suffered cramp, colic, etc." See James and Rebecca Nelson Account, p. 3.

27 Emmett Company Manuscript, p. 8; Minutes of a meeting held at the stand, March 16, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office; George A. Smith journal, March 15, 1845. According to Lyman and Spencer most of them were dissatisfied and wanted to come back to Nauvoo, yet Emmett, with the force of arms, prevented them from doing so. Brigham Young's comment on the report of Lyman and Spencer was that "we told James Emmett if he went he would get into trouble." See DHC, VII, 385.

28 Isaac Riddle to Frank Taylor. See also "Reminiscences of James Holt," p. 28.
In March, 1845, they arrived at the Fort where they settled. While located there, Emmett made several trips to visit the Indians in the area. It appears that he felt he was carrying out the assignment given him by Joseph Smith "to preach to the Indians along the way." Emmett's conversation with them, and their telling him what the area of the Rocky Mountains was like, is interesting in light of the Mormon destination. James Holt recorded that Emmett said to them:

that he was traveling through their country to preach them the Gospel that was found in that book [Book of Mormon], and that his intentions were to travel on to the Rocky Mountains where his people wished to go and settle. They told him that it was a long way to the mountains; that he would have great waters to cross, and great plains where there was no water and when he got to the Rocky Mountains, he would find no buffalo; and that his women and children would starve.30

George A. Smith journalized on April 23, 1845, of hearing that the sheriff of Iowa City had been to Emmett's company with a posse and brought the group into the city; and that Emmett had left the group after taking their money.31 Again on May 28, 1845, information was received from one who had deserted the group that all but one dozen families had left Emmett's company.32 Under those circumstances, Emmett apparently began to realize the destitute condition of his people and made a hasty trip to Nauvoo to get the blessings of the Church. On August 2, 1845, Emmett met with the council in Nauvoo and desired to be refellowshipped.33 Two days later, on August 4, he

29Ibid., p. 22.
30Ibid., p. 28.
31George A. Smith's journal, April 23, 1845. See also Kartchner Document, p. 2.
32Ibid., May 28, 1845. 33DHC, VII, 433-434.
confessed his faults before the Twelve and after promising to abide
counsel, he was rebaptized. On August 12, H. G. Sherwood and John S.
Fullmer were directed to accompany Emmett to his company, taking a let-
ter from the council. Arriving in camp, Sherwood and Fullmer ex-
plained their mission to the people and rebaptized the whole camp.
They appointed Emmett president of the company, in order to settle any
trouble with him after they were gone, and gave the group instructions
as follows:

They were to remain where they were, build cabins for the
winter, procure what buffalo meat they could, by sending out
organized parties. To conciliate the friendship of the Indians,
and prepare themselves for any instruction they might receive
from Nauvoo in the spring, anticipating a removal to some place
then unknown.

Sherwood and Fullmer made their report to the council in Nau-
voon October 29, 1845, which appeared satisfactory to the Church and
"gave us some very interesting information concerning our best route
to the west." It appears that such information was gained not only
from Emmett, but also from Sherwood's and Fullmer's personal obser-
vations along the way.

Thus ended the career of Emmett and his company in the Church,

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34 Ibid., p. 434. See also George A. Smith's journal, August 4,
1845.

35 Ibid., p. 435. See also George A. Smith's journal, August
12, 1845.

36 "Reminiscences of James Holt," p. 30. According to Holt,
Sherwood and Fullmer arrived in camp where they had to show written
documents to prove they were in authority. Emmett even went so far
as to say that he was in equal authority. So as to ward off any prob-
lems with him after they left, they decided to appoint him the presi-
dent of the camp.

37 DHC, VIII, 494.
prior to February, 1846. They never reached more than one hundred and fifty miles from the Church in their wanderings and never numbered more than one hundred and thirty people. Yet, their impact on Mormon knowledge of the west was significant. It is evident that Emmett had received a special calling from Joseph Smith in the spring of 1834 to head a company of saints to the Missouri. It was Emmett's "die hard" attempt to carry out that assignment that brought upon him the wrath of the Church and eventual disfellowship. It appears that Emmett took seriously the statement of Joseph Smith that if the proposed exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains could not be carried out before his election, then it would be after he was elected. This is evidence, again, that in the spring of 1844, the Church was serious about a movement west. The willingness of seemingly good members to follow Emmett at his mere asking is further evidence that Emmett was thoroughly convinced of the seriousness of his project, and that the members of the Church were expecting and had been taught of such a possible movement. There was no reason to question Emmett's authority on the part of those who followed him, since he had been especially called to take part in such a movement by Joseph Smith. After the Church's renewed contact with Emmett and his party, the saints gained additional information on conditions in the west, which information aided the Church in making preparations. The destitute condition of Emmett's company was evidence enough to the council that they could not leave without thorough preparations. The reaction of the Indians to Emmett's company was helpful in furnishing added valuable insight to the saints concerning conditions in the West.
Lyman Wight and the Texas Mission, 1843-1847

Approximately the same time that James Emmett left for the western wilds with his company, Lyman Wight, one of the Twelve Apostles, became dissatisfied with the actions of Brigham Young and the Council. As early as spring, 1844, Wight felt that the real destiny of the Church lay in Texas, a vast, relatively unsettled territory, where an independent empire could be set up. It was Wight's attempt to set up such an empire that revealed further Mormon knowledge of the West and eventually led to his being excommunicated from the Church.

Lyman Wight first associated himself with the Church in 1830.38 He immediately became an elder and rose to position of second counselor to John Smith in the stake at Adam-ondi-ahman in Missouri.39 In 1841, he was ordained to the office of Apostle, thereby becoming closely associated with Joseph Smith.40

Beginning in 1841, the Church leaders began seeking out means of procuring lumber to build the temple and Nauvoo house. After a


40 Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia, Comp. Andrew Jenson (Salt Lake: Deseret Book Company, 1901), 96. See also Smith, "Wight Colony," p. 5. Wight wavered in keeping Church commandments. In April, 1843, while in Pittsburgh, John Page said that "Elder Wight for some cause indulged himself in the act of intoxication in the presence of the whole world and the saints [which] has done more hurt than any good examples can mend in a long time." See John Page to Joseph Smith, dated April 27, 1843, located in the Church Historian's Office.
meeting of the building committee of which Wight was a member, it was decided that they should buy a mill in the Wisconsin Pineries situated on the Black River, a tributary of the Missouri. 41 Fifteen hundred dollars were paid the firm of Crane and Kirtz, and immediately a company of laborers was formed, with "nine months provisions and clothing, and entered into the business of lumbering, for the joint benefit of both buildings." 42 During the winter of 1841, Wight was sent to Ohio and the eastern states to receive tithing, sell stock in the Nauvoo House and return early in the spring of 1842. 43 Upon returning, Wight learned that practically no lumber had been produced at the mill and that by October, 1842, the operation was in debt some three thousand dollars. 44 Another conference of the building committee was held where it was determined that George Miller should go to the Pineries and get the establishment out of debt. At the same time, Wight was sent east again with instructions to return in the spring of 1843. His assignment was again to raise stock for the Nauvoo House and find means of shipping the saints to Nauvoo. In the spring of 1843, some twelve thousand feet of lumber was being produced at the mill, daily; and during the summer, over two hundred thousand feet of lumber was shipped to Nauvoo. In August, 1843, George Miller arrived in Nauvoo from the Pineries, where he found

41 "A Mormon Bishop and His Son," fragments of a diary kept by George Miller, pp. 36-37, located in the Brigham Young University Library.

42 Ibid.

43 George Miller, "Correspondence with the Northern Islander," p. 9, located in the Brigham Young University Library.

44 Ibid., p. 10; Smith, "Wight Colony," p. 5.
Wight, who according to Miller, had accomplished nothing and lost stock for the Nauvoo House. Miller described Wight at that time as being "wholly disqualified for business of any kind, in consequence of his indulgence in a habit that he was occasionally addicted to."\textsuperscript{45} It was also during the summer of 1843 that all efforts were directed toward finishing the temple, with the Nauvoo House project temporarily dropped. During that same time, Joseph Smith called the Building Committee together again and appointed Wight to get a company of young men and families to go to the Pineries. Wight responded to that call and raised a large company, consisting of widows and children who were to earn their living by cooking, washing and mending the clothes of the men.\textsuperscript{46} With the help of the steamer, "Maid of Iowa," the company was deposited at the mouth of the Black River and reached the mills the last of August, 1843. Houses were soon constructed for the individual families, according to George Miller, because Joseph Smith "wished to make those mills a permanent establishment."\textsuperscript{47} In the spring of 1844, a council was held in the Pineries where George Miller and Wight were both appointed to write letters to Joseph Smith and the presidency in Nauvoo, expressing the views of the council.

\textsuperscript{45} Miller, "Correspondence," p. 14. John Page wrote further of the drinking problem of Wight while Wight was in Kirtland, Ohio, seeking means to convey the saints to Nauvoo. See John Page to Brigham Young, as discussed on page 161.

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., p. 14. According to Heman Smith, it was the formation of that special company of Wight's to secure lumber for the temple that was the real beginning of the Texas movement of the Church. Evidence would prove this to be true. See Smith, "Wight Colony," p. 5.

