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## Journeyings in the Wilderness

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**Abstract:** A historical essay about the journeyings of Latter-day Saint refugees as they travelled westward following their exodus from Nauvoo. This includes the settlement at Council Bluffs - called Kaneshville at the time - and other events from that period.

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*"What thou seest, write in a book."* Rev. 1, 11.

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## JOURNEYINGS IN THE WILDERNESS.

In the winter of 1845-46, owing to the continued persecutions and mobbings to which the Saints were subjected, active preparations were going on in Nauvoo, Hancock County, Ill., for the removal of the body of the Church to the Rocky Mountains (see page 831), and in the beginning of February, 1846, the actual exodus began. Charles Shumway, who crossed the Mississippi River Feb. 4, 1846, was the first one who started from the "beautiful city" for the western wilderness. On the 6th George Miller and family, with six wagons, were ferried across the river, and a few days later the work of ferrying across was kept up day and night. A few accidents occurred such as the sinking of a ferryboat, but generally the Saints were fortunate in getting over safely. A camp was formed on the west bank of the river opposite Nauvoo. President Brigham Young and some others, with their families, left Nauvoo on the 15th, and, after crossing the river, they traveled nine miles to Sugar Creek, in Lee County, Iowa, where they formed another camp, organized in companies and awaited the arrival of others from Nauvoo before

they proceeded on their way. While encamped there, the weather became so intensely cold that the Mississippi River was frozen entirely over, and hundreds of the Saints, with their teams, crossed the river on the ice. During the remainder of the month of February there were arrivals almost every day at the camp on Sugar Creek. The sufferings of the people in traveling, and even after their arrival in the camp, was intense, because of the cold. Many of the exiles were imperfectly clothed, and lacked wagon covers and tents to shelter them. Consequently, when the snow fell and this cold weather set in, they suffered much more than they otherwise would have done.

While the extreme cold weather lasted it became a serious difficulty for the exiles to sustain their numerous cattle and horses, for it required many hundred bushels of grain daily to keep them from perishing. From the few scattering settlers in the surrounding country, however, they were enabled to buy large quantities of Indian corn, from time to time, with money and labor, and thus they were enabled to keep their stock alive.

Notwithstanding that strict charges had been given the Saints by the authorities to provide themselves with a good supply of provisions previous to starting, it was found that many of those encamped on Sugar Creek were destitute of food, having provided only sufficient for a few days. President Young and others in the camp, who had started out with a better supply of provisions and grain for their animals, shared with those in need, and efforts were made by many of the brethren to obtain work in Iowa, in which quite a number were successful. Several jobs of cutting timber and husking corn were taken, by which the Saints obtained some means to help them on their journey.

On the 28th of February a petition was addressed to the governor of Iowa by the authorities of the Church, imploring his protection and influence in favor of the Saints while on their journey to a land of exile, or while remaining in that Territory working for an outfit, or raising a crop on rented or unclaimed land, in case necessity should force any of them to do so.

On the 1st of March the camp was broken on Sugar Creek and the exiles continued their journey. They traveled about five miles in a north-westerly direction, and after scraping away the snow, they pitched their tents upon the hard frozen ground. After building large fires in front, they found themselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit. Their beds were placed upon the frozen earth, "and after bowing before our great Creator," writes Apostle Orson Pratt, "and offering up praise and thanksgiving to Him, and imploring His protection, we re-

signed ourselves to the slumbers of the night." The following is from the private journal of Orson Pratt:

"Monday, March 2nd.—This morning the camp moved on in a westerly direction; the roads being rough and bad, some wagons were broken. In the evening, encamped on the east bank of the Des Moines River, four miles below the little village of Farmington.

"Tuesday 3rd.—The morning is rather cold. The thermometer standing at 7 o'clock at 23°. The camp moved forward, following up the general course of the river, about eight miles, when, night approaching, we pitched our tents (at a point near the present town of Bonaparte). The ground having thawed during the day, the place of our encampment is quite muddy, which renders it unpleasant to those who sleep upon the ground.

"Wednesday 4th.—At 8 o'clock this morning, the thermometer stood at 43° near Bonaparte. The roads being muddy, and some wagons and harness broken, it was concluded to remain until the next day. In the meantime our mechanics were busily engaged in repairing the wagons, etc. By the earnest solicitations of the citizens of Farmington, the band of music from our camp visited them, and gave them a concert, much to their satisfaction.

"Thursday 5th.—To-day most of the camp moved on, fording the river at Bonaparte's Mills. The roads in many places are almost impassable on account of the mud. Some teams are unable to draw their loads in bad places without assistance. Some wagons were broken. A portion of the camp were forced to stop on account of the roads; others proceeded on about twelve miles to Indian Creek, where they stopped until the next day. By an altitude of the Pole Star, our latitude at this place is 40° 42' 51". It being dark when we arrived at this creek, we pitched our tents in a wet swampy place. The next morning, some removed their wagons and tents on to dryer ground, a few yards distant, while others continued their journey. Thus our camp began to be somewhat scattered.

"Saturday 7th.—A small portion of the camp, with myself, moved on about twelve miles, to Fox River; while the main body encamped about three miles in the rear. Here we stopped two or three days. By a meridian observation of Sirius, the latitude was determined to be 40° 42' 56".

"Tuesday 10th.—Our small company moved on about ten miles, and encamped, the roads being exceedingly bad. We wait-



ed here about ten days for the main body of the camp, who were unable to proceed on account of the deep mud.

"We are very much scattered at the present. Many are engaging work in the thinly scattered settlements, to obtain food both for themselves and their animals. It was found necessary to exchange our horses for oxen, as the latter would endure the journey much better than horses. Many have already exchanged.

"Friday 20th.—This morning, at half-past six, the thermometer was  $10^{\circ}$  below the freezing point. The main camp having come up, we proceeded on our journey about ten miles, and pitched our tents for the night. The evening being rather unfavorable, I only obtained an observation for the true time.

"Saturday 21st.—At sunrise the thermometer stood  $10^{\circ}$  below the freezing point. Traveled about 20 miles, and encamped on the west bank of Charlton River, the main camp being still behind.

"Sunday 22nd.—The day is rainy and unpleasant. Moved only seven miles. The next day went through the rain and deep mud, about six miles, and encamped upon the west branch of Shoal Creek. The heavy rains had rendered the prairies impassable; and our several camps were very much separated from each other. We were compelled to remain as we were for some two or three weeks, during which time our animals were fed upon the limbs and bark of trees, for the grass had not yet started, and we were a number of miles from any inhabited country, and therefore, it was very inconvenient to send for grain. The heavy rains and snows, together with frosty nights, rendered our situation very uncomfortable. Our camps were now more perfectly organized, and captains were appointed over hundreds, over fifties, and over tens, and over all these, a President and Counsellors, together with other necessary officers. Game is now quite plentiful. Our hunters bring into camp more or less deer, wild turkies, and prairie hens every day.

"Tuesday 31st.—The day being pleasant, I obtained observation for the true time, and regulated my watch. From observation, I determined the latitude of my encampment upon Shoal Creek to be  $40^{\circ} 40' 7''$ ; longitude, by lunar distance,  $92^{\circ} 59' 15''$ .

"Sunday, April 5th.—A portion of our camp met together, to offer up our sacrament to the Most High. After a few remarks by myself and Bishop Miller, we proceeded to break bread, and administer in the

holy ordinance of the Lord's supper. At 6 o'clock in the evening, we met with the captains of companies to make some arrangements for sending twelve or fourteen miles to the settlements for corn to sustain our animals.

"Monday 6th.—This morning, at the usual hour of prayer, we bowed before the Lord with thankful hearts, it being just 16 years since the organization of the Church, and we were truly grateful for the many manifestations of the goodness of God towards us as a people. The weather is still wet and rainy. Nine or ten wagons, with four yoke of oxen each, have started this morning for the settlements to obtain corn. In the evening we were visited by a heavy thunderstorm, accompanied by a high wind and hail. Most of the tents which were pitched upon high ground were blown down, and the inmates exposed to the fury of the storm. The water in Shoal Creek arose in a very few minutes several feet in height, and threatened to overflow its banks, and disturb our tents.

"Tuesday 7th.—This morning the mud was some frozen, the thermometer standing at  $29^{\circ}$ . The day is rainy and disagreeably wet, and the mud very deep.

"Wednesday 8th.—Our teams which were sent three days ago after corn, returned; the most of them empty, and we find it very difficult to sustain our teams.

"Thursday 9th.—After remaining here for about three weeks, we concluded to move on slowly. The rain poured down in torrents. With great exertion a part of the camp were enabled to get about six miles, while others were stuck fast in the deep mud. We encamped at a point of timber about sunset, after being drenched several hours in rain. The mud and water in and around our tents were ankle deep, and the rain still continued to pour down without any cessation. We were obliged to cut brush and limbs of trees, and throw them upon the ground in our tents, to keep our beds from sinking in the mire. Those who were unable to reach the timber, suffered much, on account of cold, having no fuel for fires. Our animals were turned loose to look out for themselves; the bark and limbs of trees were their principal food.

