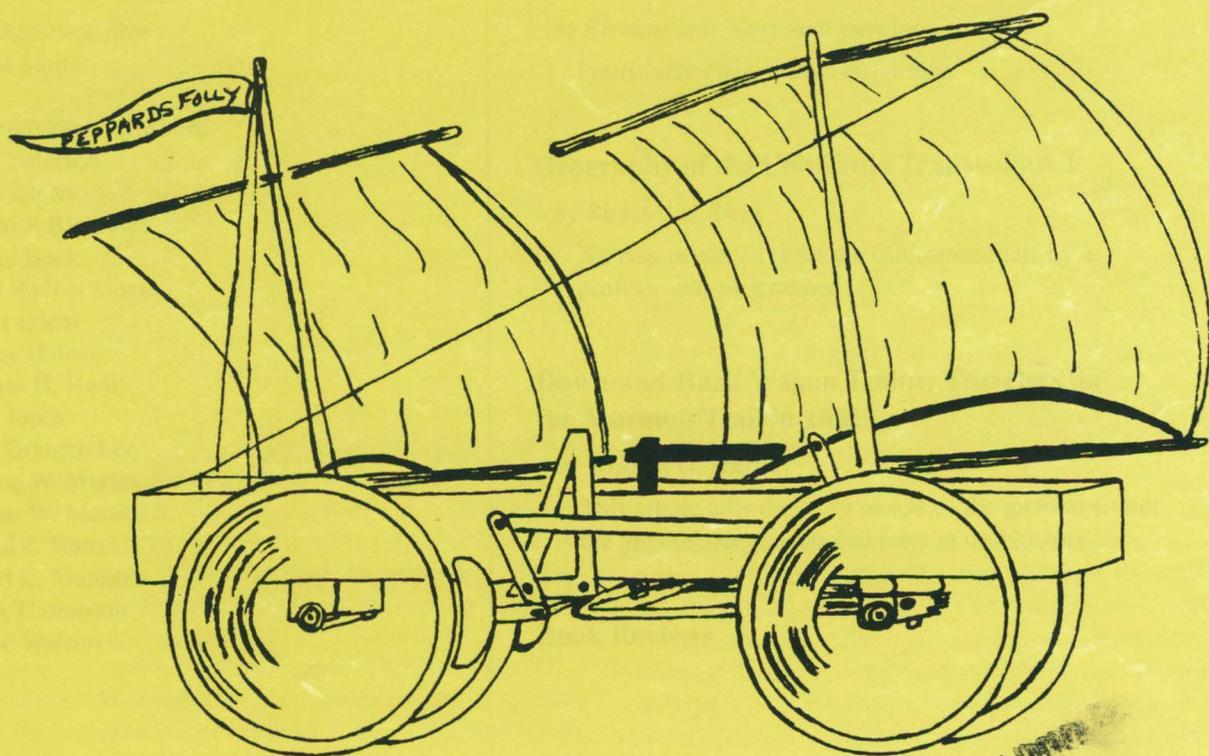


OVERLAND JOURNAL

Volume 11, Number 4—Winter, 1993



STU LINDEN
FEB 1 1993

Sesquicentennial of the Great Migration to Oregon
1843—1993

OVERLAND JOURNAL



Quarterly Journal of the Oregon-California Trails Association

Volume 11, Number 4
1993

ISSN: 0738-1093

Editor
Lois Daniel

Editorial Assistant
Elaine McNabney

Book Review Editor
Harold Smith

Editorial Advisory Board
Ruth Anderson
David Bigler
Donald J. Blakeslee
Donald Buck
Susan Badger Doyle
Walter Edens
Aubrey Haines
Thomas H. Hunt
Larry Jones
Betty Graham Lee
Charles W. Martin, Sr.
Charles W. Martin, Jr.
Merrill J. Mattes
Robert L. Munkres
Erwin Thompson
Jeanne Watson

CONTENTS

Windwagons West	2
<i>by Richard and Mary Ann Gehling</i> Prairie schooners with a difference.	
Geography of the California Trails—Part I	12
<i>by Richard L. Rieck</i> An new perspective on the California trails by a professional geographer.	
Down-and-Back Wagon Trains: Travelers on the Mormon Trail in 1861	23
<i>by William G. Hartley</i> This article tells the story of one of the greatest (if not the greatest) organizational feats in trail history.	
Book Reviews	35

© 1993 by the
Oregon-California Trails Association.