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid. According to Wight, the group numbered one hundred and fifty. See Lyman Wight, "An Address," the journal of Lyman Wight, p. 4, located in the Church Historian's Office.
In those letters, Miller and Wight asked permission to lead the Wisconsin Pinery group to the south (Texas) and form a Mormon colony. Miller was selected to carry the memorials, and arrived in Nauvoo around the first of March. In his personal journal, Joseph Smith recorded that on March 11, 1844, a special council was organized "to take into consideration the subject matter contained in the above letters, . . . and to secure a resting place in the mountains, or in some other uninhabited region." Thus the Council of Fifty was organized, with Miller, who was already in Nauvoo, becoming one of its members. The Council of Fifty acted immediately on Wight and Miller's suggestion and sent Lucian Woodworth to Texas on March 14, 1844, to negotiate with the Texas Congress for a tract of territory which the Black River Company would possess. It was further decided in council that Miller was to return to the mill, get Wight, and be in Nauvoo with their families by the time Woodworth came back from Texas. The rest of the Pinery Company was to return to Nauvoo with the next

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48 DHC, VI, 255-260; Wight, "Address," pp. 1-3. Upon reading the two letters, Joseph Smith was reported to have said, "Bishop Miller, I perceive that the spirit of God is in the Pineries as well as here." See "A Mormon Bishop and His Son," p. 48; Miller, "Correspondence," p. 20.

49 Ibid., p. 261. Miller recorded that Joseph said to him that they were going "to call together some of our wise men and proceed to set up the Kingdom of God by organizing some of its officers. And from day to day he called some of the brethren about him, organizing them as princes in the Kingdom of God, until the number of fifty-three were thus called." See Miller, "Correspondence," p. 20.

50 Ibid., VI, 264. Miller, "Correspondence," p. 20. The Republic of Texas was to acknowledge the Church as an independent nation. In return, the Church would help Texas defend itself against Mexico, "standing as a go-between the belligerent powers." "A Mormon Bishop and His Son," p. 59.
shipment of lumber.\textsuperscript{51} Miller and Wight arrived in Nauvoo about the middle of April, 1844, and there, according to Wight, they were "introduced into what was then called the Grand Council of the Church," which consisted of "fifty members, with full authority to build up the Kingdom of God on earth."\textsuperscript{52} Miller and Wight were on that occasion instructed by the council to take the Black River Company and travel to "Texas, to the confines of Mexico in the Cordilleras Mountains."\textsuperscript{53} It becomes apparent that this action was sought by Joseph Smith upon the return of Woodworth on May 2, 1844, with a draft of a "treaty" entered into with the Texas Cabinet. Woodworth reported his negotiations the next day in council, and Miller wrote of those meetings that "it was altogether as we could wish it."\textsuperscript{54} It is difficult to determine the seriousness of the "treaty" entered into by Woodworth. There are those who feel "that the Texas Government never formally received Woodworth," and consequently did not recognize "the diplomatic pretensions of the 'minister.'"\textsuperscript{55} Such a viewpoint is based on the premise that the recognition of a treaty by Texas as offered

\textsuperscript{51} Miller, "Correspondence," p. 20. Both Miller and Woodworth departed on their respective assignments on the same day.

\textsuperscript{52} Wight, "Address," p. 3. From the above quote, it becomes clear why Wight thought he was equal in authority with Brigham Young, and therefore could lead the Church wherever he wanted.

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid. Miller, in his writings, specifies clearer the area to be settled. He wrote that a treaty was to be entered into "for all that country north of a west line from the falls of the Colorado River to the Nueces, thence down the same to the Gulf of Mexico, and along the same to the Rio Grande, and up the same to the United States Territory." See "A Mormon Bishop and His Son," p. 49.

\textsuperscript{54} "A Mormon Bishop and His Son," p. 49.

\textsuperscript{55} Hansen, \textit{Quest for Empire}, p. 86.
by the Mormons would have placed that government in a "most embarras-
ing position vis-a-vis the United States." Evidence would indicate,
however, that Texas was not too concerned about embarasing the United
States. Any measure, as far as the Texas Cabinet was concerned, would
be taken to insure its status as an independent state separate from
Mexico.

Since March 1, 1836, Texas had declared its independence from
Mexican rule. Shortly thereafter, England, France and then the
United States, recognized the independent status of Texas. When
repeated efforts by the Texas Cabinet to influence the United States
Government to annex their territory fell on deaf ears, the Texan
Secretary of State wrote to their diplomat in Washington that the
"Small Republic, 'The Evening Star!' if she had "to exist separ-
ately," would pursue the destiny suggested by her emblem, "the Evening
Star," until she would embrace "the shores of the Pacific as well as
those of the Gulf of Mexico; and that it could produce cotton and
sugar with the help of European manufacturing countries." On May 6,
1844, Sam Houston, the president-elect of Texas, wrote to General
Murphy, the American representative in Texas, "that his country could
gain European support for permanent independence and that California

56 Ibid.

57 For two excellent summaries of this part of Texas history
from 1830-1846, see Robert E. Riegel, America Moves West, (New York:
pp. 354-360.

58 Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas, ed.
G. P. Garrison, pt. I (American Historical Association Annual Report,
and other portions of Mexico would be glad to join it," if the United States were not interested. According to history, it appears that Houston knew the effect his threat would have on the U. S. Government. If appears, also, that the United States was aware that they were faced with the possibility of an independent nation, protected by European powers, and controlling the entire Southwest and Pacific Coast. Consequently, President James K. Polk, who was elected in 1844 on the ticket of "re-annexation of Texas and Oregon," acted swiftly and signed, on December 29, 1845, a joint resolution extending the laws of the United States over Texas.

It becomes evident that the Mormons were supposed to play a part in establishing the independence of Texas, together with England and France, were Texas to break all ties with the United States. Lucian Woodworth, while in Texas negotiating with Sam Houston, was made aware of this and Texas' possible recourse to foreign powers for aid. Just what was expected of the saints in aiding Texas is not clear. That such aid was discussed and wanted, however, was indicated by James A. Bennett in writing to Willard Richards. Bennett wrote that he had "letter from President Houston, written prior to the end of his official term, assuring me that if the Saints were in Texas their religious & civil rights should have the most ample protection. If occasion required he assures me that he would receive the "Mormon

59 Sam Houston to General W. S. Murphy, dated May 6, 1844, printed in W. C. Crane, Life and Select Literary Remains of Sam Houston of Texas (Dallas, 1884), pp. 366-370.

60 Riegel, America Moves West, p. 337.
Legion" in Texas as armed immigrants, with open arms.\textsuperscript{61} It now becomes clear why on May 6, 1844, after hearing Woodworth's report, the council decided to send Ammon W. Babbit to France. His mission was to discuss with the French the establishment of a Mormon empire in Texas, since France would in all probability have interests there, also.\textsuperscript{62} Mormon Church leaders were already in England on Church business, therefore it was not necessary to send a special representative to that Government. The council wrote to the President of the British Mission on May 3, 1844, the day after the arrival of Woodworth in Nauvoo, that "if any of the brethren wished to go to Texas—we have no particular objection. You may send 100,000 there if you can in 18 months."\textsuperscript{63} On May 3, 1844, it was also determined by the council to continue negotiations with the Texas Government. Miller recorded that "commissioners \textsuperscript{64} were \textsuperscript{356} appointed to meet the Texan Congress to sanction or ratify the treaty, partly entered into by our minister and the Texan Cabinet."\textsuperscript{64} A. W. Brown, Lucian Woodworth and Miller

\textsuperscript{61}James A. Bennett to Willard Richards, dated June 4, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office. A search of the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake fails to produce a copy of the letter that Bennett said he had from Sam Houston.

\textsuperscript{62}DHC, VI, 356. See also Andrus, Joseph Smith and World Government, p. 62. All indication is that Babbit never left Nauvoo. That the intention was to send him is clearly brought out in a letter by Brigham Young to Reuben Hedlock, the president of the British Mission. Brigham Young hinted at Babbit's mission when he wrote that the council was "in hopes of sending a special messenger to France in a few days." See Brigham Young to Reuben Hedlock, dated May 3, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office. See also DHC, VI, 353.

\textsuperscript{63}Brigham Young to Reuben Hedlock, dated May 3, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office. See also DHC, VI, 353.

\textsuperscript{64}"A Mormon Bishop and His Son," p. 49; Miller, "Correspondence," p. 20.
were appointed as the commissioners to meet the Texan Congress. As soon as a treaty was fully ratified, Wight and Miller were to lead the Black River Lumber Company to the newly acquired land and report back to the council. According to Lyman Wight, after the above deliberations of the council, he, together with Joseph Smith, retired to a private chamber where, in the presence of Heber C. Kimball, he was personally charged with an assignment. Joseph Smith reportedly told him that "if the United States refuses me 200,000 men, do you get 500,000 if you can and go into that country." As far as can be determined, the three commissioners never left Nauvoo. The reason appears to lie in another decision by the council shortly after the commissioners were chosen. The decision was, according to Miller, "that all elders should leave on missions to all the states to get up an electoral ticket and do everything in our power to have Joseph elected president." Joseph Smith was reported further to have said that if elected president, "the dominion of the kingdom would be forever established in the United States," and if his bid were unsuccessful, they would "fall back on Texas." Soon all available elders were sent into the various states, and the Texas project temporarily dropped. However, according to Wight, it was not entirely forgotten, because Joseph Smith gave himself and Miller to understand that when they returned from their "electioneering mission" they were to take the Black River Company and carry out the mission to Texas. Yet, it

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65 Ibid. 66 Wight, "Address," p. 4.
67 "A Mormon Bishop and His Son," p. 49; Miller, "Correspondence," p. 21.
68 DHC, VI, 373.
becomes clear that by the middle of May, 1844, Joseph Smith could see that the area of Texas was not the place for the whole Church to settle. Rather, it could be a place where Wight and Miller could take their families and friends and set up a stake for the Church. The reason for that decision by Joseph Smith was based on some well-known yet discouraging news received from Orson Hyde, the council's emissary in Washington. Hyde had been sent to Washington to carry a memorial to the President and Congress asking for Government aid. While there he had access to several persons who had been in Oregon, California and Texas. His report was that "most of the settlers in Oregon and Texas are our old enemies, the mobocrats of Missouri;" and should "Texas be admitted, war with Mexico is looked upon as inevitable." 69

On April 30, 1844, Hyde wrote again that perhaps the Texas Mission was beyond the capability of the saints. According to Hyde it would require an immense army and arms to defend an independent empire in that region. 70 Hyde's letters arrived in Nauvoo on May 13, 1844, and after their perusal by Joseph Smith, it was decided on May 21, 1844, to send Lyman Wight and Heber C. Kimball to the east as part of Joseph Smith's presidency campaign. Their instructions were to stop off in Washington and inform Hyde of "all things relative to Texas, &c." 71 It appears that "all things relative to Texas" concerned: Lucian Woodworth's mission and resultant partial treaty with the Texas

69 DHC, VI, 373.
70 Orson Hyde to Joseph Smith and Council, dated April 30, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office.
71 DHC, VI, 406.
Congress; the three commissioners who were to carry on further negotiations after the election; the decision to let Wight and Miller take the Black River Company to those regions; and, that all efforts toward settling the saints in the west were to take second place to the presidency campaign of Joseph Smith.