"Saturday 11th.—During the night the mud froze hard. To any but Saints, our circumstances would have been very discouraging, for it seemed to be with the greatest difficulty that we could preserve our animals from actual starvation, and we were obliged to send off several days' journey to the Missouri settlements on the south

to procure grain. Many of the people were nearly destitute of food, and many women and children suffered much from exposure to the inclemency of the weather, and from the lack of the necessaries of life, such as they were in former times accustomed to enjoy. But in the midst of all these temporal afflictions, the Saints were comforted in anticipation of better days; they looked forward to the time when these light afflictions should cease, and when they should have the privilege of sitting under their own vine and fig trees, with none to molest them or make them afraid. They were willing to endure hardships and privations, for the sake of escaping the unrelenting persecutions of Gentile Christians, from whom they had received for many years nothing but cruelty and the most heart-rending oppression. Their desire was to establish themselves in some lonely valley of the mountains,—in some sequestered spot, where they and their children could worship God and obey His voice, and prepare themselves for the glory which is to be revealed at the revelation of Jesus Christ. With these glorious anticipations, cheerfulness and joy seemed to animate every countenance, and sufferings were endured without murmuring. The Twelve and other of the authorities met in council, and determined to leave the settlements still further on our left, and launch forth upon the broad prairies on the northwest, which were for hundreds of miles entirely uninhabited.

“Monday 13th.—The weather is yet cold, the thermometer standing at six o’clock in the morning at 3° below the freezing point. Our wagons which were sent after corn returned, and after feeding our half-famished cattle and horses, we resumed our journey. Our teams were so weak, and the roads so bad, we were unable to proceed only about six miles.

“Tuesday 14th.—We moved forward about one mile, and encamped. Some scanty feed began to make its appearance in the wettest portions of the prairie, but the nights are still too cold for the grass.

“Thursday 16th.—We progressed a few miles further, and arrived in a very pleasant grove which we called Paradise, in latitude \* \* \* 40° 44’ 7”. About one mile to the south, we found the grass very good. Here we stopped several days, a portion of the camp being about one mile north, at a place which they named Pleasant Point.

“Wednesday 22nd.—We continued our journey about eight miles, and encamped over night. Rattle-snakes were quite plenty, numbers were seen in various places

about our camp; some of our animals were bitten and badly poisoned, but the most of them were cured, some in one way, and some in another.

“Friday 24th.—Yesterday we traveled about eight miles, to-day, six miles. We came to a place which we named Gardeu Grove. At this point we determined to form a small settlement and open farms for the benefit of the poor, and such as were unable at present to pursue their journey further, and also for the benefit of the poor who were yet behind.”

While thus traveling from Sugar Creek westward, the Saints were often exposed to fierce winds and to snow, and afterwards, when the winter broke, they were frequently drenched to the skin with rain which poured down in torrents and soaked the ground so thoroughly that it made traveling very laborious and trying to both man and beast, and frequently tents had to be pitched in the mud, as there was no dry spot to be found. But notwithstanding this exposure, the people generally were healthy; there were but few deaths. Elder Orson Spencer was called upon to part with his beloved companion, the wife of his youth and the mother of his children. A nephew of President Young, Edwin Little, was also called away. He was attacked with fever and cold on his lungs, at Sugar Creek.

A circumstance occurred after the camp reached Richardson’s Point, which, if related, may be of interest to our readers. One of the brethren left camp to go back and bring forward a load for one of the Saints. After starting, one of his horses sickened and he had to stop. He and one of the brethren who was with him were prompted to lay hands on him. They did so, and the horse recovered immediately. After traveling about two miles the horse was again attacked and more violent-



ly than before. They tried to give him medicine, but could not get him to take it. He lay as if dead. One of the brethren, however, said that he thought there was still breath in him, and proposed to lay hands on him. Some of those present doubted the propriety of laying hands on an animal; they scarcely thought it right. The owner of the horse quoted the words of the Prophet Joel, that in the last days the Lord would pour out His spirit on all flesh. This quotation satisfied them, and six of them laid their hands on him, prayed for his recovery, rebuked the evil influence that was preying upon him and commanded it to depart. The horse immediately rolled over twice, sprang to his feet and was soon well. The next morning he was harnessed, helped draw a good load and worked as well as ever. It must be remembered that this was a time when a horse was very necessary for service; the people had none to spare, and no money to buy more; the brethren who fully realized this were undoubtedly justified in what they did.

"No one not familiar with the circumstances which surrounded the people before and after leaving Nauvoo," writes George Q. Cannon in the *Juvenile Instructor*, "can conceive of the difficulties which President Young and his brethren of the Twelve Apostles had to contend with in leading the people forth into the wilderness. His responsibility was, of course, far greater than that of all others combined; for he was the leader. To him all looked for counsel and guidance. If any were in trouble, they appealed to him for help. If there were difficulties, he had them to settle. The burden and direction of the affairs of the camp

rested upon him, and it required incessant vigilance to maintain proper regulations in the camp, also to have the traveling properly arranged and the labors of the men managed to the best advantage. Let us give you a few instances, that you may form some idea of the weight of care which rested upon President Young during those days.

"Hundreds of men left Nauvoo and crossed the river about the time the Twelve Apostles did. Many of them had but a small amount of provisions, and the teams and wagons that they moved with were furnished for the purpose of assisting the leading men to move and also to haul Church property. Three weeks were spent in camp at Sugar Creek, until teams could be raised to haul the public property that was to go with the leading company, yet there were fifty teams lying there loaded with families who might very properly have waited until they had secured an outfit for themselves. While President Young and the other Apostles were there, eight hundred men reported themselves in camp without a fortnight's provisions. The camp was not more than one hundred and fifty miles from Nauvoo before President Young, who had started with one year's provisions for his family, had fed it all out. The other Apostles were in the same condition. This was a cause of constant embarrassment and difficulty. The men who ought to have been free to go ahead and find a suitable place for a home for the Saints were kept back. It seemed as if the people were determined not to let them proceed on their journey. They not only kept in their company and embarrassed their movements by requiring help

in food, and occupying the teams that should have been used to assist them on their journey; but they exercised faith that the Twelve Apostles might not get far ahead of them. Besides their prayers, there were hundreds at Nauvoo who were praying and importuning the Lord that they might be enabled to overtake the camp. All these were retarding causes, and the camp traveled so slowly that, in speaking upon the subject, President Heber C. Kimball said, it would take years to reach the mountains.

“But while the above were causes of annoyance and perplexity, there were others which were of a more painful character than they were. There were men in the camp who would not be controlled. One of these was a prominent man, who, instead of giving trouble, should have aided in warding it off. Bishop George Miller was unmanageable; he would not observe order, and could not be controlled. Finally, President Young was compelled to say that he would be disfellowshipped from the camp unless he repented. This may have had some effect upon him for the time being; but if it had any, it was only temporary. He continued to manifest a disposition to draw off by himself, and to travel when and as he pleased. \* \* \*

President Young remarked on one occasion that Bishop Miller sought to go ahead and separate himself from his brethren, but he could not prosper in so doing; he would yet run against a snag, he said, and call on him and the camp for help. This prediction was literally fulfilled not many months after. Himself and company did get into trouble through his running ahead, and help had to

be extended to him. Within one year from the time of which we write, he openly apostatized, left the camp of the Saints, and moved to Texas, where Lyman Wight, one of the Twelve Apostles, had gone. He did not remain long there, but moved from that section of the country and joined Strang. Not long after this he died.

“There were others, as well as he, whose conduct was painful in the extreme to the servants of the Lord. There were a few men in some of the companies who would pass spurious coin, or bogus money, as it was called, upon the people when they had an opportunity. This brought a disgrace upon the whole camp; for if one man who calls himself a Latter-day Saint, or ‘Mormon,’ does a mean or wicked act, it is not usual for him alone to be blamed; but it is generally saddled upon the entire people. One day as Presidents Young and Kimball were standing together at the latter’s tent, they heard an outcry at an adjacent camp. They immediately repaired thither, and they found that the principal man of that camp and three others were quarreling about some property. It appeared that this man had let one of the others have some bogus money with which he was to buy property, and they were to share the profits. The man to whom he had given this money had not paid him the share which had been agreed upon; hence the quarrel.

“An honest person can imagine how grievous and disgusting such proceedings would be to men like Presidents Young and Kimball. The former sharply reprovved them for their conduct, and he told this prin-



cipal man, that he could not govern himself, his family, or a company, and unless he repented and forsook his dishonesty, the hand of the Lord would be against him and against all those who partook of such corruption. His words were fulfilled to the letter. He and his whole family became apostates and very disreputable people, and the hand of the Lord was visibly against him: The man also to whom he gave the bogus money to pass, eventually lost his standing in the Church and went down.

“Then there were men who broke the Sabbath and were careless about their other duties. There were others who were selfish and cared nothing for the rights of their brethren. We will relate an instance to illustrate this. One of the brethren who had been appointed to purchase corn, of which there was a scarcity in camp, made a bargain for a considerable quantity at 20 cents a bushel, for which he was to pay in feathers. You will doubtless think that feathers were a singular kind of pay; and if we did not explain, you would wonder where feathers could be obtained in the camp to sell for corn. But these were feather beds which the Saints parted with to get provender for their animals, and, in some instances, food for themselves. They not only sold their feather beds, but they sold their crockery, cooking utensils, and such things as they could possibly spare. They thought they were destitute enough when they started from Nauvoo; but they were becoming accustomed to hardships, and they were willing to deprive themselves of articles which, under other circumstances, they would have thought they could not

have lived without. This they did through the love which they had for the gospel of Jesus Christ; and those who really had this love rejoiced and were happy in doing these things.