Overland Journal is published quarterly by the Oregon-California Trails Association, P.O. Box 1019, Independence MO 64051-0519. Members of the Association receive each issue of the *Overland Journal* as part of their membership privileges. The entire contents are protected by copyright and may not be reproduced without permission. The Association disclaims responsibility for statements of facts or opinions expressed in signed contributions to the *Overland Journal*. Neither the editor nor the Association is responsible for unsolicited manuscripts, photographs, artwork or other materials sent for editorial consideration. Articles appearing in the *Overland Journal* are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*. Prospective authors should send their articles to: Editor, *Overland Journal*, at the above address. Manuscripts should be typed, double-spaced, with endnotes on separate sheets and numbered consecutively. Inquiries concerning suitable topics and author guidelines are welcome and should be addressed to the editor.

Down-and-Back Wagon Trains: Travelers on the Mormon Trail in 1861

William G. Hartley

In 1861, Mark Twain—he was still Samuel Clemens then—and his fellow overland stagecoach passengers occasionally passed Mormon covered wagons lumbering west. To Twain, in his jaunty recollection, *Roughing It*, the Mormon parties were of but passing (literally) interest.¹ He mentioned but one company of thirty-three wagons which his coach roared past just east of Independence Rock. The train's passengers he considered "coarse-clad and sad-looking," and "dusty and uncombed, hatless, bonnetless and ragged, and they did look so tired!"²

Twain must have seen Job Pingree's independent train, which had thirty-three wagons. Had not his mule-drawn coach raced past the emigrants, Twain's love for the curious might have been fired up. Had he had an opportunity to chat with teamsters or passengers of the Pingree company, he might have discovered that their train was but one of several in a massive, well-organized migration. Members of the train might have told him that in four particular trains in that year's Mormon migration he could have found enticing plot material for one or more good short stories. Viewed quickly from dusty stagecoach windows, the Mormon wagons must have looked pretty much like other trains on the overland trails, but what Twain saw was part of the beginning of a highly successful innovation in the annals of overland trail travel, a situation of great historical impact.³

Four of the wagon trains, created of donated wagons, originated not in the *East* but in the *West*. These went east or *down* from Utah to the Missouri River to bring *back* Mormon immigrants too poor to afford outfits. Four large 1861 Mormon wagon trains were of this type, called by contemporaries "down-and-back" trains or "church team trains." What Twain did not realize he was seeing was the first of a half-dozen years of carefully planned, orchestrated and successful down-and-back wagon trains that brought some 20,000 Mormons to Utah Territory—nearly a third of all Mormons who trekked over the Mormon Trail in its nineteen year existence.⁴

Twenty-five-year-old Twain would have enjoyed talking with some of the down-and-back drivers. Many were older boys and young men, younger than he was, single fellows, who had volunteered for the six-month round trip. Twain would have admired these "Utah Boys" for their youthful cleverness—volunteering got them out of farm work at home, let them drive all summer (macho even then) and allowed them to meet the arriving emigrant girls first before other Utah males did.

DOWN-AND-BACK PLAN

Since their first Mormon Trail trek in 1847, Latter-Day Saint (LDS) leaders had labored to fulfill a pledge made when they were forced from Nauvoo, Illinois, by hostile mobs. They promised to assist any and all needy Saints wanting to gather to Utah with them. Every emigration year proved costly and drained the church's Perpetual Emigrating Fund's ability to help those in need. Having to buy oxen and wagons in the Missouri River valley required more cash than the church could provide. So, between 1856 to 1860, the church tried handcarts as a low-cost way to move people. That system worked quite well overall—eight of ten companies arrived in good order—but became hard to promote because of the Martin and Willie handcart train disasters in Wyoming snows late in 1856.⁵ So a new kind of low-cost transportation system was needed. In 1860, Utah Territory was cash poor but oxen rich, so the LDS Church president Brigham Young sent his nephew, Joseph W. Young, with Utah oxen and wagons back to Florence, Nebraska Territory, to see how the oxen survived the round trip. The oxen did well, so, because of cost savings, the down-and-back wagon trains became the new system for the future.