George Miller, who went into the Kentucky region on his mission, described the whole campaign of such a magnitude that "at no period since the organization of the Church had there been half so many elders in the vineyard, in proportion to the number of members in the Church." Sometime in July, 1844, most of the elders in the east received news of the death of their prophet and his brother, Hyrum, in Carthage jail. The news was stunning, and immediately they terminated their assignments and headed for Nauvoo. As the Twelve Apostles gathered in that city, they found the citizens in mourning and, as Wight wrote, "the inhabitants thereof thrown into confusion by aspiring men, who sought the place of this noble man of God [Joseph Smith]." There were those in Nauvoo during the summer of 1844 who thought the proper course for the saints would be to call together the Council of Fifty, organize the Church, and "with the necessary papers, proceed to meet the Texas Congress as before Joseph's death agreed upon." They were promptly informed, however, that

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72 Miller, "Correspondence," p. 21.
73 Wight, "Address," p. 5.
74 Miller, "Correspondence," p. 23; DHC, VII, 213. According to Miller it was the original committee of Miller, Brown and Woodworth who approached Brigham Young and asked permission to complete the unfinished negotiations with the Texas Congress." See "A Mormon Bishop and His Son," p. 53.
Church organization was a matter of the priesthood and not the Council of Fifty, a secular organization. Lyman Wight, who had arrived in Nauvoo on August 6, had also expressed the idea that the Council of Fifty should assume command and on August 7, 1844, preached about leading a company away into the wilderness to carry out the assignment given him before Joseph Smith's death. The Twelve Apostles, recognizing Wight's authority to head such a company, voted on August 12, that he could go to Texas if he so chose. Consequently, Wight began to organize the Black River Company who had arrived in Nauvoo from their lumbering activities in Wisconsin. However, on August 18, Brigham Young, while preaching in Nauvoo, attempted to stabilize the Church by cautioning all those who had a disposition to lead a company away not to do so. Then referring specifically to Wight and Miller, he said that they had the consent of the "Twelve of taking the 'Pine Company' where they pleased, but not another soul has the consent of the Twelve to go with them." Yet, Wight and Miller were informed that if they took a course contrary to the council's suggestion, they would find themselves going to destruction. In response to such advice, Lyman Wight was to reply that he "would not turn" his "hand over to be one of the Twelve; the day was when there was somebody to control" him, "but that day is past." Therefore,

75 DHC, VII, 248. 76 Ibid., 249. 77 Ibid., p. 254.
78 Ibid. That counsel of Brigham Young was also referring to the intentions of James Ewell as already discussed.
79 Ibid., p. 255. See also William Hyde's journal, August 18, 1844, p. 15, located in the Brigham Young University Library.
80 "History of Lyman Wight," located in the Church Historian's Office.
in defiance of the Council of the Twelve, Wight gathered the rest of
the Pine Company and determined to locate somewhere between the head
of Red River, the Little Colorado River and the Cordilleras Mountains,
according to Joseph Smith's counsel to him. 81 They ascended the
Mississippi some four hundred miles to the mouth of the Black River
where camp was made for the winter. Little was heard of from Wight's
company during the winter of 1844 and 1845. David Clayton, who left
Nauvoo with Wight in August, 1844, returned in September and wrote a
letter to Brigham Young stating his reasons for leaving the company. 82
William Clayton, writing to Wilford Woodruff on October 7, 1844, in-
cluded in his letter a portion of David Clayton's comments: He wrote:

Lyman Wight is about 200 miles above Galena. There was
about 40 families went with him but four of the families got
tired and came away at the risk of their lives. If the state-
ments of these men are true Lyman is gone to the devil. He is
drunk every day, and will not suffer the man to labor for their
bread but he says they must live on the Gentiles so that his
company bids fair for being a real band of "Gadianton Robbers." They have already conspired to murder three families of traders
in the neighborhood where they are but was disappointed. 83

By spring, 1845, Wight had sold the mills and lumber in the
Pineries, and gathered some one hundred and fifty people around him.

81 Wight, "Address," p. 6. The specific counsel to Wight was
to go North instead of South. See DHC, VII, 261. According to Mil-
ler, Wight had a conference with Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball and
they advised him to go up the river to Prairie La Crosse at the mouth
of the Black River, which he did. See "A Mormon Bishop and His Son,"
p. 53.

82 DHC, VII, 275.

83 William Clayton to Wilford Woodruff, dated October 7, 1844,
located in the Church Historian's Office. Brigham Young, writing to
Wilford Woodruff said that "Brother Wight we know little of. He went
into the north country." See Brigham Young to Wilford Woodruff, dated
February II, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office.
On March 28, 1845, in four homemade rafts, they set forth down the Mississippi River. The Church leaders at Nauvoo made one last attempt to persuade Wight and his company to give up the idea of journeying in the wilderness. A letter was written by the council and carried to the company by Samuel Bent. The visit of Bent had no effect on Wight and he continued his journey down the Mississippi River three hundred miles. They then sold their boats, purchased teams, and traveling on foot fourteen hundred miles, they arrived in Texas on November 16, 1845, settling near the falls of the Colorado. Brigham Young and the council made no further attempts to dissuade Wight from his mission and allowed him to depart to Texas, without the blessings of the Church. It appears that the council wanted to avoid a direct confrontation with Wight during what was a very critical time in the Church. The feeling was that Wight's activities should not be given publicity since others might want to "follow Lyman Wight if he proceeded West." For this reason "the Council was satisfied that proposed journey [of Wight's] was very unwise and dangerous in the extreme." Therefore the matter of Wight and his company was practically dropped from Church History as the saints made their preparations to travel to the Rocky Mountains, except for a few entries in letters and journals. On August 28, 1845 the council wrote to Addison Pratt in Tahiti that

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85 Brigham Young to Lyman Wight and all the Brethren with him, dated April 17, 1845, located in the Church Historian's Office. See DHC, VII, 400-401; George A. Smith's Journal, April 17, 1845.
87 George A. Smith's Journal, April 18, 1845.
"Lyzan Wight . . . drew off a number who followed him into the wilderness; some of those have returned . . . and the rest are still touring among the western wilds."88 During the October, 1845 conference held in Nauvoo prior to the main exodus, it was agreed to let Wight's case "lie over for the present, until we can learn something of him."89

As the Church moved west from Nauvoo, they occasionally heard of the activities of Wight. Brigham Young wished all to understand that they did not "want to die for the sins of those Lyman Wight and company whom we do not know whether they now profess to belong to us or not, and are entirely beyond our reach or influence."90

Despite Church efforts to persuade him to come to the new Zion in the Rocky Mountains, and take up his position as one of the Twelve, Wight was immovable from his Texas mission. He answered their request with "nobody under the light of the heaven except Joseph Smith or John Smith, the president of the Fifty, could call him from Texas to come to Salt Lake City."91 In consequence of such action, the Twelve excommunicated Lyzan Wight from the Church.92 When he received word of his

88 Council to Addison Pratt, dated August 28, 1845.
89 "General Conference Minutes," Millennial Star VII (January 15, 1846), 18. Again on April 6, 1847, the authorities of the Church were sustained "except L Lyman Wight/ who was passed over for the time being." See Eliza R. Snow's Journal," dated April 6, 1847, located in the Improvement Era, XVIII (August, 1943), 506.
90 Willard Richards to Col. Kane, dated February 15, 1847, located in the Church Historian's Office. For examples of news received of Wight's activities, see, "History of Brigham Young," Ms. December 5, 1846, p. 503; Orson Spencer to Council, located in "History of Brigham Young," Ms December 31, 1846, p. 538.
91 Smith, "Wight Colony," p. 22.
92 Biographical Encyclopaedia, I, 93-96; See also Millennial Star, XI (January 1, 1849), 15; (August 15, 1949), 126; (August 1, 1949), 228.
excommunication, he wrote immediately to Brigham Young, expressing concern over the right of the Church to take such a step:

I have also learned by some private communications that you have disfellowshipped me and the Company with me. We have a great anxiety to know what we are disfellowshipped from. We are truly at a loss to know whether we are disfellowshipped as Citizens under your gubernatorialship, or whether you act in behalf of Brother Joseph, and have disfellowshipped us for not performing the Mission which he gave to us, to his satisfaction, or whether it was because we did not immediately relinquish that mission and go with you to Salt Lake Valley.93

During that same period of time, Wight carried on considerable correspondence with Wilford Woodruff. He explained to Woodruff how he felt about his mission to Texas after more than ten years. He wrote:

The Mission I am now on Br. Wilford I received of the Prophet of God, and it was well known by the Twelve at that time that Joseph was striving very hard to come to this very place with 250,000 men. He therefore requested me to come and establish a Church in this region and such a mission was even talked of while in jail Liberty, Missouri, 1838-1839 where I had the advantage of six months teaching and received many things that are yet unknown to the Church.94

Brigham Young expressed the attitude of the Church towards Texas while referring to Wight and his mission to that country in a speech delivered in Salt Lake in 1857. He stated that Wight "tried to make all the Saints believe that Joseph wanted to take the whole Church there. Long before this, we would have been killed or compelled to leave the country."95

Thus, Lyman Wight and his Texas dream came to naught. Yet,

93Lyman Wight to Brigham Young, dated March 2, 1857, located in the Church Historian's Office.