“Having explained how Brother Howard Egan had feathers to sell for corn, we will return to the incident we were relating. Soon after he had made this bargain for the corn, another brother from the camp came up. He told the stranger that he would give him 25 cents per bushel for his corn, and he would pay him cash. Such an offer would be too tempting for many men to refuse, and this man accepted it, and the man who offered the cash, and the five cents more on the bushel, got the corn.

“The reader can perceive from these few incidents which we have related, how many were the cares and anxieties which rested upon the leading men, but especially upon President Young. The people were a good people, the best to be found in the world, for they were ready to forsake their homes and launch forth into an unknown wilderness for the sake of their religion; but they had many weaknesses, they were inexperienced, and many were ignorant. The responsibility which rested upon President Young was so great that he became greatly reduced in flesh, and his coat, that would scarcely meet around him before he started from Nauvoo, in the month of May, lapped over twelve inches! He entreated the people to be more united in spirit, and not to pray in such a manner that their faith was operating against the camp progressing on its journey. If a change did not take place, he felt that he would be brought down to his grave. He re-



marked in a public meeting that he could scarcely keep from lying down and sleeping to await the resurrection. \* \* \*

“Up to the latter part of March the organization of the camp was very imperfect. At the time it was decided that the Saints should remove from Nauvoo, about twenty-five men were selected by the general council and called captains of hundreds. It was the business of each one of these to select one hundred families, and to see that they were prepared for a journey across the Rocky Mountains. After the captains of hundreds were chosen, they selected their own captains of fifties and of tens, clerks, etc.

“At the time appointed, such as were ready, out of these companies, commenced leaving Nauvoo. \* \* \* Others followed from day to day and night to night, and an encampment was formed on the bank of the river and afterwards on Sugar Creek. After the arrival of President Young and the Apostles there, a partial organization was entered into. This was further advanced when the camp reached Richardson’s Point. But so many who traveled with the camp for the purpose of rendering assistance for a little season returned to Nauvoo, and the different divisions were so far separated from each other by storms, bad roads and other circumstances, that it was impossible to effect anything like a perfect organization for the first few weeks.

“On the 27th of March, at the council called for the purpose of effecting a more perfect organization, the captains of fifties were called for by President Young. He responded to his own call by naming himself as the captain of the first fifty, Elder

Heber C. Kimball responded as captain of the second fifty, Elder Parley P. Pratt of the third fifty, Peter Haws of the fourth fifty, Elder John Taylor of the fifth fifty and Bishop George Miller of the sixth fifty.

“President Young was unanimously elected President over the whole Camp of Israel. Brother Ezra T. Benson was elected captain over the first hundred, Brother John Smith captain of the second hundred, and Brother Samuel Bent captain of the third hundred. The captains of fifties chosen were: Albert P. Rockwood, Stephen Markham, John Harvey, Howard Egan, Charles C. Rich and John Chrisman. These took the places of the former captains of fifties, who were promoted to be presidents over their divisions of fifties, except that of the first hundred, which was laid over for further consideration.

“Besides the captains, there was a clerk appointed for the whole camp—Brother William Clayton—and a clerk for each of the fifties. These were: John D. Lee, John Pack, George Hales, Lorenzo Snow, John Oakley and Asahel A. Lathrop. Elder Willard Richards was sustained as the standing historian for the Church and camp.

“Then there was a contracting commissary appointed for each fifty. The duties of this officer was to counsel with the others, agree on terms, prices, etc., in purchasing corn, fodder, provisions and such articles as might be needed by their respective companies. Their names were: Henry G. Sherwood—who was also the acting commissary general for the camp—David D. Yearsley, William H. Edwards, Peter Haws, Samuel Gully and Joseph Warthen.

“A distributing commissary was also appointed for each fifty. Their names were: Charles Kennedy, Jedediah M. Grant, Nathan Tanner, Orson B. Adams, James Allred and Isaac Allred. The duties of these officers were to make a righteous distribution among their fifties, of grain, provisions and such articles as were furnished for the use of the camp.

“This organization of the camp led to a more systematic method of traveling and attending to other duties. The companies were in a better condition to be controlled. The officers understood their duties, and generally attended to them, and the members of the companies had by this time learned the necessity of obedience and strict attention to order. At a counsel meeting subsequent to this, President Young told those present that they were taking a course that would result in salvation, not only to that camp, but to the Saints who were still behind. He said he did not think there ever had been a body of people since the days of Enoch, who had done so little grumbling under such unpleasant circumstances. He was satisfied that the Lord was pleased with the majority of the camp of Israel. But there had been some things done which were wrong. He also sketched a plan for forming settlements on the road, at which the Saints who came on, who had not the means to proceed on their journey, could stop and recruit their finances and obtain what they needed to proceed on their journey to the mountains.

“The plan which President Young proposed was that the Camp of Israel proceed to a point on Grand River, and fence in a large field,

build a number of log cabins, plow some land and put in spring crops, and thus spend the time till the weather settled; then select men and families to take care of the improvements while the rest of the camp should proceed westward. He also proposed to send men back from Grand River to look out a new and better road, so that the companies which were coming out from Nauvoo might avoid the bad roads, creeks and settlements through which the leading camp had passed. The settlement on Grand River could be made a stopping place for those who had not sufficient means to proceed on their journey.

“The Saints \* \* \* left Nauvoo in February; from that time until the 19th of April, no out-door meeting had been held. The weather had been too severe to hold such meetings. That day was Sunday, and it was fine. A meeting was called and the Saints felt that it was a great privilege to assemble together once more. \* \* \* But though they held an out-door meeting on the 19th of April, the day was not altogether fine. The 10th of May was the first Sunday which they had from the time of leaving Nauvoo, that was entirely free from storms.

“On the 24th of April a place for a settlement was selected on Grand River, to which the name of Garden Grove was given. At the council, which was held two days after, three hundred and fifty-nine laboring men were reported in camp, besides trading commissaries and herdsmen. From these one hundred were selected to make rails, under the superintendence of C. C. Rich, James Pace, Lewis D. Wilson and Stephen Markham. Ten, under James All-



red, were appointed to build fences; forty-eight, under Father John Smith, to build houses; twelve, under Jacob Peart, to dig wells; ten, under A. P. Rockwood, to build bridges. The remainder, under the direction of Daniel Spencer, to be employed in clearing land, plowing and planting. There was no room for idlers there. The camp was like a hive of bees, every one was busy. And withal the people felt well and were happy. President Young was full of zeal and courage himself, and his example had a good effect upon the rest. When the weather became favorable, meetings were often held, and the people were instructed and encouraged. At a meeting at Garden Grove he told the Saints that some had turned back, and perhaps more would, but he hoped better things of them. Said he:

“We have set out to find a land and a resting place, where we can serve the Lord in peace. We will leave some here, because they cannot go further at present. They can stay here and recruit, and by and by pack up and come on, while we go a little further and lengthen out the cords and build a few more Stakes; and so continue on until we can gather all the Saints, and plant them in a place where we can build the house of the Lord in the tops of the mountains.”

“At the same meeting he said:

“I know that if this people will be united and will hearken to counsel, the Lord will give them every desire of their hearts. The earth is the Lord’s and the fulness thereof, and He intends that the Saints shall possess it as soon as they are able to bear prosperity.”

“While founding a settlement and providing a stopping place for the Saints who could not, for the want of means, proceed further on their journey, President Young and his brethren of the Twelve Apostles were not forgetful of what they had

to do towards finding a final resting place. At Garden Grove President Young had an examination made to learn what available means there was in camp to furnish an outfit for 100 young men to go over the Rocky Mountains to put in crops. This appeared to rest constantly on his mind, and though this company of pioneers was not fitted out that year, for various reasons, yet he never lost sight of it for an hour; but all his plans and movements shaped to that end. At Garden Grove he had a list of articles made out which would be required for an outfit. Each man was to have 250 pounds of flour, with other necessary articles in proportion; and every four persons were to have one wagon, four oxen or mules and one cow. Speaking upon this subject of a company going ahead, President Young told the Saints in public meeting that:

“When the removal westward was in contemplation at Nauvoo, had the brethren submitted to our (the Twelve Apostles’) counsel, and brought their teams and means and authorized me to do with them as the Spirit and wisdom of the Lord directed, then we could have fitted out a company of men, who were not encumbered with large families, and sent them over the mountains to put in crops and build houses, and the residue could have gathered, beginning with the Priesthood, and the gathering continued from year to year, building and planting at the same time. Were matters to be so conducted, none would be found crying for bread or destitute of clothing, but all would be provided for, as designed by the Almighty. But instead of taking this course the Saints have crowded on us all the while, and have completely tied our hands by importuning and saying, ‘Do not leave us behind. Wherever you go, we want to go, and be with you;’ and thus our hands and feet have been bound, which has caused our delay to the present time; and now hundreds at Nauvoo are continually praying and importuning with the Lord that they may overtake us, and be with us. And just so it is with the Saints here. They are afraid to let us go on and leave them behind, forget-

ting that they have covenanted to help the poor away at the sacrifice of all their property.'

"Elder Samuel Bent was appointed to preside at Garden Grove, and Elders Aaron Johnson and David Fullmer were appointed as his Counselors. It was also voted that each man who remained there should have his land assigned to him by the Presidency in proportion to the number of his family.