In February, 1861, Brigham Young asked every LDS bishop in Utah Territory to have his congregation, or ward, loan one or more wagon outfits for the six-month round trip in exchange for a church-donations credit. Wagons should be "the best Chicago make," with two-inch iron axletrees, bows and good covers. Oxen should be unshod but sent with eight thin ox shoes per team and sufficient nails. Supplies each wagon should carry were spelled out.⁶ Seventy-five wards, nearly every ward in Utah, donated a fully outfitted wagon and two yoke of oxen, and most sent more than two yoke.

The author, a member of the Crossroads Chapter of the Oregon-California Trails Association, is associate professor of history at Brigham Young University and past-president of the Mormon Trails Association. He is writing a book about the 1861 Mormon emigration.

Wards also provided drivers for the outfits, usually a young man, and tons of flour.

From communities north and south, donated wagons moved to the mouth of Parley's Canyon east of Salt Lake City. There, the wagons were grouped into four companies. Four Mormon Trail veterans were assigned as captains: John R. Murdock, age thirty-four; Joseph Horne, forty-nine; Ira Eldredge, forty-one, and Joseph W. Young, thirty-two, who also served as general captain of all the trains. On April 23, 1861, the day after news of Fort Sumter's fall reached the territory, the trains left the city and started following the Mormon Trail in reverse, heading *down* to the Platte River valley, then on to Florence to bring *back* needy LDS emigrants.

The four companies left Utah with 203 wagons, 217 teamsters, 1,699 oxen and some eighteen guards. Together they transported 136,000 pounds of Utah flour, which they unloaded at four stations along the trail for use on the trip back: Rocky Ridge, North Platte Bridge, Deer Creek and Wood River Center. The Utah trains took two months to reach Florence.⁷

Florence, now part of Omaha, was the site of the Mormons' 1846-47 Winter Quarters, from which the first Mormon pioneers headed west in 1847. The small village served as a re-outfitting point for the Mormon handcart companies in 1856. After that, it was the main outfitting stage for LDS trail migration until 1860.

SEPARATE STREAMS OF EMIGRANTS

Meanwhile, nearly 4,000 Mormons in Scandinavia, England and the United States made plans during the winter of 1860-1861 to journey to Great Salt Lake Valley. LDS emigration agents in the United States and abroad chartered trains, boats and ships to meet a clockwork schedule designed to put emigrants at Florence about the same time as the Utah down-and-back wagon companies arrived there.

In response to orders from LDS Scandinavian Mission president, John Van Cott, Scandinavian Saints wanting to emigrate reached Copenhagen's docks by late April. From there, Van Cott forwarded them by Baltic steamer to Kiel, by trains from Kiel to Hamburg and by the North Sea steamers *Eugenie* and *Britannia* to England where they joined other European Saints at the Liverpool docks.

In Liverpool that winter, the LDS European Mission president, George Q. Cannon, chartered three sailing vessels, filled them with supplies and signed up British Mormons wanting to emigrate. Then, at departure time, he supervised the emigrant boardings and placed church officers in charge of each shipload of Saints. On April 16, the charter ship *Manchester* sailed with 378 Saints, the *Underwriter* on April 23 with 623 and the huge *Monarch of the Sea* on May 16 with 955. After ocean voyages of from five to seven weeks, these vessels each reached New York harbor.⁸

From New York City, four LDS groups separately moved north and then west by railroad: the three companies from the

sailing ships, and a group of eastern states Mormons, including 300 from Philadelphia, sixty from Boston and two dozen German converts from New York City. To reach Florence from New York City by train and by Mississippi and Missouri riverboats required ten days and several transfers. From New York City, LDS agents funneled each of the four groups—2,900 Mormons total—onto harbor barges to Jersey City, where chartered train cars moved them northwest and west via Dunkirk in western New York and on to Chicago and then Quincy, Illinois. The last group, from the *Monarch of the Sea*, left New York on June 20. At Quincy, riverboats moved the groups twenty miles downriver to Hannibal, Missouri, where trains bumped them due west to St. Joseph. Passengers became alarmed to see armed soldiers guarding bridges and towns along the tracks, evidence of America's Civil War. At St. Joseph the groups, at different times, took a two- or three-day riverboat trip up the Missouri River to Florence. War curtailed Missouri River traffic, forcing the Mormon travelers to overload available steamboats. "The people piled in endways, sideways, crossings and every way all as thick as hops," emigrant George Ottinger wrote.⁹