94Lyman Wight to Wilford Woodruff, dated August 24, 1857, located in the Church Historian's Office.

95Brigham Young, Address delivered in Salt Lake, June 7, 1857, LD, IV, 344.
from Wight's mission and activities in connection with it, it becomes clear that at one time Texas was being considered as a probable site for a Church location. It is difficult to determine just how serious Joseph Smith was about Texas. It appears from all evidence he never intended for the whole Church to settle there; rather for Texas to become one of the stakes in the tent of Zion. For that reason he gave his permission to Lyman Wight to personally lead the Pine Company to that region and to organize a branch of the Church. Wight apparently understood the part Texas was to play in the westward movement of the Church, yet as he said, no one but Joseph Smith himself could rescind the orders he had given. However, the ghost of Texas did not die with Wight, nor was it merely advocated by him. Its other proponent was George Miller.

George Miller and the Texas Mission, 1843-1847

George Miller's introduction to Mormonism came amid the Missouri persecutions of the Church in 1838 and 1839. Seeing the destitute condition of the saints in Missouri while selling sheep, he wrote that he resolved "to seek out some poor Mormon families and establish them as farmers" on his homestead in McDonough County, Illinois. In March, 1839, he met Samuel and Don Carlos Smith, brothers of Joseph, and informed them that all provisions at his farm could be secured without price.96 Sometime later he met Joseph Smith, who preached the gospel to him, and he was baptized by John Taylor.97

By spring, 1840, he had arranged his affairs and was able to gather with the saints, first to Iowa opposite Nauvoo, where he set up

96 Miller, "Correspondence," p. 3. 97 Ibid., p. 5.
a wood yard to supply steamers on the Mississippi River. In September, 1840, he moved into Nauvoo at the request of Joseph Smith, where he arose to positions of prominence in the Church. 98 He was sent on a mission during the winter of 1840-1841 in Iowa and the regions around Nauvoo. While serving in that capacity a revelation was announced by Joseph Smith on January 19, 1841, appointing Miller "to the office of Bishop, \[and\] to organize an association to build the Nauvoo House." 99

Miller's immediate task during the next year was to care for the many emigrants coming in from England, providing employment and food. He described it as the "poor, the blind, the lame, the widow. and the fatherless all looked to me for their daily wants." 100

During 1841 a conference of the building committee was called at Miller's suggestion to deliberate on the best procedure to procure lumber for the Nauvoo House and Temple. 101 The result of their council was the buying of a mill in the Wisconsin Pineries on the Black River. On September 21, 1841, Peter Haws and Alpheus Cutler left Nauvoo with a company of laborers and nine months provisions to enter the business of lumbering. 102 During the winter of 1841 and 1842, Miller was called by Joseph Smith to go to Kentucky, preach, sell property and get stock in the Nauvoo House. He returned the following April, 1842, and found

98Ibid., p. 7.

99Ibid., p. 8. See also DHC, IV, 276, 279. Doctrine and Covenants, 124; 21-24. In March, 1841, Miller was ordained and set apart as Bishop and president of the Nauvoo House Association. Other assignments given to Miller during 1841 were Colonel of the Nauvoo Legion, and a member of the Board of Trustees of the Nauvoo University. See DHC, IV, 373, 293.

100Ibid., p. 9. 101Ibid. 102DHC, IV, 418; Miller, "Correspondence," p. 9.
that the group from the Pineries had also returned to Nauvoo. By October, 1842, the operations at the mills were some three thousand dollars in debt and operations were practically at a standstill.103 Another conference of the building committee was called and it was determined to send George Miller to the Pineries to get the mill out of debt "and make sufficient lumber in sufficient quantities to keep the work progressing."104 They established themselves by December, 1842, and in the spring of 1843 had sent two rafts of lumber to Nauvoo.105

With the mill out of debt and producing lumber in abundance, the Pinery group held a conference in the spring of 1844. The result was a memorial written by Miller and Wight advocating settlement in Texas and designating Miller as bearer to the Church. Arriving in Nauvoo Miller presented the memorial to Joseph Smith who organized a special council including Miller to take into consideration the memorial of the Pinery group. Miller was instructed to return to the Pinery with Lyman Wight, and be in Nauvoo by the time Lucian Woodworth returned from his special Texas mission.107 Miller and Wight arrived in Nauvoo on May 1, 1844, where Miller was appointed as one of the three commissioners to meet with the Texas Congress about land for the Church.108 The commissioners never left, due to Joseph Smith's proposed candidacy for the office of United States president. Instead, Miller was sent to Kentucky on May 6, 1844 to advocate the candidacy of Joseph Smith.109

103Miller, "Correspondence," pp. 9-10. 104Ibid., p. 10.
105Ibid., p. 14; DHC, V, 386.
106"A Mormon Bishop and His Son," pp. 48-49; DHC, VI, 261.
During July, 1844, he learned of the death of Joseph Smith and returned immediately to Nauvoo. There he was approached by Lyman Wight who solicited him to take his place and locate the Black River Company in Texas, as appointed by Joseph Smith. Miller wrote that he informed Wight "there was a way to do all things right, and we would get Woodworth and Brown, and get the authorities together, and clothe ourselves with the necessary papers and proceed to meet the Texas Congress as before Joseph's death agreed upon. Accordingly, on July 29, 1844, Miller and Woodworth approached John Taylor, one of the Twelve, and the rest of the council to "call together the Council of Fifty and organize the Church." They later approached Brigham Young, upon his arrival in Nauvoo, where, according to Miller, he refused to listen to such propositions, indicating he had little faith in it and would not finance such an undertaking. Miller described his feelings as "all hopes" being "cut off of establishing a dominion of the kingdom at a time when there seemed to be a crisis, and I verily believed that all we had concocted in council might so easily be accomplished. I was really cast down and dejected." It becomes apparent that from that time forth, Miller lost all confidence in Brigham Young, and Brigham Young began to sense the waywardness of Miller as far as the Church was concerned.

110 "A Mormon Bishop and His Son," p. 53.

111 DHC, VII, 213. They were told by Taylor that the Council of Fifty was not a Church organization and therefore could not effect a change in Church policy.


113 Ibid.
Miller and Wight were assured on August 12, 1844, by the council that they could go to Texas if they so wished. 114 Yet, if they took a course contrary to the counsel of the Church, they would come to destruction. 115 The result was that Lyman Wight and James Emmett left Nauvoo in defiance of the authority of the Twelve Apostles, and Miller remained, still believing that all could be accomplished that he desired. There is no mention in Church history of any activities of Miller during the remainder of 1844.

On January 28, 1845, a letter was received by Miller from a Wm. P. Richards suggesting to the council through Miller that the saints petition "Congress for a grant of land twenty-four miles square in the pineries or other uninhabited portions of public domain to be set apart as a reserve for the saints." 116 Whether this letter was the impetus or if it were already in the minds of the leaders can not be ascertained; yet sometime in March, John Taylor wrote such a petition to be sent to the governors of all the states and the President of the United States, asking for protection, and asylum for the Church. 117 Among those signing their names to those documents was George Miller. Miller's participation in the "Great Western Measure," as the above documents were termed, went further than merely signing his name. Some time during the spring of 1845, Miller spoke in Nauvoo about the above-mentioned letters and the petition of the western states then before Congress to colonize the Latter-day Saints somewhere in the west.

114 DHC, VII, 249. 115 Ibid., 255.
116 "History of Brigham Young," Ms. January 28, 1845, p. 15; See also DHC, VII, 367-368.
117 Roberts, CHC, II, 522-523. See also DHC, VII, 402-404.
Concerning that area which the saints would like to settle at that time, Miller said:

Anyone of the following portions of territory might be considered by this people as eligible. First west of the State of Missouri a territory of 200 miles square. Second, from the mouth of Badaxe River, bounded by the Mississippi West, extending north to the mouth of Chippewa River, thence East 80 miles thence South 80 miles, and West to the beginning in the Territory of Wisconsin. Third, a similar portion of Territory lying in the Western part of Texas, from the mouth of the Colorado River on the Gulf of Mexico, extending West and North to the extreme limits of Texas. Fourth, a similar portion of Territory in Oregon bounded by the Pacific Ocean on the West and Oregon (or Colombia) River on the North.118

Thus Miller was still actively engaged in his desire to help locate the saints in the West. Texas still loomed as a possibility in his mind as a settlement for the Church.

In the April, 1845 conference, Miller was sustained by the general membership of the Church in his assignment as Bishop and Trustee-in-Trust of the Church.119 Throughout the winter of 1845 and 1846, as the saints were making preparations to leave Nauvoo, Miller and his family were active in the temple work, and with the first group of saints he and his wife received their temple endowments in the Nauvoo Temple on December 10, 1845.120 During that period of time, Miller described himself as having frequent "sparrings" with Brigham Young respecting "the legitimate authority to lead the Church."121 He said he felt that the leadership of the Twelve Apostles was nothing but an "usurpation of authority," and that no quorum of the Church could

118 Remarks, George Miller, n. d., located in Church Historian's Office. A close examination of the full text of Miller's remarks reveals it to be a speech delivered sometime after January 28, 1845, and before sending of the petitions to the governors on April 24, 1845.