"Men were sent out to find another place at which a settlement could be formed, and on the 11th of May President Young and many others started from Garden Grove. Before they left that point, however, President Samuel Bent had a letter of instructions given to him. Land had been fenced by the companies which were going on west. This he was instructed to divide among those who were remaining; but to let no man have the use or occupancy of land which he did not till. He was also instructed to see that the crops were secured and cared for, and to teach the law of tithing to the Saints, to receive their tithes and to disburse them for the benefit of the poor and sick. On the 18th of May President Young and several of the Apostles reached the middle fork of Grand River. Here they found Brother Parley P. Pratt encamped. After crossing the bridge, which the leading company had built over the stream, they ascended a hill and found a mass of grey granite, which had the appearance of an ancient altar, the parts of which had fallen apart in various directions as though separated by fire. This mass of granite was the more remarkable because in that country there was no rock to be seen. Brother Parley had

called this place Mount Pisgah. \* \* The camp was now in the country of the Pottawattamie Indians, and they occasionally were seen by the people.

"Until the 2nd of June, the day President Young left Mount Pisgah to proceed on his journey with the camp westward, he and the other Apostles were busy counseling and directing the labors of the Saints in forming a settlement. Councils and meetings were held, at which it was decided that the Twelve Apostles, Bishop Whitney, and the records and other Church property should proceed on the journey westward. Those who did not have a sufficient outfit to proceed through were counseled to remain there. Farming land was selected, and a united effort was made to break it up, to fence it and put in crops. In these labors those who were going on shared with those who were remaining. Though selfishness was not entirely overcome, yet there was a general disposition among the faithful Saints to help one another and to labor for each other's good. It was a day of sacrifice. Many had left valuable property, and all, even the poorest, had left something, and had gladly started out into the wilderness, to face its terrors, endure its hardships and fatigues and wander they knew not whither, except that they knew that God, through His servants, would guide them to a suitable land; and they had done this for the sake of the Gospel. They were determined to worship God and to keep all His commandments, and as mobs of wicked men would not suffer them to do this at Nauvoo and the surrounding country, they were willing to go to any land to which



the Almighty would lead them, where they could dwell in peace and enjoy the religion He had revealed to them. The scenes they had passed through made them feel as one family, and they sympathized with and were willing to help each other. Circumstances like these have the effect, upon people who are in possession of the Gospel, to draw them closely together and to take interest in each other's welfare.

"Elder Wm. Huntington was chosen as President of Mount Pisgah, and Elders Ezra T. Benson and Charles C. Rich as his Counselors.

"The camp was now traveling in an Indian country. There were no settlements, no scattered houses or fields, no traveled roads larger than an Indian trail, but the whole country through which the Saints now passed was in a state of nature such as had existed for many long centuries. The season, by the time they left Mount Pisgah, was so far advanced that the effects of the spring rains had passed away. The country was more elevated than that east of this latter point, and though there was a new road to break all the way, the journey was made with comparative ease. There were several bridges to build over streams which had to be crossed; but these were not causes of serious detention, for a company of pioneers went ahead of the main camp to perform this labor.

"On the 14th of June President Young's company and all the leading companies encamped in the form of a hollow square on the bank of the Missouri River, not far from Council Bluffs. But the next day a council was held, and it was decided to move back from the river on to

the Bluffs. The object of this move was to get good spring water and to be away from the Omaha Indians, while a ferryboat was being built with which to cross the river. For this labor a number of suitable men were assigned, who were under the direction of Brother Frederick Kessler.

"The Pottawattamie Indians treated the Saints kindly, and their chiefs showed them favor. The stay of the camp at this point was, on this account, very pleasant, as the cattle and horses could be left to roam at large over the bluffs and plains in perfect security."

The news of the dedication of the Temple in Nauvoo which reached the camp on the Missonri River early in June, 1846, caused great rejoicings among the faithful Saints. Whatever now might be the future fate of the building, they had done their duty, and they were released, by the cruel and outrageous acts of the wicked in driving them from it, from further care and responsibility concerning it.

After the camp had reached the Bluffs, Brothers Orson Hyde and Wilford Woodruff, two of the Twelve Apostles, joined it with their companies. Elder Hyde had been laboring at Nauvoo (see page 837), and Brother Woodruff had been presiding over the Church in Europe.

June 29, 1846, the ferryboat, which was built on the bank of the Missouri River for the purpose of crossing, was launched, and on the next day President Young and several of the Apostles moved down to the river for the purpose of crossing.

President Young was still very anxious to have a company go ahead

that season to secure a location for the Saints in the mountains. He proposed the organization of such a company to the camp, and that it be composed of men only, the families to follow on afterwards. Many expressed their willingness to go and leave their families. He told the Saints that everything that men and hell could invent would be hatched up to prevent the camp from making any progress. He was strongly moved upon to speak plainly to them upon the subject, and said that if the Church should be blown to the four winds and never gathered again, he wished them to remember that he had told them how, when and where to gather, and that if they did not so gather, to remember and bear him witness in the day of judgment.

There were good reasons for his anxiety on this subject at this time, though they were unknown to him. Even while he was thus addressing the camp, a scheme which had been arranged was then being carried out, that would have the effect to prevent the journey to the mountains that season of such a company as he proposed. We refer to the orders from the government for the raising of a battalion of five hundred men, known in history as the "Mormon Battalion."

The late General Thomas L. Kane, son of Judge Kane, of Philadelphia, came to the camp in June, 1846, about the time that Colonel Allen did (see *Mormon Battalion*), having been sent by President Polk as a bearer of dispatches to Fort Leavenworth. It was there that he first made the acquaintance of President Young and the Apostles, and saw the people in the midst of the trying circumstances which surrounded

them. Though quite a young man at the time, he took a warm interest in their welfare. He was taken dangerously sick in camp, and it was only with the most careful nursing and strict attention that his life was saved. He never forgot this kindness, and, upon his return to Philadelphia, he delivered an address before the Historical Society of that city, in which he described in the most eloquent and touching language the scenes through which the Latter-day Saints had passed, and the patriotic sacrifice which they had made to raise the battalion called for by the government. Probably no document of its size has ever described in more graphic and striking language, the trials and sufferings of the Latter-day Saints to the reader than this.

July 16, 1846, Ezra T. Benson was ordained an Apostle, to take the place of John E. Page, who had fallen. On the same day Elders Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor were appointed on a mission to England, on which mission they started on the 31st of that month, to regulate the affairs of the Church in that land. On the 21st of July twelve men were selected to preside in all matters, spiritual and temporal, at Council Bluffs. Instructions were given to them to attend as speedily as convenient to locating and arranging for the stopping of the Saints, those already at Council Bluffs and those who might come on that season, as well as to use all the means in their power to have all the poor Saints brought from Nauvoo. They were also instructed to do everything in their power to assist in taking charge of the families of those who had gone as volunteers in



the battalion. Instructions were given also for the establishment of schools for the education of the children during the winter.

Captain Allen had secured from the chiefs representing the Pottawattamie tribe of Indians at Council Bluffs their voluntary consent for the Latter-day Saints to make their lands a stopping place, and to cultivate any part of them not then cultivated by themselves, so long as they (the Pottawattamies) should remain in possession of their present country. He also wrote a letter, to be used whenever occasion might require it, stating, over his official signature, what he had done and advised in the premises. The Indian sub-agent of that tribe of Indians had also endorsed in a letter the action of the Indians, and of Colonel Allen as being wise and proper under the circumstances. General Kane wrote a letter to the President of the United States, enclosing a copy of these documents, and giving his personal endorsement to the measure. He said that while he could see no reason why the "Mormon" people should not winter in the valleys of that neighborhood, he considered it exceedingly important that they should be allowed the privilege of so doing, as no advice to them had been opposed to the crossing of the Missouri River of so large a body of them during that year.

Aug. 1, 1846, the council addressed a letter to Bishop Miller and the companies with him, he having gone out in the direction of the Pawnee village, in which they reported the condition of the camp, an account of the organization of the battalion and the intention to encamp with the main body somewhere on or near the

Missouri River for the winter. He was told that the council did not think it advisable for any part of the companies to undertake to cross the mountains that fall. Measures were taken at the main camp by President Young and the council to organize affairs for the season. Twelve men were chosen to be the Municipal High Council, who were to take measures to gather the Saints together at one place under the necessary regulations. The camp was gathered together at a grove which was called Cutler's Park, after Alpheus Cutler, who was chosen as President of the Municipal High Council. Instructions were given to the people to immediately proceed to the cutting of hay in sufficient quantities to supply the stock of the camp during the winter.

It was at the time when the last of the Saints were being driven out of Nauvoo in September, 1846, that the Saints in the Camp of Israel were thus laboring to prepare themselves for the winter. On the 11th of September (1846) a site for building winter quarters was selected on the west bank of the Missouri River, at a point now known as Florence, six miles north of Omaha, Neb. At this place a temporary city was laid out, to which the Saints immediately commenced to gather. A committee of twelve was appointed to arrange the city into Wards, over each of which a Bishop was appointed to preside, whose duty it was to relieve the poor and sick, help the families of those in need, and to see that the Saints attended to their duties. The following is the list: First Ward, Levi E. Riter; 2nd, William Fossett; 3rd and 4th, Benjamin Brown; 5th and 6th, John Vance; 7th, Edward Hun-

ter; 8th, David Fairbanks; 9th, Daniel Spencer; 10th, Joseph Matthews; 11th, Abraham Hoagland; 12th, David D. Yearsley; 13th, Joseph B. Noble.

Every family labored diligently to construct some kind of a house, in which they could be sheltered for the winter. The houses were built chiefly of logs, and covered with clapboards, or with willows and dirt. Many dug caves in the side of the hill, and made very comfortable dwelling places of them.