FLORENCE OUTFITTINGS

During May, June and July, the four large groups of emigrants from the east converged at Florence, as did the four down-and-back wagon trains from Utah. For three months LDS agents operated a bustling Florence outfitting camp, complete with a provisions store, warehouse, campsites, corrals and weighing machines. Jacob Gates, agent in charge, set up the camp. At Brigham Young's instruction, Gates had arrived in New York City from England in February. He made preliminary bookings on the New York and Erie Railroad for the passengers coming on the three ships. Then he hurried to Chicago and ordered 111 wagons from the Peter Schuttler wagon company for \$7,300—\$65 per wagon—to be shipped unassembled to Florence by June. Elder Gates reached Florence in early April, just in time to hear news that the shelling of Fort Sumter had started the Civil War.¹⁰

On May 5, Gates first learned how many down-and-back wagons were on their way. Without knowing how many emigrants to expect, especially with war breaking out, he opened a warehouse and started stockpiling provisions and trail equipment. On May 24, Saints who had crossed the Atlantic on the *Manchester* arrived. Gates helped those who could afford them to buy their own wagons, formed them into the David H. Cannon independent train and sent them west on May 29.¹¹

On June 3, *Underwriter* Saints reached Florence. Englishman F.W. Blake, assigned to be a camp clerk, kept a fine diary about his labors.¹² On June 7, he noted, he was "dealing out wagons." The next day he helped put together "the various parts of Waggon's." "Wagons and covers dealt out," he reported on June 10. Milo Andrus, assigned to captain an independent train, returned on June 14 from a two-day buying trip, bringing "a herd of Cows—30 Cows, 21 Calves, & 2

Oxen," so Blake had to walk to "the grazing spot" and ask teamsters to drive Andrus's purchases to a corral.

Eastern states Saints arrived on June 20. Meanwhile, the wagons from Utah rolled into Florence between June 16 and June 30, on schedule. The last emigrants, those from the ship *Monarch of the Sea*, arrived on July 2. By June's end, overland telegraph developer J.J. Creighton, based at Omaha, offered Mormon men a chance to work their way to Utah by helping his crews erect the transcontinental telegraph line along the trail. Gates contracted to provide seventy-five men, who would receive half-salaries at that time to help move their families, and the other half would be paid in Utah by mid-November.¹³

Gates, directing the independent outfittings, and Captain Joseph Young, responsible for the down-and-back trains, were surprised by the large number of emigrants flowing into Florence. Their first estimate of needing 300 wagons was low, and they faced a shortage. By July 2, after four independent trains outfitted and left, the Florence camp still contained more than 2,500 Saints, including Germans, Swiss, Italians, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Scots, Welsh, English, Irish and Canadians. Responding to transportation demands, Captain Young "required all, who expected financial assistance from the church, to pay over to him, through his clerk, every cent of money they possessed, so that he may be able to purchase the necessary outfit for the emigration and leave none behind, who wanted to be set down in Utah." William Jeffries, like many others, "handed over every cent I possessed."¹⁴

Saints able to buy their own wagons and teams joined one of eight independent wagon trains that outfitted under Gates's direction. Those unable to buy outfits reported to Captain Young and signed up to travel in one of the down-and-back wagons. While awaiting wagon assignments, emigrants assembled the Schuttler wagons, built a public bowery and sewed together wagon covers and tents.¹⁵ To feed the campers and stock the wagon trains, Gates's agents procured bulk supplies from stores in Omaha City and Council Bluffs, including 13,000 pounds of sugar, 3,000 pounds of apples, 3,300 pounds of ham and 15,000 pounds of bacon.¹⁶

A total of twelve Mormon wagon trains loaded passengers at Florence in the summer of 1861. The Church Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company ledger books show that some 600 heads of families signed loan notes, agreeing to pay later for food, supplies and wagon fares given them. People needing to join the down-and-back trains received wagon assignments, with six to twelve people per wagon. Fares were \$41 for adults and half-fares for children under eight. Each passenger could take fifty pounds of baggage free and pay twenty cents per extra pound.¹⁷ Wilhelmina Bitter wrote that in her wagon items not used daily "were stacked up in the middle of a wagon, as high as the bows," cutting the wagon into two apartments. Camp kettles were tied beneath the wagons.¹⁸

Thomas Griggs, from Boston, said that on June 24 he walked two miles searching for firewood. On July 1, he was assigned to the Joseph Horne down-and-back train and penned a description of how the trains were organized:

The passengers assigned to his train having their baggage taken to the bowery, there weighed and properly loaded into the wagon, and then driving out some three miles to the place of rendezvous, there taking their first lesson in camp life, such as getting water, fuel, and cooking with camp fires.¹⁹

Before wagon trains began the trek, LDS leaders appointed company officers. In addition to the captain, each train had a chaplain and clerk. Utah teamsters, called "Utah Boys" by the emigrants, were considered rough-mannered by some of the passengers. "The American Boys evidently have had no practice in speaking," Blake smugly judged, "for the enlightenment of mind they are far behind the times."²⁰

The table below shows that Mormon trains left Florence between May 29 and July 16 and that the four down-and-back trains moved out during the second week in July. Jacob Gates closed down the Florence camp and left on July 17, four days before the first major battle of the Civil War. By then, twelve trains with a total of 624 wagons had left Florence carrying just over 3,900 emigrants: 1,000 who had been organized in the eastern states, 1,900 organized in Europe and 1,000 who reached Florence on their own. Trains averaged 6.3 passengers per wagon, although a good number of the total wagons hauled freight rather than passengers. The down-and-back trains carried about 1,700 passengers—forty-four percent of the Mormon migration that year—an average of 8.5 people per wagon. Captain Eldredge's train was the largest, with seventy wagons and 514 passengers. Joseph Young's eighty-wagon company proved too large and split into two companies.²¹ A final letter from the camp, dated July 17, reported to Brigham Young that "Every Saint who reached Florence, and desired to go home this season, has had the privilege. The sending down of waggons from Utah to Florence is a grand scheme."²²

Two Mormon apostles, Elders Erastus Snow and Orson Pratt, who had helped direct the emigration and outfittings east of Florence, were among the last to head west. Using

LDS EMIGRANT WAGON COMPANIES IN 1861

Left Florence	Train Captains	Wagons	Passengers	Arrive SLC	Trail Days	Diaries by
5/29	David H. Cannon	68	265	8/16	79	Tripp
6/07	Job Pingree	33	204*	9/02	87	
6/20	Peter Ranck	20*	124*	9/08	80	
6/25	Homer Duncan	47	268	9/13	80	Company
7/03	Milo Andrus,	38	620	9/12	71	Company
	Wm. Martindale	28				& Ottinger
7/08	Thomas Woolley	30	186*	9/15	69	
7/08	John R. Murdock**	63	460*	9/12	66	
7/09	Ira Eldredge**	70	514	9/15	68	Blake Reed Griggs
7/09	Joseph Horne**	62	453*	9/13	65	Jacobs & Jefferies
7/12	Joseph W. Young** (Ansel Hammon) (Heber P. Kimball)	80	292*	9/23	73	
7/13	Samuel A. Woolley (Joseph Porter)	61	338	9/22	71	Woolley & Nielsen Teasdale
7/16	Sixtus Johnson	54	200	9/27	73	
Totals: 12 (became 13)		624	3,924*		73	Average
* Estimated						
** Down-and-back Church Trains (Boldface)						

mule teams, they traveled much faster than the wagons. When they overtook Mormon companies they stopped and sometimes traveled along with them, giving encouragement and sometimes some campfire sermons and advice.²³

NEBRASKA, 466 MILES

The LDS emigrants traveled safely for the most part. Although they experienced some of the normal small problems and irritations of overland trail travel, the trek basically was routine and rather unexciting. "There was a sameness in every day's travel," said James H. Lindford, and "all in all it was a nice trip for the healthy and strong." He noted that "all of the able bodied emigrants walked from Florence to Utah."²⁴ Eleven diaries kept by travelers—all males—in ten of the thirteen trains give glimpses of life on the Mormon Trail that year and form the basis for this narration.

On July 5, during a heavy rainstorm at Florence, Englishman Blake wrote that "the tents are found to be not waterproof and the wet state of the ground after the storm induced the women to sleep at night in the wagon." On July 7 he noted, "Slept in a tent, am getting quite accustomed to this life and happen to like it." On July 10, the Horne train reached the Elkhorn River crossing. "Here, in this campers' paradise," diarist Griggs wrote, "we remained until Saturday morning, gathering wild grapes, shooting wild ducks, bathing in the river, washing our clothes, having an abundance of wood, water, grass and shade, and being visited by a number of friendly Pawnee Indians."²⁵