119 DHC, VII, 393. 120 Ibid., 460. 121 Miller, "Correspondence," p. 30.
rightfully lead the Church without the Prophet Joseph Smith at its head. Such feelings were eventually to lead to a literal confrontation between Miller and Young during the exodus, regarding the destination of the Church, with Miller separating himself from the main body.

Throughout the period of the exodus from Nauvoo, Miller continued to chafe under the leadership of Brigham Young. In an effort to separate himself from Brigham Young's "usurpation of authority," Miller gathered a number of wagons together and moved ahead of the main camp. Finally in March, 1847, Miller felt it necessary to state his opinion about the intended destination of the Church. On March 17, 1847, he addressed a letter to Brigham Young and the Twelve. He wrote that the intended location in the Great Basin would not prove to be fruitful for the saints. As a result of that letter, on April 2, 1847, Miller was summoned into council to present his views personally on the destination of the Church. There he came out in open opposition to the Twelve and declared that it was his counsel that the saints should move to Texas, to the country between the Neches and the Rio Grande Rivers. Willard Richards recorded in his journal the valuable minutes of that meeting.

He reported:

8 p.m. Pres Young, Richards, Benson, Kimball, Woodruff, Smith, & g. Miller, N. K. Whitney, O. Pratt, Levi Richards,

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122 Ibid. It was Miller's opinion that the son of Joseph Smith should be sustained as president of the Church instead of Brigham Young. Ibid., p. 20. It appears that Miller was not present in one of those important council meetings in the spring of 1844, where Joseph Smith laid the leadership of the Church on the shoulders of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. See Samuel W. Richards to Franklin Richards, dated August 23, 1844, located in the Church Historian's Office.

123 George Miller to President and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, dated March 17, 1847, located in the Church Historian's Office.
T. B. H. Stout. At 1/4 to 9 g. Miller then talked, if we go & find a location in the great basin it will take a number of years to sustain the saints. We would have to locate on the Mexican or U. S. Territories, & we should have to take part in the war, one side of the other. Here might be a practicability of sending a Minister to Mexico & negotiate in behalf of the Church for a portion of her territory & show them that we were driven from the U. S. G. M. has no doubt that they would cede to us a portion of Territory near the Neuces. Then send ministers to England & France & Open treaties with them. it haunts me like a $7 the thoughts of this people, the Country I speak of is the East of the Neuces & between the Rio Grande.

O. Pratt. If we who are not in Winter Quarters were in the Great Basin, Mexico could not carry on a War with us.

B. Young. When this Camp is out of this place, some more will come, than are now here. We shall be rolling into the Great Basin all the time & we can secure ourselves in a very short time ag.st the U. S.

G. N. You will have grass to sustain yourselves in 15 days. 124

During the general conference held at Winter Quarters on April 6, 1847, George Miller was no longer sustained as one of the general authorities of the Church. 125 On that occasion Norton Jacob recorded that "Brother George has the spirit of apostasy and will soon break off to the south and lead away many uneasy spirits with him." 126 In his own journal Miller wrote that from that time forth he was determined to no longer go with the Church. Rather, he set to seeking out a place where he could support his family and remain until he could find the "true Shepherd of God's flock" who would lead the Church. 127 Learning that his son was in Texas with Lyman Wight, he set out on May 1, 1847 with


125 Norton Jacob's journal, April 6, 1847, p. 29, located in the Brigham Young University Library. See also "Eliza R. Snow's journal," p. 506.

126 Ibid.

127 "A Mormon Bishop and His Son," p. 28.
James Emmett and six wagons of his original company. He joined up with Lyman Wight and remained in partnership with him until December, 1848, when it was reported that he had broken away from Wight's company. The last word was that Miller had gathered his followers around him and was headed toward Wisconsin to join up with James J. Strang, another of the aspiring Mormon prophets who refused to accept Brigham Young's leadership. There is no record of Miller's later movements and his death.

Miller's activities in the Church, particularly in regard to the western movement of the Church, bear out some significant facts. Like Wight and Emmett, his activities show that prior to the death of Joseph Smith there was an earnest movement afoot to effect an exodus from Nauvoo. His persistence to remain ahead of the main group resulted in Joseph Holbrook and others exploring the route as far west as Fort Laramie, providing a sketch of the road and general information needed once the crossing of the mountains was underway. Correspondence and council between him and Church leaders reveals that by April 2, 1847, the Great Basin was the destination of the Church; not Texas, or the Pacific Coast.

128 Miller, "Correspondence," pp. 37-38. See also Little, Kirtland to Salt Lake, pp. 57-59.
129 Roberts, CHC, III, 159. See also Hansen, Quest for Empire, p. 96; Miller, "Correspondence," p. 38.
Chapter 9

CONCLUSIONS

As stated in the introduction of this work, a study of the Mormon knowledge of the West prior to February, 1846, has never been fully undertaken. The purpose of this study was to bring to light all available data pertaining to Mormon knowledge of the West prior to that date. As the result of that study, the following conclusions are reached.

It is clearly evident that the American West, prior to 1800, was a relatively obscure and unknown place on the maps and in the minds of Americans. Yet, beginning with the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the West gradually became known to the American public over the next half century. By 1845, several major governmental expeditions had explored that region, both by land and sea, publishing detailed reports and printing maps of their explorations. As evidenced in chapters one, two, and three, the maps, published works, histories, newspapers, periodicals, and governmental reports on the West, by 1845 were extensive. Armed with the latest cartographic achievements and overland guides that were available, missionaries, explorers and settlers surged upon the new land beyond the Mississippi.

From the beginning of Mormon history, the spirit of the gathering and the desire to be with the saints, gave impetus to the Mormon Westward Movement. The members moved from New York to Kirtland,
Ohio, then on to Missouri, in search of Zion. With the increased concept that Zion was where they dwelt in righteousness, Nauvoo became the next settlement. Then, in the spring of 1844, after the announcement by Joseph Smith that the whole land of America was Zion, some saints concluded that Nauvoo would also be abandoned so members could flee to another Zion.

As evidenced by early Mormon journals and newspapers, shortly after the organization of the Church, the saints were studying the West. Throughout the 1830's and early 1840's, the West, more specifically the Rocky Mountains, was mentioned as a future home for the saints. Early Church members recorded that Joseph Smith planned and mapped such a movement, prior to his death.

As early as 1842, Joseph Smith had prophesied that the saints would become a mighty people in the Rocky Mountains. His premature death in June, 1844, prevented him from witnessing a fulfillment of that dream. Yet, he had laid an important foundation. He had organized an exploring company and had created a special Council of Fifty which became an eventual force in effecting the exodus in 1846. Meanwhile, the saints had sought assistance from the nation's leaders relative to aid for a western removal and learned that such aid was not then available. At the same time, they gained valuable information regarding Oregon, California, and Texas. A reliable map had been acquired, the knowledge of the Western Mission had been carried to Church membership by "lechioneering missionaries," and prior to Joseph Smith's death, he had designated the Great Basin as a site for future settlement.

The Mormons made an intensified study of the West from 1844-1846 to determine, from the available maps and published works, the
best sites for settlement. The early Mormon newspapers, *Times and Seasons*, *Nauvoo Neighbor*, and *Millennial Star*, contained numerous excerpts on western travel. By December, 1845 they had become familiar with three important governmental expeditions to the West, namely Fremont's, Wilkes' and Bonneville's. By December, 1845, they were studying in detail the reports of Fremont and Lansford W. Hastings. The journals and letters of Church members and leaders were used to show that, while preparations to go West were being effected during the fall and winter of 1845, they had not definitely decided on a precise spot for the location of the headquarters of the Church. It becomes clear, however, from their writings that they anticipated establishing settlements in various parts of the West, including Vancouver's Island, San Francisco Bay, and the Gulf of Monterey. There is reason to believe that by December, 1845 the interior basin of North America, the Great Basin, was being studied extensively by the Church leaders as an excellent site for the main location.

With the knowledge of possible government interference in the exodus, the saints were forced to cross the Mississippi earlier than they had expected. The tentative plan, as they began that initial movement west, was to send an advance pioneer company to reach the site beyond the mountains, plant spring crops, and return to aid the others in moving. As they left Nauvoo, their destination was definitely the Great Basin and not the Pacific Coast.

There were those who attempted to lead groups away from the Church into the West, prior to the main exodus, without the sanction of the Church. They all felt they had a special commission from Joseph Smith to undertake their expeditions, which thereby evidenced that the
Mormon prophet had definitely planned a westward movement prior to his death. Despite the efforts of those three individuals to lead saints west, James Emmett into the wilderness, Lyman Wight to Texas, and George Miller to Texas, Brigham Young and other leaders had another destination in mind for the Church, namely the Great Basin, as projected by Joseph Smith.

In conclusion, the Mormons had an extensive knowledge of the West prior to their exodus from Nauvoo: they relied heavily on that knowledge to study possible sites for settlement prior to their departure.