This place, which was named Winter Quarters, was laid out regularly into streets, and occupied a fine location. The Indians gave considerable trouble, stealing cattle and pilfering, as they looked upon the Saints as intruders upon their lands, and they said that if their land was occupied, their grass used, their timber cut down, and their game shot, they had a right to something in return, and therefore being in want of food they helped themselves to cattle belonging to the Saints. The chief, Big Elk, said he would do all he could to restrain his people, but he had had young men among them who would not be controlled, and he could not prevent them stealing when the cattle were all around them. They did not like white people, and they did not like him very well because he told them that the white men would do them good. The conduct of the Indians prompted President Young to counsel the people to build a stockade around Winter Quarters. This was a great protection, and kept the Indians out to a very great extent. A large portion of the stock was sent north, on to what was called the Rush Bottoms—a place where rushes grew in great

profusion, and furnished excellent feed for animals, if given to them carefully. If eaten too freely, or if eaten when the weather was cold enough to freeze the water contained in the top part of the rush, they were dangerous, and sometimes killed the animals that ate them.

Bishop Miller's camp, as he himself reported to the Twelve at Winter Quarters, was at the junction of the Running Water and Missouri Rivers, 153 miles north of Winter Quarters. He reported his camp in good health, and occupying a good situation, with plenty of feed for their stock, in the rushes of the Running Water.

The course which President Young and the Camp of Israel took with the Indians they were brought in contact with, and on whose lands they located, had the effect of producing good feelings among them. But there were some meddlesome persons who seemed determined to make trouble for the Saints, on account of their having temporarily settled on land claimed by the Omaha and Pottawattamie Indians. Major H. M. Harvey, superintendent of Indian Affairs, called on President Young at Winter Quarters, Nov. 1, 1846, and stated that he wished the camp to remove from the lands belonging to the Indians, and complained of the Saints burning the Indians' wood. He stated that he had received letters from the Department of Indian Affairs on the subject, and that his instructions were that no white persons should be permitted to settle on the lands of the Indians without the authority of Government. President Young explained to him that their delay had been caused by the demand that had been made on them



by the government to furnish troops. The most efficient men of the camp had gone as soldiers to Mexico in the service of the United States, and their families were left destitute and dependent on their friends in the camp, who could not proceed without leaving them to suffer. It was clearly evident that the movement was instigated by the enemies of the Saints who were not content to see them enjoy peace and rest even in mud hovels and dirt roofed cabins. Though the Indians had committed a number of depredations, such as the stealing of stock from them, the Saints had less to fear from them, if left to act on their own inclinations, than from the interference of white men.

President Young wrote to Big Elk, chief of the Omaha Indians, requesting him to restrain his Indians from stealing, and sent him some presents. A number of letters also passed between the High Council in Winter Quarters and Major Harvey on the question of settlement on Indian lands, and Wm. Clayton was dispatched to Council Bluffs to get from him a copy of his instructions from Washington. It afterwards appeared that the department at Washington did not evince half the anxiety about the encroachment on Indian lands that Major Harvey represented, but the probability was that he had been induced by others to exercise his authority so as to annoy the "Mormons." In answer to President Young's letter to him, Big Elk paid him a visit and apologized for the depredations committed by the few unruly Indians of his tribe, expressed his gratitude for the presents sent him and promised to try to restrain his Indians, and excused

them by saying that the whites who visited them represented the "Mormons" as being a very bad set of people, a statement which supported the Saints in the belief, that they had for some time entertained, that the Indians were prompted by white men to steal from and probably make a violent outbreak upon them.

Through the intercession of Judge J. K. Kane, the father of the late General Thomas L. Kane, previously mentioned, permission was finally obtained from the President and Department of Indian Affairs at Washington, D. C., for the Saints to remain during the winter on the lands of the Pottawattamies. Colonel (later General) Kane, wishing to show his appreciation of the kind treatment he had received from the hands of the Saints while lying sick in their midst, used his influence in their favor, and was especially active in trying to secure to them the right of remaining where they had established their winter quarters until they could proceed on their journey. Sickness had prevented him from doing so himself, but his father had acted for him, as was shown by the result. On recovering from his sickness, Colonel Kane wrote to Elder Willard Richards, that he also intended to secure a lease from the government of the Omaha lands, on which some of the Saints were located, and said: "Trust me, it is not fated that my forces shall depart before I have righted you at the seat of government, and have at least assured to you a beginning of justice besides an end of wrong."

During the winter of 1846-47, President Young and his brethren of the Twele, and other Elders, were diligent in laboring among the Saints

at Winter Quarters, and a spirit of reformation prevailed in the camp. "Meetings," writes George Q. Cannon, "were frequently held, and they were well attended. The weather was cold; but great exertions had been made by the Saints to provide shelter for themselves. The widows and fatherless were cared for, and pains were taken to supply the families of the brethren who had gone in the battalion with what they needed. A large portion of the people erected log houses as residences. Many availed themselves of the slope of the hill, on the side of which a part of Winter Quarters was laid out, to construct 'dug-outs' as dwellings. By 'dug-outs' we mean cellars, the entrance to which being made on the lower side, enabled those who occupied them to go in and out without having to use many steps, and when properly roofed in were not very uncomfortable dwellings during steady cold weather. Provisions could not be obtained in great variety. The principal diet of the people that winter was corn-bread and pork. In many instances these articles were not very plentiful. Corn and pork were bought in Missouri, and frequent trips were made from the camp to that State during the winter to obtain the necessary supplies. There were but few grist-mills in the part of the State where the grain was bought, and there was great difficulty, therefore, in getting grinding done. At Winter Quarters wheat was frequently boiled whole and thus eaten, and many families subsisted for weeks on corn ground in hand mills. The meal of corn thus ground was not as smooth and pleasant eating as the meal we now get from our grist-mills; but hunger furnished

the appetite to make it palatable and digestible. We presume that those, at least, who did the grinding never failed to enjoy the bread and mash cooked from their grists. In those days a person who owned a good hand mill was considered a very fortunate individual. We patronized one owned by Brother John Van Cott, who very generously let his neighbors use it freely and without taking any toll. We have met with some people in our travels in the world who would not have failed to avail themselves of such an opportunity of making profit; for their mode of reasoning was that an article or service of any kind was worth all it would bring; the greater the demand, the higher the price to be paid; the scarcity of the article enhancing its value. But in those days the spirit of gain was not common among the Saints. They were fellow-sufferers from mobocracy, and the scenes they had shared in common caused them to have sympathy one for another that under more favorable circumstances might have remained dormant. \* \* \*

"Seeing the great need of a mill, President Young took steps to erect one. It was a time of rejoicing at Winter Quarters when it was completed, and the necessity of using coffee-mills and hand mills to grind grain no longer existed.

"Among other difficulties with which the Saints at Winter Quarters had to contend, was sickness of a serious character. The want of vegetables, and the poor diet to which they were confined, had the effect to produce scurvy or 'black-leg,' as it was called there. The limbs would swell, become black and the flesh be very sore. There was much suffer-



ing and many deaths from this disease. Potatoes brought from Missouri had an excellent effect in checking and curing the disease. A few miles above Winter Quarters there had been an old fort, which had been abandoned for some time. There horse-radish was discovered growing, which proved a great boon to the sick at Winter Quarters, as it was a most excellent antidote for scurvy.

“The Indians were troublesome in taking and killing stock, and an Indian war might easily have been provoked in consequence, had the people been disposed to have one. But President Young took great pains in instructing the people as to the just and proper manner to treat Indians, and also in cultivating the spirit of friendship in the Indians themselves. When it is considered that the Saints were living on Indian land, and in the midst of tribes with whom government had made no treaties for the possession of their country, it is wonderful that so little difficulty occurred. \* \* \*

“During the dreary winter spent by the Saints at Winter Quarters, President Young and those engaged with him in presiding made it their study to devise means of employment for them, knowing that they would be more contented and happy if kept constantly at work, than if allowed to be idle. \* \* \* In directing the labors of the camp, President Young displayed the same wisdom and foresight which had so prominently marked his career from the time of the death of the Prophet Joseph Smith. A grist-mill was projected, not because the Saints expected that they would occupy the site of Winter Quarters permanently

and reap any great benefit or profit from the use of the mill, but rather because if some such employment as the building of it could not be found for the men during the winter they would be idle, and as President Young expressed it, if the Saints did not reap any material benefit from it, the Indians, whose lands they then occupied, probably would. In addition to the building of the mill and the digging of the race for it, and providing shelter for their families, a council house was built in which to hold meetings, etc., and the manufacture of willow baskets, washboards, half-bushel measures, etc., was entered into quite extensively. These were the only manufactures that could be engaged in with any certainty of a return for their labors. Such wares they hoped to be able to sell in the settlements of Missouri when spring opened. To prevent the Saints from becoming cool and indifferent in regard to their religion the greatest vigilance was enjoined upon the Bishops in watching over those over whom they presided. Meetings were often held, and the people put through a course of systematic drilling to impress upon them the necessity of living near unto God, as they were about to venture forth to seek out and make new homes in a land with which they were totally unacquainted, and in journeying to which they must look to God for guidance. As a result of the effort made to stir them up to diligence and the great wisdom displayed in the government of the camp, it was a model for good order and peaceful, harmonious regulations. While those presiding exerted themselves to promote the spiritual welfare of the Saints they did not

show a disposition to deprive them of enjoyment; on the contrary they encouraged recreation of an innocent nature.