Capt. Job Pingree's independent train left a week after the independent Cannon train, and they stayed a week apart for awhile; but Pingree's company "received notes almost daily" from the Cannon train, written on "the skulls of buffalos."²⁶ Griggs's July 13 entry shows how closely some of the trains followed each other. "Came up behind Capt. Murdock's and Cap Eldredges companies. Stopped at Fremont for 3 hours rest and dinner. Started out ahead of Murdock and passed through Eldredges company, traveled about 20 miles and camped."²⁷ On July 13, the Eldredge church team train allowed the Horne and Murdock companies to pass because they needed to reach Wood River quickly to pick up the deposited flour.²⁸

Some ferried across the Loup Fork, but others went to Columbia City, present Columbus, first. At Loup Fork ferry, Utah Boy Zeb Jacobs said that "We got over alright, but I had the pleasure of getting a ducking several times, while helping the wagons over, but I was used to that."²⁹ Two days before Wood River, George Teasdale, in the Johnson train, said the Joseph Young company passed by them on July 23. "Several of the Swiss in their train joined some in ours and they formed a choir and sang several of their native hymns with great sweetness and judgment."³⁰ Columbia City, Eldredge passengers found, consisted of "a few houses" and a ferry on which the wagons crossed.³¹ Blake noted that the Platte River, past Columbia City, was very shallow in most places. During one crossing, apparently to avoid another wagon train, a sight Blake seemed to enjoy was when "the girls pulled their dresses up to their knees (some above) and they paddled away to fine fun through the two streams" of the Platte.³²

An 1866 Mormon wagon train "nooning" near Coalville, Utah, on the last leg of their trek across the plains to Salt Lake City. The photograph was made by C.R. Savage, a Salt Lake City photographer, who made a 9,000-mile trip from Salt Lake City to San Francisco and through Panama to New York to outfit a traveling darkroom and accompany a Mormon wagon train to Salt Lake City. (Utah Historical Society)



When the Eldredge company reached Wood River Center, it found the Horne company there, taking in flour. Blake saw people there that he knew. They looked "healthy and ruddy," thought camp life was pleasant and "are perfectly at home at the business of camp life."³³ Bartlett Tripp said he saw at Wood River "a large ranch here at which considerable is done—printing office, blacksmith shop, store, etc., a number of settlers in the vicinity—houses all in backwoodsman style but cheering to the traveller."³⁴

On July 25, Blake said his Eldredge company covered the most miles yet during one day—twenty-four. He complained of mosquitoes—"we had learned to damn them"—and recorded that they saw buffalo for the first time. The next day his train passed "the remains of oxen and Buffalo lay strewn about over the plains, bones whitened by lapse of time lay crumbling to dust." Three church team trains camped by each other that night.³⁵

Bartlett Tripp, in the farther along Cannon train, noted that while camped by Cobblestone Bluffs, where Chimney Rock was barely in sight, they passed "the bodies of two men shot for stealing cattle from emigrants." In the evening they had a dance in camp "in which all seemed to participate with unmixed pleasure. I never was in company with a people who seem to take more pleasure in this healthy exercise. Old and young participate and make merry to the sound of the bow."³⁶

Mormon wagon trains always celebrated on July 24, Pioneer Day, to honor the entry of the first LDS pioneers into Salt Lake Valley in 1847. Zeb Jacobs said that in his company he and other Utah Boys fired guns in the morning then formed a "martial band" composed of makeshift instruments—tin pails, pans, bake kettle lids, and bells—then danced an "Indian jig." After traveling seventeen miles, at sunset they "had a grand ball at the bachelor's hall, which our mess was called."³⁷

The night before arriving across from Ash Hollow, Jacobs did some of his hardest work as a teamster:

That night while eating supper, the mules and horses took a notion they would go, and accordingly they went. Some of us started in pursuit, but the night was so dark that we had to take advantage of the lightning to tell us which way we were going. Then we saw something moving in the distance, we immediately started the chase. At last I got lost in a swamp but managed, after much trouble, to get back to camp without finding the animals.³⁸

Blake said his camp routine in the high plains was to gather buffalo chips, light fires, carry water from the Platte, unpack and pack the wagon and fix up and take down tents. His Eldredge train was covering between twelve and twenty miles per day. The majority enjoyed peace and lived together "joyously," but he noted a few cases of food stealing and "an occasional war of words."³⁹ By August 5, buffalo chips became rare so his group made cook fires from sticks and oxen chips; "they burn admirably," Blake said of the oxen chips.