The Mormons availed themselves of every opportunity they could to learn about the West. It was continually on the minds of Joseph Smith and other Church members before the expulsion from Nauvoo. Even after the death of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young continued to point "Israel's needle" toward the West. The Mormons finally believed that God was directing and guiding the plans for the exodus. Yet, despite that direction, they continued to study and gain all knowledge available. That fact is fundamental to Mormonism and was clearly brought out as the Mormons made preparations to leave Nauvoo. It becomes particularly significant as they were traveling in the wilderness of the West. They believed that only after a thorough search and study had been made would God lend His hand in making a decision, either to reject or confirm that which had been decided. It becomes clear from this work, that Brigham Young understood that principle, and followed it closely, as he prepared the Church to cross the Mississippi in February, 1846. Even as the exodus was in progress, Brigham Young continued to study and learn about the West. Frequently, after he was
asked about the destination of the Church, President Young answered that when the spot was reached, it would be made known to him by God; and Mormons believe that Brigham Young was indeed directed to that spot in the Rocky Mountains, as projected by Joseph Smith.
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TEXAS
AND THE COUNTRY ADJACENT.
Composed in the office of Topographical Engineers, from
an actual survey
FOR THE STATE DEPARTMENT.
Under the direction of Lieutenant J. H. Woolf, U. S. N.
War Department
1844.
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AND ENDING AT THE MOUTH OF THE WALLAH WALLAH IN THE COLUMBIA
IN VII SECTIONS
SECTION I
From the field notes and journal of Capt. J.C. Frémont,
and from sketch and notes made on the ground by the surveyor Charles Primm.
Drawn by Charles Primm, 1849.
By order of the Congress of the United States.
SCALE - 10 MILES TO THE INCH.

REMARKS.
1. The figures on the road indicate the distance in miles from Newport Landing.
2. Squares and stars mark the position of events and milestones, but it will be noticed that there are no names of places.
3. Green is water and blue is land on the course of the river and creeks.
4. Blue indicates deep water, with no indication of shallows or sandbars.

No thermometer observations.

Reproduced 1909, The Institute of Historical Topography.
TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP
OF THE
ROAD FROM MISSOURI TO OREGON
COMMENCING AT THE NORTH OF THE KANSAS IN THE MISSOURI RIVER
AND ENDING AT THE SOUTH OF THE WALLA WALLA IN THE COLUMBIA

In VII Sections

SECTION VII

From the field notes and journal of Capt. J.A. Parment.
and from sketches and maps made on the ground by the surveyor Charles Green.

Scales, 1 mile to the inch.

N.B. The accuracy of the map is not intended to be shown by the scale only.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

Reserved 1979, The Institute of Historical Cartography.
APPENDIX X

LETTER, BRIGHAM YOUNG AND COUNCIL TO THE GOVERNOR
OF RHODE ISLAND, APRIL 25, 1845
Oklahoma City,

[Handwritten text continues]
from the sheriff of Hancock County, and gave him a warrant to take in
the house of population, and all others who were incited by the Grand Jury of Hancock
County, for the murder of Lorenzo Joseph Riggs, Smith, and several others.

To restrain the clairvoyant of these three deeds, the State has presented all those
charges, or, by which, if we might have been acting, or former causes, against
appealing. If we dare come over and place them under the power of law or otherwise, (for we have power to prevent it otherwise),
and if we continue that as a single, or on the contrary, do not, or without crime, we may still be here to
know the contrary, and the other by cities in Missouri, have the same

Have you, or any of us, have fought and shed for our country, and we love her
constitution dearly.

On the name of Honesty love, and by picture of patriotism none of country
and friendship, we ask your friendly disposition in our favor.

But if we proceed to ask you to remove by verse, section of your
State under the same, you shall, as we shall explain, where we now enjoy our
right of conscience and religious freedom?

Or, are you, in a similar manner, to that body, when we have, from our
agreement as agents, with your united acts of oppression and sup-
pression, as this people have continued to receive from the State of Missouri
and Illinois?

Or, are you, from so long an influence, by your official rank?
Dissuade you enquiring your pious concerning what become the Great Western Measure of
covering the Pacific. Bay. And if, in Capacity, the southwestern Territory a poor
inhabitants from the prey, when the hand of oppression over us, and cause your
people, principles, and afflicts to many sufferer feeling?

And your deep, loving, profound and entitle to you, with deep familiarity,
preparing impudence with you as a father, a genius, a just and determining by the
constitution of American Believers by the blood of our fathers, who have fought
for the preservation of this republics by the blood of the previous patriots has
been shed in one presents, by the supremacy of the prince and of being by your
preservation father and mother, brothers and pious, princes and oblations, by the
chance of immediate destruction from first combining new-loving,
from enmity one, and by every pious action, that binds such to power and
purposefully, honorable, and that too, for any or know, for the last time,
that you press and your immediate awe to quell the violence of mob-
conscious and your influence is establish to me, as a father, in our
sine and religious right, as many are, or in some part of the United
States, and some places remote, that form, and prepare, prepare, colonies in peace,
and polite, as all circumstances with permit.

The piously, hope that your future funeral measure towards our
priest be dictated by the last sentirg, thatawa in the law of humanity,
and the blessings of a grateful people, and of many ready to perish that
come upon your

With much respect,

[Signature]

[Stamp]
APPENDIX Y

LETTER, BRIGHAM YOUNG AND COUNCIL TO THOMAS GREGG,

SEPTEMBER 23, 1845
In reply to your letter of the 9th Inst.

"To Brigham Young, or other leader of the Mormon Church." relative to a communication from certain individuals in this place to "certain citizens a few days since" viz. "six millions & others" we have only to say, that no notice was taken of the proposition by the mob party; according to the specifications herein contained, and the communication or propositions was disregarded without any notice being given to any person. We are desirous of making your acquaintance with all possible speed, but as you are desirous of making your acquaintance with the mob party, because they are, you will take the advice from the mob party, because, as we read, they have given notice to their agents not to continue to back their words by correspondent actions; but to agree being "impressed with the conviction that if it should become known that this was your intention [to remove in the driving]" there are many of influence enough in this town the discrediting sentiments, who convinced with just a few steps in all wisdom, we will have only a communication.

"To all from John O. Millard, Jesse Price, Joseph P. Center, and A. O. P. Smith, Committee of the Citizens of Macomb, Ill."

Macomb, Ill., Nov. 22, 1837.

Whereas a committee of the citizens of the city of Macomb, in a circular correspondence, have this day been convened upon by a delegation of the citizens of Macomb, is to meet citizens John O. Millard, Jesse Price, Joseph P. Center, and A. O. P. Smith, answer...

Johns, said delegation has presented to us the demand of a "Meeting of the citizens of the town of Macomb held at the Court-House"
on Saturday the 9th of July 1842, signed by their President,
R. Hurlbut, and Charles Howard & Isaac Goodwin, Esqs.,

Whereas the committee from Macomb
have expressed a wish to make complaints to collect all
the information possible concerning the recent outbreaks
in Monroe County, 

Whereas said committee have expressed a wish
to ascertain of the several day-Suits now on
proceedings to make to the Magistrates of Monroe Co-
Surrounding Countries, by which an understanding
may be best had on the subject, so that the parties may
know the extent of damage without further trouble,
or molestation. And

Whereas we are advised by the letters of the
Magistrates of Monroe on the 21st inst, that a public
Meeting of the Magistrates of Monroe would be held
immediately—on—rural—attending
P.O. to receive the report of
the committee from Macomb, and such further
communications, that no, as a Judge, may have to
make to said meeting,

Therefore, We have appointed A. B. Butler
Esq., Daniel R. Wells Esq., & A. R. Wells Esq., the heads
of this, as one Committee, to attend such Congress
with said Meeting at Macomb, at the time before
mentioned, and advice, condition, order of said
Committee

We are willing to sell our property in this Co-
united County, at a fair price, and remove from said
County, as soon as payments are received, and the
necessary preparations are made for our departure.

We propose to receive in payment for our
property, land, by Gould, Graham, Gould, and
about one-fourth of the county, and

Good exceptions. Wherein—hence, a few good town, in

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CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PLEASE CREDIT
at a fair price, Delhi grain on payment in full, 
Means also determined to aid by every means 
Means in case pressing, the operation of the laws for 
the preservation of the peace, while we live, and 
will coöperate with all good citizens, for the 
(Maintenance of the laws), and all if the people wish 
To purchase our property, and have it leave the 
County, we want all Men to stop their agricultural 
operations, and give us time to do new business 
successfully, for we have before the law, 
We and also prepared to receive propositions 
from the Citizens if they wish to rent it, to leave 
sus quiet possession of the County. I further warn 
with new communications, to us, to be made in 
Champaign County, 1839,
APPENDIX Z

LETTER, BRIGHAM YOUNG AND COUNCIL TO JOHN HARDIN, et al.,

OCTOBER 1, 1845
Oakville Oct 12, 1845


Before, in reply, or reply,
to your letter of this date, requesting us "to submit the facts and intentions stated to you." in writing, we must direct that you may lay them before the governor and people of the State; we would refer you to our communication of the 20th of the foregoing committee & a copy of which is herewith enclosed.

In addition to this we would say that we have commenced making arrangements to remove from this county previous to the recent disturbances.

That the crops have been neglected and given to the enemy for the want of means, and we are now organizing of the same number each, preparatory to a removal.

That some thousand families, including the Indians, the Papago, Coahuilte, and various other authorities of the church, are fully determined to remove in the spring, independent of the contingency of selling our property, and that this company will consist from five to six thousand souls;

That the church, as a body, desires to remove with us, and if it can be effected so as to raise the necessary means.
That the organization of the church we represent is such, and there never can exist but one head or preserving, at any one time, and all good members wish to be with the organization; and all are determined to remove to some distant place where we shall meet in prayer or be instructed by you, so soon as time and means will permit.

That we have some hundreds of farms, and some 200 or more houses for sale in this city and county, and we request all good citizens to assist in the disposal of our property.

That we do not expect to find purchasers for our simply就想 public buildings, but we are willing to rent them to a respectable community who may inhabit the city.

That we wish it distinctly understood that although we may not find purchasers for our property, we will not sacrifice our grove at any or suffer it illegally to be extricate from us.