“After the completion of the Council House, arrangements were made for a number of dancing parties and festivals to be held in it, and President Young proposed to show them how to go forth in the dance in a manner acceptable before the Lord. He did so by offering up prayer to God at the opening and closing of the exercises and permitting only modest deportment and decorum throughout.

“The organization of companies for the journey further west was proceeded with and all things were got in readiness for companies to start as soon as the weather and the supply of grass might be considered favorable. Arrangements were also made to have as many as possible of the Saints in the small branches scattered throughout the different States fit themselves out with teams and follow on. They could not hope to raise teams sufficient to transport the Saints with their luggage, their provisions to last them a year, their seed grain and farming utensils at one trip, but President Young presented a plan which if carried out in the right spirit would have the desired effect. That was for those who could fit themselves out well for the trip, or be fitted out by their friends who should remain, to proceed as pioneers to the mountains prepared to raise a crop for the sustenance of themselves and those who should follow, and on their arrival at their destination return as many teams as possible to assist on those remaining behind. By pursuing this system of co-operation it was

thought the widows and fatherless as also the destitute families of the men who had gone in the battalion could be assisted to Zion without having cause to feel that even the poorest of them were neglected.”

It was rather remarkable that the Saints got along so well as they did during the winter following their expulsion from Nauvoo in their temporary and hastily built town of Winter Quarters and the various camps in that western country where they located to await the opening of spring, when they expected to renew their journey. Considering the destitute condition in which their enemies left them after expelling them from their comfortable homes and flourishing farms, at such an inclement season, to wander among strangers and seek out new homes in western wilds, when there was little or no work to be had at which to earn a livelihood, it is a wonder that many of them did not starve to death. In the fall of 1846, throughout Upper Missouri, wheat was worth from 18 $\frac{3}{4}$  to 25 cents, and corn from 10 to 12 cents per bushel, but in view of the increased demand likely to arise for grain through the necessities of the Saints, who would be obliged to purchase their supplies there, wheat was raised to from 40 to 50 cents, and corn 20 to 25 cents per bushel. These do not seem very high prices in Utah, but it must be remembered that at that time money was exceedingly scarce in those parts and wages very low, so that ordinarily a person could buy as much in the provision line, such as wheat, potatoes, corn, pork, etc., for 10 cents as can be bought in Utah for one dollar.

President Young directed in the organization of the companies to



start in the spring and counseled them in the minutiae of outfitting, that they might journey without disorder or confusion.

Jan. 14, 1847, President Young received at Winter Quarters a revelation as the "word and will of the Lord, concerning the Camp of Israel in their journeyings to the west." (See Doc. & Cov., Sec. 136.) In this revelation the Saints were commanded to organize into companies, with captains of hundreds, fifties and tens, and journey to a place where the Lord would locate a Stake of Zion. They were all to use their influence and property for this purpose and enter into a covenant to keep the commandments of God.

In February, 1847, the news reached Winter Quarters that a mob near Farmington, Iowa, had attempted to kill Brothers William H. Folsom, Rodney Swazey and others. These mobbers hung Elder Folsom until he was almost dead, and when his friends finally came to the rescue, they had much difficulty in restoring him to life. The mobbers also hung Brother Swazey by the heels for about five minutes. Six other brethren were treated in a somewhat similar manner.

In preparing to go with the pioneer company from Winter Quarters to the Great Basin, President Young and his brethren took the necessary precautions to insure the safety and good government of the Saints who remained behind. Ample counsel was given upon this and kindred subjects, and further measures were taken to build the proposed stockade around Winter Quarters, and to have the people labor together unitedly. Houses that were outside of the established line for the stockade

were moved inside, and everything possible was done to secure the people from Indian attacks. Those who were living in "dug-outs," as the houses were called which were dug in the sides of the hill, were counseled to build houses on the top of the ground to live in during the summer, so that sickness might be avoided. Other counsel was given in relation to their buildings which would increase the healthfulness and comfort of the residents. President Young gave excellent counsel to the authorities and the people respecting their dealings with the Indians. He condemned the practice of shooting Indians, so common among other communities settled in the Indian country, for any and every offense that they might commit, and advised the brethren to avoid encouraging or giving place to feelings of hostility and bloodshed. Arrangements were also made to take care of the poor and the families of the brethren who had gone in the battalion. The brethren who had gone to Punca were instructed to move down to Winter Quarters as quickly as possible, and to put in a spring crop.

Bishop Miller, who had been the leader of the company to Punca, was already at Winter Quarters. He had indulged in a bad spirit for some time, and his mind was clouded with darkness. While preparations were being made for the pioneers to go west, at a meeting of the Twelve Apostles and other Elders, he gave his views relative to the Church removing to Texas, to the country lying between the Neuces and the Rio Grande Rivers. That was the best country, he thought, for the Church to emigrate to. Lyman Wight was already in Texas, whither he had

gone from Nauvoo, taking with him such as would follow his guidance and Miller's inclinations were in the same direction. President Young informed Miller that his views were wild and visionary; that when the Saints moved from that point they would go to the Great Basin, where they would soon form a nucleus of strength and power sufficient to cope with mobs. But this had little effect upon Miller; he soon afterwards left Winter Quarters with his family and a few others over whom he had influence, and went to Texas, where he joined Lyman Wight. He lived there for a while until he and Wight quarrelled, when he moved north again and joined Strang, and subsequently died an apostate from the Church.

In the beginning of April, 1847, the Pioneers, under the leadership of Brigham Young, started to find a new location for the Saints in the Rocky Mountains. From this perilous journey they returned Oct. 31, 1847. (See *Pioneers of 1847*.) Several large companies of Saints from Winter Quarters followed the Pioneers to the valley the following summer and fall, under the leadership of Daniel Spencer, Parley P. Pratt, A. O. Smoot, George B. Wallace, C. C. Rich, Edward Hunter, John Taylor, J. M. Grant and others. Altogether about two thousand souls, and nearly six hundred wagons arrived in Great Salt Lake Valley in the fall of 1847.

President Young and his brethren of the Twelve, after their return from the Great Salt Lake Valley, were soon busily engaged in administering to the wants and comforts of the Saints on the frontiers. There was plenty of work to be done in ar-

ranging for the Saints who had not gathered to Winter Quarters, in caring for those already there and in making preparations for the journey the next year of those who were able to come to the valleys. Brother John S. Fullmer, one of the three trustees who had been left in Nauvoo to settle up the affairs of the Church, sell the property, etc., was at Winter Quarters and reported their proceedings in Nauvoo to the Twelve. It was voted in council that the trustees gather all the papers and books pertaining to church affairs in Nauvoo and as soon as they had sold as much of the property as they could, they should gather up to Council Bluffs. Elder Jesse C. Little, who had made the journey to the valley and back with the pioneers, was instructed to resume his presidency over the eastern churches. Elder John Brown, another of the pioneers, was appointed to labor in the Southern States, and a large number of Elders were also selected to go on missions. Arrangements were also made to vacate Winter Quarters and found a settlement on the east side of the river, at Council Bluffs. This town was afterwards named Kaneshville, in honor of General Thomas L. Kane. The name has since been changed to Council Bluffs. The reason for vacating Winter Quarters was that the land where the town stood belonged to the Indians; it was an Indian territory, the title of which had not been extinguished. The agents of the government were disposed to take advantage of this and annoy the people, and that there might not be the least cause or imaginary cause of confusion on the part of the government, it was deemed best to remove to the other



side of the river. It was voted that until the laws of Iowa were extended over the people of the new settlement at the Bluffs, the Bishops should have authority as civil magistrates among the people. This was necessary that there might be courts to exercise jurisdiction in case of difficulty. The organization of companies to be ready to emigrate in the spring was pushed forward with great zeal during the winter.

Dec. 5, 1847, a council of the Twelve met at Elder Orson Hyde's house, and unanimously elected President Brigham Young President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, with authority to nominate his two Counselors. The President appointed Heber C. Kimball as his first and Willard Richards as his second Counselor, and these appointments were unanimously sustained. The next day, besides other items of business, Patriarch John Smith was nominated and sustained as Patriarch over the whole Church. Elder Orson Pratt was appointed to go to England and take charge of the affairs of the Church there, and Elders Orson Hyde and Ezra T. Benson were to go to the East on missions.

On the 27th of December a conference of the Church was held at the new settlement (Kaneshville), which was continued until the 29th. A high council was selected for that side of the river, and much important business was transacted, and on the 29th, the last day of the conference, the people confirmed the election of President Young as President of the Church, with Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards as his Counselors. From the death of the Prophet Joseph up to this time, the

Twelve Apostles had acted as the Presidency of the Church.

"The year 1848," writes George Q. Cannon, "opened favorably in the camp at Winter Quarters. Sickness was not so common as it had been the previous winter. A place had been found in the mountains to which the Saints could gather. This was a great relief to the people. From February, 1846, they had been wanderers without a fixed home. They had stopped at many places, but they knew that they were only temporary residences. The land where they were to remain and to commence the building up of Zion was far distant. But now their circumstances were better and more encouraging. The amusements and means of recreation for the people were limited, and, therefore, a dancing school, taught by Hyrum Gates, greatly contributed to the cheerfulness of the community during the winter months. The headquarters of the Camp of Israel was still at Winter Quarters. Of the Apostles there were with President Young at that point at the opening of the year: Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, Geo. A. Smith and Willard Richards. Orson Hyde was within call on the other side of the river; Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor were at Great Salt Lake Valley, having moved here with that portion of the Church that had followed the pioneers; and Amasa Lyman and Ezra T. Benson were on their way to the Eastern States on a mission. \* \* \* Winter Quarters was on Indian lands, and the government agent was anxious to get the Saints moved off; but he wrote a letter to President Young, in which he prohibited the people from moving their log cabins over

the river to Kaneshville. It was not many weeks after doing this that he wrote another letter to President Young, soliciting charity in behalf of the Pawnee chiefs—an appeal that was not made in vain, for the President caused that they should be supplied freely with corn and beef.

“At Kaneshville the people were anxious to have a post office established and a county organization extended over the land on which they had settled. At some meetings held in January, 1848, a petition to the legislature of Iowa was numerously signed, and Andrew H. Perkins and Henry W. Miller were chosen delegates to carry and present said petition. They attended to this business and learned that the legislature had made provision for the organization whenever the judge of the 4th judicial district of Iowa should decree that the ‘public good requires such organization.’ They waited upon Judge Carlton at Iowa City, who informed them that he had appointed a Mr. Townsend to organize said county. The delegation were introduced to the Secretary of State, who expressed a great desire that the Saints should stay in Iowa and improve the country. The politicians were very anxious to have a State road laid off, bridges built, and a post route established for the convenience of the inhabitants of the Council Bluffs country. The Whig and Democratic parties were nearly alike in numbers in the State, and both appeared very solicitous for the welfare of our people. It was not difficult to perceive why they appeared to feel so much interest. They wanted voters, and the party which could gain the ‘Mormon’ vote would carry the State.

“Soon after the visit of the delegation to Iowa City, two delegates—Sidney Roberts and Winsor P. Lyon—were selected by the Central Whig Committee of the State of Iowa, to go to the Bluffs, hold a caucus there with the people and present an address from the Whigs of the State. Ill health prevented Lyon from going to the Bluffs, but Sidney Roberts met in caucus there with the leading citizens, and presented his own and Lyon’s credentials. The address reviewed, at length, the persecutions heaped upon the Saints in Missouri, the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, their leaders, and their cruel expulsion from the States of Missouri and Illinois. The address also dwelt feelingly upon the deception and treachery of the Democrats for asking favors so often from, and as often heaping neglect, abuse and persecutions upon the Saints, depriving them from time to time of civil and religious liberty and the inalienable rights of freemen; and hearing that the ‘greedy cormorants of Loco-focoism’ (the Democrats were sometimes called Loco-focos in those days) were at their heels, and had ‘commenced a systematical plan to inveigle them in the meshes of their crafty net,’ they delegated Messrs. Winsor P. Lyon and Sidney Roberts to visit them and lay before them the national policy of the Whigs and solicit their co-operation; assuring them that their party was pledged to them and the country to ‘a firm and unyielding protection to Jew, Gentile and Christian of every name and denomination, with all other immunities rightfully belonging to every citizen in the land.’

“Accompanying the public ad-



dress was a private letter from Hon. John M. Coleman, of the State Executive Committee, addressed to Brigham Young and others. \* \* \* This was a fair letter, and with the address it shows very clearly that when prominent men of the nation look at the Saints without prejudice, they can readily admit that they are an industrious, innocent and persecuted people. It appeared just then to the Whigs an object of interest to speak kindly of and conciliate the Saints, and they became quite eloquent in dwelling upon the wrongs which they had endured. Although it looked rather suspicious to the Saints that the Whigs of Iowa should at that particular time become deeply interested in their welfare, and all of a sudden grow warm and eloquent upon the subject of their expulsion from Missouri, and the martyrdom of the Prophet and Patriarch, Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and the sufferings they had endured in the boasted land of freedom, still the caucus concluded to reply to the communications of the Whigs. A preamble was drafted and adopted, in which a lengthy account of the outrages, persecution and proscriptions endured by the Latter-day Saints were set forth; also a resolution declaring that, if the Whigs of Iowa would lift up their hands towards heaven and swear by the Eternal Gods that they would use all their powers to suppress mobocracy, insurrection, rebellion and violence, in whatever form or from whatever source such might arise against the Latter-day Saints and the citizens of Iowa, even to the sacrifice of all their property, and their lives if need be, and that a full share of representative and judicial authority should be extended

to the Saints, then the Saints would pledge themselves to unite their votes with the Whigs of Iowa at the election of the current year, and would correspond with the Whigs as solicited.

“In March (1848) a post-office was established at Kaneshville, and Brother Evan M. Greene received the appointment of postmaster. A county organization was also obtained, the county being called Pottawattamie. The officers were: Isaac Clark, judge of probate; George Coulson, Andrew H. Perkins and David D. Yearsley, county commissioners; Thomas Burdick, county clerk; John D. Parker, sheriff; James Sloan, district clerk; Evan M. Greene, recorder and treasurer; Jacob G. Bigler, William Snow, Levi Bracken and Jonathan C. Wright, magistrates.

“Kaneshville was now becoming a point of some importance. It was the intention to abandon Winter Quarters in the spring of 1848, and those who could not move to the valley that season made preparations to settle on the Iowa side of the Missouri River, and whether they opened farms at other points or not, they naturally looked to Kaneshville as headquarters. At a conference held there, Elders Orson Hyde and George A. Smith were chosen to labor in Pottawattamie County. Elder Ezra T. Benson was afterwards appointed to labor with them. Besides the Saints who had moved there after the expulsion of the Church from Nauvoo, there were many coming from foreign lands, who not having sufficient means to carry them directly to the valley, needed a half way place at which to stop while they could make the necessary prepara-

tions to prosecute the journey. In May a company of 146 Saints arrived from Great Britain, having been brought up the Missouri River by the steamboat *Mustang*, under the leadership of Elder Franklin D. Richards, assisted by Elders Andrew Cahoon and S. W. Richards. Another company also arrived shortly afterwards under the leadership of Elder Moses Martin. Early in the same month a company of Saints arrived from the States on the steamboat *Mandan*. After the exodus of the Church from Nauvoo the emigration of the Saints from Europe had been stopped until a place of gathering could be found and decided upon. During this period the Saints in Europe had to repress their desires to gather with the people of God. When, therefore, the General Epistle reached them from the Presidency of the Church, informing them, among other things, that a place for the gathering of the people and the building up of Zion had been designated, they gladly received the news and the stream of emigration again began to flow Zionward.

“The persecution and driving out of the Saints from the midst of so-called civilization and their wandering in the wilderness, did not check the preaching of the gospel in Europe, or the baptism of the humble and meek and honest-hearted people who heard its glad sound. In Wales alone, under the Presidency of Elder Dan Jones, during the last six months of 1847, upwards of seven hundred souls were added to the Church; and in other places where the Elders labored the Lord gave them great success in bringing souls unto Him. At the same con-

ference at which Elders Orson Hyde and George A. Smith were appointed to labor in Pottawattamie County, Elders Orson Pratt and Wilford Woodruff, of the Twelve Apostles, were appointed missions; the first to Great Britain and the second to the Eastern States, Nova Scotia and Canada. Besides these, there were several other prominent Elders sent on missions abroad.

“In the meanwhile active preparations were being made at Winter Quarters for the next summer’s journey across the plains to the valley. The Otoe Indians having heard that President Young and the Saints were about to start for the mountains, fifty of them, bearing letters from the Agency, visited Winter Quarters to receive compensation for the occupancy of their lands. Suitable presents were given them and they returned to their villages. On the 9th of May 22 wagons left Winter Quarters for the Elkhorn River—the place of rendezvous for the organization of the companies intending to move to the mountains that summer. They were followed by others; and on the 26th President Young started from Winter Quarters for the Elkhorn. Through the blessing of the Lord on his industry and good management, he had acquired considerable property during his sojourn at Winter Quarters, in houses, mills and temporary furniture. These he had to leave, making the fifth time that he had left his home and property since he embraced the gospel of Jesus Christ. Brother Heber C. Kimball reached the Elkhorn River on the 1st of June, having 55 wagons in company. It was with very joyful feelings that the Saints bade farewell to Winter Quarters.



There was a long and tiresome journey before them, and the country to which they were going did not possess such natural advantages for settlement and cultivation at that time as to be inviting for a people who sought temporal prosperity only. But to the Saints it was an attractive land. God had chosen and pointed it out as their residence, the place to which He wished them to gather. There they could dwell at peace and worship Him without any to molest or make them afraid. There, under the shadow of the mighty mountains, they could erect their altars, attend to the ordinances which He had revealed and commanded them to observe, extend their settlements, and have no mob to threaten and annoy them. It was, therefore, with joyful feelings that they started forth on the plains to traverse the desert wilds which stretched out between the Missouri River and the mountains.

"May 31, 1848, the organization of President Young's company was commenced by appointing Zera Pulsipher captain of hundred, with John Benbow and Daniel Wood captains of fifties; also, Lorenzo Snow captain of hundred and Heman Hyde and John Stoker captains of fifties. The next day the further organization was proceeded with by the appointment of William G. Perkins as captain of hundred and John D. Lee and Eleazer Miller captains of fifties; also, Allen Taylor captain of hundred and John Harvey and Daniel Carn captains of fifties. Isaac Morley was chosen President of the company, with Reynolds Cahoon and William W. Major as his counselors. Horace S. Eldredge was selected as marsual, and Hosea Stout as captain

of the night guard. President Young was sustained as general superintendent of the emigrating companies, and Daniel H. Wells as his aid-de-camp. In President Young's company there were 1,229 souls, 397 wagons, 74 horses, 19 mules, 1,275 oxen, 699 cows, 184 loose cattle, 411 sheep, 141 pigs, 605 chickens, 37 cats, 82 dogs, 3 goats, 10 geese, 2 hives of bees, 8 doves and 1 crow, the latter owned by Judge Phelps.