That we are not intend to do any mischief this fact, and should we ever sell, we shall not put in any more crop of any description.

That as soon as practicable we will appoint committees for this city, La Haie, Madison, Dear Bush, and all necessary places in the county, to give information to purchasers.
That if all these testimonies are not sufficient to satisfy any people, that we are in earnest, we were some give them a sign that cannot be mistaken, we will have them!

In behalf of the Council
Respectfully yours,

[Signature]

William Richards, Clerk.

P.S. The Council is waiting your reply.

ORIGINEAL IN
CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PLEASE CREDIT
APPENDIX AA

A SUMMARY OF PUBLISHED MAPS BEFORE 1846
**APPENDIX AA**

*A Summary of Published Maps Before 1846*

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<th>Title of Map</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year Published</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Humboldt's Map of New Spain</td>
<td>Alexander von Humboldt (Miera)</td>
<td>1810 (1776)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A New and Elegant General Atlas comprising the New Discoveries to the Present Time (4)</td>
<td>Samuel Lewis and Aaron Arrowsmith</td>
<td>1804</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Southwestern United States</td>
<td>Zebulon M. Pike</td>
<td>1811</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Northwestern United States</td>
<td>Lewis and Clark</td>
<td>1814</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Central United States</td>
<td>Stephen H. Long</td>
<td>1819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Map of Mexico, Louisiana, and the Mississippi Territory</td>
<td>John Robinson</td>
<td>1819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Map of North America</td>
<td>Henry Tanner</td>
<td>1822</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Jedediah Smith's Routes in the West</td>
<td>Jedediah Smith (Karl I. Wheat)</td>
<td>1831 (1851)</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. British North America</td>
<td>Aaron Arrowsmith</td>
<td>1843</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Map of North America</td>
<td>Henry Tanner</td>
<td>1836</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Hunt's and Stuart's Route to the Pacific</td>
<td>Washington Irving (John Jacob Astor)</td>
<td>1836</td>
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<td>13. The Great Basin and the Great Salt Lake (2)</td>
<td>Washington Irving (Bonneville)</td>
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<td>14. Map of United States Territory West of the Rocky Mountains</td>
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<td>1838</td>
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<td>15. Map of the United States</td>
<td>David H. Burr</td>
<td>1839</td>
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<td>16. Atlas</td>
<td>Sidney Morse and Samuel Brease</td>
<td>1842</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Texas and the Country Adjacent</td>
<td>W. H. Emory</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>A Sketch of the Columbia River and Adjacent Country</td>
<td>Daniel Lee and J. H. Frost</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>A Map of the Oregon Territory</td>
<td>Samuel Parker</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Western and Middle Portion of North America</td>
<td>Robert Greenhow</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Indian Territory of North Texas and New Mexico showing the Great Western Prairies</td>
<td>Josiah Gregg</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Map of a Summer Campaign to the Rocky Mountains</td>
<td>Stephen Kearney</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Map of California</td>
<td>Thomas J. Farnham</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Maps of Oregon and California (2)</td>
<td>Charles Wilkes</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Map of an Exploring Expedition</td>
<td>John Fremont</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>A New Map of Texas, Oregon, and California, with Regions Adjoining</td>
<td>Augustus Mitchell</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Topographical Map of the Road from Missouri to Oregon (7)</td>
<td>Charles Preuss</td>
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1. Atlas
APPENDIX BB

SUMMARY LIST OF BOOKS PUBLISHED BEFORE 1846
APPENDIX BB

A Summary of Printed Works before 1846

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Place of Publication</th>
<th>Date of Publication</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain</td>
<td>Alexander von Humboldt</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1810</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Exploratory Travels Through the Western Territories of North America</td>
<td>Zebulon M. Pike</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>1811</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark</td>
<td>Lewis and Clark</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>1814</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains</td>
<td>Edwin James (Stephen H. Long)</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Adventurers on the Columbia River</td>
<td>Ross Cox</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Western States in the Mississippi Valley</td>
<td>Timothy Flint</td>
<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td>1829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. A Geographical Sketch of that Part of North America called Oregon</td>
<td>Hall J. Kelley</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>1830</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. A General Circular</td>
<td>Hall J. Kelley</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Oregon, or a Short History of a Long Journey from the Atlantic Ocean to the Region of the Pacific by Land</td>
<td>John B. Wyeth</td>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>1833</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. The Travels and Researches of Alexander von Humboldt</td>
<td>W. MacGillivary</td>
<td>New York</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes within the United States East of the Rocky Mountains and in the British and Russian possessions of North America</td>
<td>Albert Gallatin</td>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>1836</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Astoria</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>California---A History of Upper and Lower California</td>
<td>Alexander Forbes</td>
<td>London</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains</td>
<td>John K. Townsend</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Adventures of Zenas Leonard--Fur Trader and Trapper</td>
<td>Zenas Leonard</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Sketch of the Oregon Territory or Emigrants' Guide</td>
<td>Phillip L. Edwards</td>
<td>Liberty, Mo.</td>
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<td>&quot;Adventures of Warren A. Ferris,&quot; contained in the Western Literary Magazine</td>
<td>Warren A. Ferris</td>
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<td>Pierre J. DeSmet</td>
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<td>Narrative of a Tour from the State of Indiana to the Oregon Territory in the year 1841-2</td>
<td>Joseph Williams</td>
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<td>Travels in the Great Western Prairies</td>
<td>Thomas J. Farnham</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Ten Years in Oregon</td>
<td>Daniel Lee and J. H. Frost</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Journal of an Exploring Tour beyond the Rocky Mountains</td>
<td>Samuel Parker</td>
<td>New York</td>
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<td>Travels in California</td>
<td>Thomas J. Barnham</td>
<td>New York</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the year</td>
<td>John C. Fremont</td>
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<td>1842, to Oregon and North California in the years 1843-44</td>
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<td>Exploring Expedition of Captain Charles Wilkes in the Years 1839, 40,</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>The History of Oregon</td>
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<td>The Shively Guide--Route and Distance to Oregon and California with</td>
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<td>a description of Water places, Crossings, and Dangerous Indians</td>
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<td>Route Across the Rocky Mountains with a Description of Oregon and Cali-</td>
<td>Overton Johnson and W.</td>
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<td>H. W. Winters</td>
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<td>H. L. W. Leonard</td>
<td>Cleveland</td>
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APPENDIX CC

LETTER, ORSON HYDE TO THE ILLINOIS STATE REGISTER,

FEBRUARY 27, 1846
For the Register.

WHERE WILL THE MORMONS GO, AND WHAT DO THEY INTEND TO DO.

As the above are questions that are frequently asked at the present time, by the curious, the fearful, and the guilty, I have thought proper to communicate some matters for public consideration through the Register, touching the above interrogatories.

In the first place, we have been compelled, by fire and sword, to agree to leave the country so soon as we can sell to get something to go with. Some have already sold and others will sell the first good opportunity. These will all all leave so soon as grass shall grow in the spring, and the rest will continue to go so fast as they can sell to get means to go with, and I think that our most bitter enemies cannot ask more.

We have talked of Oregon, of California, and of Vancouver's island as places of our destination and future residence. But we have not determined upon any one of these. The most of us are Americans by birth, by education, and consequently by choice. Our fathers fought in the revolution—they bled for that liberty which we claim, and have a constitutional right to enjoy. Equal rights we ask and nothing more. With these we are at our country's service in peace or in war. Without these we are indifferent over what country the American Eagle spreads her golden wings. We shall consider ourselves strangers and pilgrims on the earth, without even an inn to rest our weary bodies, on a toilsome journey from the confines of worldly
dominions to our celestial house.

If our government will arrest and faithfully punish those who have murdered our men, burned our dwellings, barns and grain, with the same severity and exactness that they would punish us provided we had done the same things against them, I would then be willing to give them my head for a football, if any Mormon has committed any serious offence, and is not cheerfully given up for trial. But as it is their bull that has gored our ox, the matter requires an "if."—Our juries that have been empanelled in the usual way, have been dismissed, and others, known to favor mobocracy if directed against the Mormons, have been placed in their stead, and they have cleared those who were charged with murder and were no doubt guilty; and have really done what they only feared the Mormons would do.

Our conditions upon which we agreed to leave our present location was, that no more vexatious law suits be instituted against us. Upon the conclusion of this arrangement, as we supposed, our ploughing and sowing ceased—no more improvements upon farms—no new buildings commenced. Our public schools, which until then, were all suspended; and everybody went to work making wagons and gathering crops, and doing all in our power to get ready to fulfill our agreement in good faith. But what do we now see? A set of notoriously reputed "black legs" that had to leave our city because they were unable to get along with their business here and now prompted by revenge which has been previously threatened, they go and swear [sic] against some of our principals [sic] men and get them indicated by the grand jury, to vex them in the time of their greatest hurry to get away. The Lord reward them according to their works, and make them reap the fruits of their
own doings. We would like to have congress give us a territory of land somewhere in a healthy country where there is plenty of wood and water; we are not particular where it is, if it is not too cold. We care not to go to California, to Oregon, or to Vancouver's Island. But if we can have a good country to settle, upon some liberal terms that we can comply with, and be protected in our just rights, we have no desire to become aliens from our country and government, but to sustain it with a hearty good will. The United States is our country, and we would prefer to make it our home; but it is not very encouraging to combat the hardships and privations of a new country—"subdue it, and bring it into a fine state of cultivation, and just as we get ready to enjoy the fruits of our labors, be forced away from it, and get little or nothing for it. This we have done many times. We are willing to make our move for the sake of a peaceful home. May our next move after this be to that country where "the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest." We wish now to get a permanent location, so that we may make ourselves a home again, and establish schools for the education of our children, a thing which we have ever sought and ever shall until we can accomplish this most desired object.

Should we go out and settle a new place that is now within the territories of the U. States, or that may hereafter be annexed to them, we should expect Congress, at least, to be as liberal with any other people in dominions or grants of lands.

I am, sir, very respectfully what is called

A MORKON.
APPENDIX DD

PAULINA E. PHELPS LYMAN AFFIDAVIT
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
State of Utah
County of Salt Lake

Paulina A. Lyman, being first duly
sworn, says, I am the daughter of Harris and Laura Clark
Phelps, and was born in Warrensville, Lawrence County, Illinois,
on the 5th of March, 1837. My present place of residence is
Provo, Utah County, Utah.

My father became a member of the Church of Jesus Christ
of Latter-day Saints in 1851, and moved, with his family, to
Jackson County, Missouri, in 1852. I was a little girl when
the Prophet Joseph came to Jackson County, and distinctly
remember attending a meeting at the house of James Wight, at
which he was present. At this meeting the Prophet Joseph
blessed the children who were present, and I was one of them.
In blessing me he said that I should live to go to the Rocky
Mountains. I did not know at the time what the term Rocky
Mountains meant, but I supposed it to be something connected
with the Indians. This frightened me for the reason that I
dreaded the very sight of an Indian, and it was this circum-
stance that impressed this prediction made in my blessing.
upon my mind, I have always retained this circumstance in
my memory, and now remember it as though it happened yesterday.

Paulina A. Lyman

Said oath to me to before me, this 31st day of July, 1902

James F. Lyman
Notary Public

[Signature]

Notary Public

My Commission Expires,
Aug. 23, 1912.
APPENDIX EE

ANSON CALL DOCUMENTS
APPENDIX FF

OLIVER OLNEY LETTERS
City of New York Oct. 6th 1691

After several days absence I came
To the City of New York returned
And found things as usual in this City
And the President and Great Seal of this City
Are in the hands of this man and there are
Many prisoners in jail what do
To the story of a cat that got lost
In a place of consequence and was found
Dead and gone
To be some chance to get if the place
Be of the city of New York I correspond to the cat
To be a great mercifull man
I am not so sure what is said amongst the brethren of the Indies,
They are sometin to say that all in this
That is said against the S D Indies
That they have most of their wisdom
To come on every thing and not
Let what come in contact with them
They speak of their wisdom
By dawning the authority of the land
That have no such wisdom in all their states
They say one house in man of God at the house
That we are not dependant on
The wisdom of man only thereby
They prove in every thing to self make
That do not with them agree
Moreover by the governor of Florida
And Mississipi is off for Georgia and SDA
By journey the neibour and around
To be paid by a noted General law
At the C G to Decords
The others in several The business to get
On to huffle every other one
That which it will not
They of lether buffle get readey to go west
of the moun the Mame
for some few to get ready and beif
they are first a firming left next
Mame they own some on moun
without being molested by the laws of the land
May by open to others
If absent I know no answer
for we must Kan are Territory
and establish work of time
on the moun of the land
I am concerned on the growth of the great number of liberals and democrats who are actively engaged in planning to further their cause on the face of the earth. They come to the meeting in great numbers, and I am told that they desire to go. What caused the increase of the business men? They cannot afford to go.

I will present these little and liberal measures to the general public and go about the world, and tell all who listen that these in their sight. They will not feel a sensation. I am determined to do as few others can in order to make them become of greater worth. I wish to unite with the liberals of the lower classes. Let us come to the House of God. Give him a meeting and help these men in places of ordination for the better. What shall I do to meet these come to concert? The Lord over me the great men and some. They are with an unevenly by the smallest one. And when in the service of the Lord, I must now my university. The sale of B. H. King's July 28th.

A day draws many mourning and dying. I wish to send in the blood from the galleys.
APPENDIX GG

PROCLAMATION TO LEVI WILLIAMS
PROCLAMATION!

TO COL. LEVI WILLIAMS,

And the mob party, of whom he is the supposed leader, who have been and are still engaged in burning the homes and property of the peaceable citizens of Hancock county: We the undersigned, a committee of the citizens of the city of Nauvoo, have selected a committee of five, viz: Peter Haws, Andrew H. Perkins, Erastus H. Derby, David D. Young, and Solomon Hancock, who will be the bearers of this, to confer with you, and inform you that it is our intention to leave Nauvoo and the country next spring; provided, that yourselves and all others will cease all hostile operations, so as to give us the short but necessary time for our journey; and we want you to return an answer in writing, by our said committee, whether you will cease your destructive operations, and vacate your settlement, and give us the opportunity of carrying out our designs peaceably.

BRIGHAM YOUNG,

JOHN E. PAGE,

GEORGE A. SMITH,

P. P. PRATT,

ORSON SPENCER,

SAMUEL BENT,

AMASA LYMAN,

WILLARD RICHARDS,

CHARLES C. RICH,

ISAAC MORLEY,

JOHN TAYLOR.

Nauvoo, Sept. 16, 1845.

HOLMES & BRADFORD.
APPENDIX HH

REQUEST FOR A WRITTEN DOCUMENT
Narrow
Sept. 27th 1845.

To the First President & Council
of the Church at Narrow -

Having had a full & free conversation with you this day in reference to your proposed removal from this county we shall together with the members of your Council we have to request you to submit the facts & objections stated to our consideration in order that we may lay them before the Governor & people of the state. (We hope this will be timely) by so doing it may well be a trudging to settle this important question at present existing in the public mind.

We have the honor to subscribe ourselves - Respectfully yours etc.

[Signatures]

[Handwritten notes]

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PLEASE CREDIT
APPENDIX II

FIRST OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF INTENTIONS TO LEAVE THE STATE OF ILLINOIS
Naure, September 21, 1845.

Whereas a council of the authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, at Nauvoo, have this day received a communication from Henry Ashbury, John P. Robbins, Albert J. Tewson, P. A. Goodwin, J. H. Kelton, M. Rogers, and E. Conyers, Messrs. Committee of the citizens of Quincy, requesting us to communicate in writing our disposition and intention at this time, particularly with regard to removing to some place where the peculiar organizations of our church will not be likely to endanger so much strife and contention as so unhappily exists at this time in Hancock and some of the adjoining counties?

And whereas, said committee have reported to us the doings of a public meeting of the citizens of Quincy, on the 22d inst., by which it appears there are some feelings in that place concerning us as a people, and in relation to which sundry resolutions were passed, purporting to be for the purpose of uniting or restoring peace to the country;

And whereas, it is our desire, and ever has been, to live in peace with all men, so far as we can, without sacrificing the right of worshipping God according to the dictates of our own consciences, which privilege is guaranteed to us by the Constitution of these United States;

And whereas, we have, time and again, been driven from our parental homes, and our women and children, and have been obliged to exist on the prairies in the forest and the road, in tears, in the dead of winter, suffering all manner of hardships, even to death, by the people of Quincy; and know the remembrance of whose hospitality in former days still causes our hearts to burn with joy, and raise the prayer to Heaven for blessings on their hands;

And whereas, it is now so late in the season that it is impossible for us, as a people, to remove the fall, without causing a repetition of like sufferings;

And whereas, it has been represented to us from other sources, that those named and even in some communications from the Executive of the State, that many of the citizens of the State were unfriendly to our views and principles;

And whereas, many states of our brethren in this country have been bidden to come, without any justifiable cause or pretense, and we have made no resistance, till compelled by the authorities of the county so to do, and that authority not connected with our church;

And whereas, said resolution of noblemen, from the legally constituted authorities, appears to be misunderstood by some, and misconstrued by others, so as to produce an undue excitement in the public mind;

And whereas, we desire peace above all other earthly blessings:

Therefore, we would say to the committee above mentioned, and to the Governor, and all the authorities and people of Illinois, and the surrounding States and Territories, that we propose to leave this county next spring, for some point estage, that there will not need to be a difficulty with the people and ourselves, provided certain propositions necessary for the accomplishment of our removal, shall be observed, as follows, to wit:

That the citizens of this, and the surrounding counties, and all men, will use their influence and exertions, to help us to sell or rent our properties, so as to get means enough that we can help the widow, the fatherless and destitute to remove with us;

That all men will let us alone with our vessels in suit, so that we may have the time for we have bread to bake laws and help us to catch dry goods, provisions, good cattle, hogs, sheep, yegs, mules, horses, harness, food, in exchange for our property, at a fair price, and seeds given on payment, so we may have the means to accomplish a removal, without the suffering of the destitute, now extent beyond the endurance of human nature;

That all exchanges of property be conducted by a committee or committees of both parties, so that all business may be conducted honorably and speedily;

That we will pay all lawful men, in connection with others, to preserve the public peace while we tarry, and shall expect decidedly that we be no more molested with house burning or any other depredations, to waste our property and lives, and hinder our business;

That it is a mistake, that we are prepared to do in six months what would be so easily in the spring, which grass might red grow for water sea, both of which would be necessary for our removal, but we propose to use our influence, to have no more acute time for interest among our people in this country, after gathering our property, and that all communications to us be made in writing.

By order of the Council,

Brigham Young, Pres.

Willard Richards, Clerk.
APPENDIX JJ

TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES

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TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES

OREGON COUNTRY
(by agreement with Britain, 1846)

MEXICAN Cession
(1848)

LOUISIANA PURCHASE
(from France, 1803)

TEXAS
(independent republic, annexed, 1845)

FLORIDA
(siezed from Spain)

GADSEN PURCHASE
(from Mexico, 1853)

THE ORIGINAL UNITED STATES
(by treaty with Great Britain, 1783)
APPENDIX KK

WESTERN TRAILS AND EXPLORATION ROUTES, 1800-1846