"President Heber C. Kimball's company organized by electing Henry Herriman captain of the first hundred, and Titus Billings and John Pack captains of fifties; subsequently Isaac Higbee was appointed captain of a fifty. In his company there were 662 souls, 226 wagons, 57 horses, 25 mules, 737 oxen, 284 cows, 150 loose cattle, 243 sheep, 96 pigs, 299 chickens, 17 cats, 52 dogs, 3 hives of bees, 3 doves, 5 ducks and 1 squirrel.

"On the 29th of June, Amasa Lyman, with a company of 108 wagons, left Winter Quarters for the Elkhorn River. Dr. Willard Richards left there with his company on the 3rd of July. These companies joined in electing James M. Flake captain of hundred, Franklin D. Richards and James H. Rollins, captains of fifties, and Robert L. Campbell historian of their camp. In these companies there were 502 whites, 24 negroes, 169 wagons, 50 horses, 20 mules, 515 oxen, 426 cows and loose cattle, 369 sheep, 63 pigs, 5 cats, 44 dogs, 170 chickens, 4 turkeys, 7 ducks, 5 doves and 3 goats.

"After Presidents Young and Kimball's companies left Winter Quarters, the place presented a desolate aspect. A terrific thunder storm passed over, accompanied by a hur-

ricane, which tore wagon covers to shreds and whistled fearfully through the empty dwellings. A few straggling Indians camped in the vacated houses and subsisted upon the cattle which had died of poverty, and upon such other articles of food as they could pick up. \* \* \*

“At Ancient Bluff Ruins, on July 12th, Brothers John Y. Greene, Joseph W. Young, Rufus Allen and Isaac Burnham from this valley met President Young and company. They brought several letters, and 18 wagons and teams with which to assist the emigrating companies. Eight of these teams were sent on to Winter Quarters by Daniel Thomas; the others were used in assisting Presidents Young and Kimball’s companies. The small amount of help received from the valley at this point was a disappointment. President Young had thought with good reason that the people in the valley would have it in their power, and would esteem it as a pleasure—all having covenanted to help each other until all were gathered to the mountains—to send back teams to help the companies who were on the road into the valley. He and the brethren were disappointed, therefore, in meeting 18 wagons almost broken down, most of them needing the resetting of their tires, six of them without any appearance of a cover, and some even without bows, and many of the cattle footsore; and especially to learn by letter from the valley that these were ‘all the teams that we could spare, that were fit to go.’ They had hoped to be able, with the help received from the valley, to send teams to Winter Quarters after the mill irons, millstones, printing presses, type, paper, and

carding machine; but with the few wagons and teams which had been sent them this could not be done.

“Three days after meeting these teams, President Young sent a letter under date of July 17th, to the valley. It had the effect to stir up the authorities there to make greater exertions to fit out teams and wagons to send back to help the emigrating companies. That letter reached the valley on the 6th of August. On the 9th it was answered; this answer President Young received on the 23rd of August. Respecting the sending back of help, the letter said:

“‘As early as was thought prudent we started back all the wagons, oxen and men that the people thought they could spare at the time; and under the circumstances it was deemed best to let that suffice until we could hear from you. We are now busy setting tires, hub-bands, etc., and raising all the men, oxen and well-fitted wagons that we can send to you as speedily as possible, and we shall keep starting them off until we send all we have to spare, or until we receive word from you that you have teams and wagons enough.’

“A few days after the receipt of this letter, President Young met, on the Sweetwater, 47 wagons and 124 yoke of cattle, which had been sent from the valley for the assistance of the companies in charge of Brothers Lorenzo Snow and Abraham O. Smoot. This was a timely and most welcome relief. Presidents Young and Kimball then sent back to Winter Quarters, in charge of Allen Taylor, 48 men and boys, 59 wagons, 121 yoke of cattle, 44 mules and horses.

“The season of 1848 was a very dry one; the roads were dusty, the grass was scarce. The teams in the companies were heavily loaded, and in consequence the traveling was slow and tedious. Sixty-three days



were occupied in traveling from the Elkhorn River to the last crossing of the Sweetwater, at an average of 12 miles per day, the companies resting 22 days, including Sundays, to recruit and strengthen the cattle. The loss of cattle on the route was considerable; and it is a fact worthy of notice here that the percentage of deaths of cattle on the plains has always been much greater in trains where cattle brought from the States were worked than in those in which cattle raised in the valleys were used. Trains have been sent from here many seasons to bring up the poor. In going and returning the cattle have traveled upwards of two thousand miles, yet the loss of life among them has been very small. They are accustomed to the kind of feed to be met with on the plains, and will not eat poisonous grass, or drink alkali water, as man, cattle raised in the States do.

“President Young’s company was divided into four divisions on the 16th of July, for greater convenience in traveling; and about the same time Brother Kimball’s company was divided. Traveling in small companies where grass was scarce was much better for the cattle, and more pleasant for the people, for the dust created by the traveling of a large company of several hundred wagons was very disagreeable.

“Fearing that Dr. Richards and Amasa M. Lyman’s company might be weak in teams, Presidents Young and Kimball sent letters by express to them, counseling them, in difficulty for the want of cattle, to keep their companies together and continue moving so as to get west of the South Pass, and to send word what their circumstances were and what

help they required. They expected to send them all the assistance they needed from the valley. These companies behind were kept well informed of the progress of those ahead of them from the communications left on the way. Sometimes a copy of the camp journal was written and placed in a notch in a tree in some prominent place, sometimes in a post stuck in the ground; but whenever a large buffalo skull or other suitable bones were found near the road, pencils were called into use and some particulars were written on them. In this way much information was communicated to those behind, as very few teamsters who had pencils ever passed good white bones, suitable for writing on, without picking them up or stopping to scribble something on them. In those days buffalo were very numerous on the plains and their skulls were plentifully scattered over the ground.

“The first of President Young’s company arrived in Salt Lake Valley on the 20th of September, and President Kimball’s a few days after. In the first company one boy was drowned in the Elkhorn River, a child of 34 days and a woman of 45 years died, and two persons had their legs broken. Some other slight accidents also occurred. Several children were born on the route. In the last company a girl of six years was killed and a woman of 28 years died, and several children were born. The health of the people was remarkably good, and no better argument in favor of plain, and even meagre living and out-door exercise can be adduced than the excellent health enjoyed by the Saints in crossing the plains in those years and in

the first settlement of this valley. There was but little variety of food and the allowance was very scanty; the people dwelt in tents, and a good covered wagon as a bed room was a luxury that very many did not have; yet good health and vigor were almost universal.

“Teams and wagons were sent back in charge of Elder Jedediah M. Grant to assist President Willard Richards and Amasa M. Lyman’s company. The first of the last-named company arrived in Salt Lake Valley October 10th, and President Richards and company on the 19th.

“The First Presidency of the Church were gladly welcomed by the people who were residents of the valley. They rejoiced in the wonderful care and preserving mercies of the Lord which had been over them from the time they left Illinois. The Lord had blessed them in the wilderness; he had fed them, delivered them from the many dangers to which they were exposed and led

them to a safe and healthy retreat, far distant from their former persecutors. The spirit of peace brooded over the land, and having been harassed and annoyed by mobs, they could appreciate the security which they now enjoyed.

About one thousand wagons arrived in the Valley in 1848 with immigrating Saints, and during the few following years large companies continued to arrive. In 1852 the last remnant of the exiles from Nauvoo, who wished to come to the Valley, agreeable to counsel, and others who since the drivings had arrived on the frontiers from different parts of the world, came on to the new headquarters of the Church in the Mountains. Kanessville (now Council Bluffs), where Orson Hyde had been publishing the *Frontier Guardian*, and where quite a number of Saints from Nauvoo, had been temporarily located since the summer of 1846, was vacated by the Saints in 1852

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## THE MORMON BATTALION.

In the summer of 1846, while the Saints were journeying westward, away from the borders of civilization, in search of a new home where they might live free and unmolested from mob violence, a call was made upon them by the Federal government to furnish 500 young men to march to California and take part in the war with Mexico. June 26, 1846, Captain James Allen, of the U. S. army arrived at Mount Pisgah, Iowa, where a number of the Saints had located temporarily, and presented in a meeting of the leading men of the place, the following circular to the “Mormons:”

“I have come among you, instructed by Colonel S. W. Kearny of the U. S. army, now commanding the army of the West, to visit the Mormon camp and accept the services, for twelve months, of four or five companies of the Mormon men who may be willing to serve their country for the period in our present war with Mexico. This force to unite with the army of the West at Santa Fe and be marched thence to California, where they will be discharged.

“They will receive pay and rations and other allowances such as other volunteers or regular soldiers receive, from the day they shall be mustered into the service, and will be entitled to all the comforts and benefits of regular soldiers of the army, and when discharged as contemplated, at California, they will be given, gratis, their arms and accoutrements, with which they will be fully equipped at Fort Leavenworth. Thus is offered to the Mormon people now, this