Captain Horne's passengers, like everyone else, were fooled by distances in the high plains country. "Finally coming in sight of the Chimney Rock," diarist Griggs wrote, "some of the 'green uns' allured by its seeming nearness waded the river and toiled on and on until weary and faint they reached it[s] base, and, after carving their names on the rock, giving three cheers for President Brigham Young and the Pioneers," they "overtook the camp."⁴⁰ George Teasdale recorded on August 16, when the last-to-leave Johnson train was just beyond Chimney Rock, a superb word picture of one day's routine on the trail.

Sun rises, camp guard calls up the people, and in a short time all are busy cooking breakfast, washing, dressing children and preparing for the day's journey. Horn blows for prayers, breakfast is dispatched, the voice of the Cap. is heard "oh yes get up the cattle," a general bustle to clear away, pack up and get ready to start. The cattle is corralled, yoked up, hitched up and out we roll once more at half past 8 on our journey to the



gathering place of the Saints. Travel 7 miles, corral, water the cattle, get dinner, hitch up and off again over a rough road for 8 miles and corral once more, get supper, and, as it is a fine moonlight night, get in groups sitting round the fires talking merrily. Horn blows, we assemble for prayers and instructions are given relative to our duties by Cap. Johnson, interpreted to the Swiss by Bro. Woodward, the evening hymn and benediction closes the scene and all retire to rest.⁴¹

Beyond Scotts Bluff Teasdale said they saw on August 17 "a long black cloud of smoke with a deep fringe of red fire which we discover to be a prairie fire." Adding to the visual drama, "some dark angry looking clouds above our heads [were] continually sending forth vivid flashes of lightning and peals of thunder."⁴²

Just beyond Scotts Bluff on August 17, Zeb Jacobs recorded a prank Utah Boys in one company pulled on Utah Boys in his Horne train. "As we woke up in the morning all hands began laughing at each other, as our faces were besmeared with tar and wagon grease. Some of the boys from the other camp had paid us a visit and left their compliments upon our faces."

On the high plains, Blake, on August 7, complained: "speaking of relishable food I have often regretted that I had no gun with which to cheque the run of the Hare or Rabbit which abound on these plains, many are thus favoured and smack their lips often over a plate of Stew made from these active animals." On August 10, two days before reaching Fort Laramie, Blake saw telegraph poles "recently erected on the other side of the river."

WYOMING

Just before Fort Laramie, diarists reported seeing a number of Indians. Peder Nielsen, writing in Danish, paid Indians a deserved compliment for services they rendered some passengers in the Woolley Train on August 18:

We have come across quite a few Indians who have been very kind to us. Yesterday for example we had a heavy hailstorm and some of the sisters had gone ahead of the company and when the storm rose, some Indians were near them and they took their hats made with tarpaulin off and held them over the heads of the sisters. We camped near their camp in the evening; they came over to us and got some bread and flour and pork, and were very much satisfied.⁴³

On August 12, Blake noted that Fort Laramie consisted of a few wooden houses and a garrison of soldiers. He learned that Philip St. George Cooke, with whom the Mormon Battalion had marched in 1846, was soon to reach Fort Laramie from Utah with 1,500 U.S. troops of the Utah Expedition, bound for Civil War duty. Blake added that the Eldredge train passed the Reid and Murdock trains and camped nearby. He loved the evening for "the moon shone with its soft pale light upon the trees and rocks around them and the fires from the camps with their reflected glare upon the wagons and tents was enough to inspire an artist." Bartlett Tripp's pen provided

a rare glimpse of wagon train discipline on July 9, nearly opposite Fort Laramie, by saying simply, "Harvey cleared with 30 lashes."

Beyond Fort Laramie the wagon trains crossed the Platte to its south side. There, teamster Zeb Jacobs said he "was in the water most of the afternoon, helping the teams across. The water was cold."⁴⁴ When the Eldredge train crossed there on August 13, Blake said they joined the California Road, which was

...the general track chosen by emigrants to California, likewise the mail route [and] a station at which the pony express stays to change or recruit, and which has now (through the labour of Mormon Boys who are employed by the government) become a telegraph station. It is a long building formed of wood, a range of rooms, with Windows, a door in the middle of the building leading to each range of rooms. They appear to be well furnished.

Griggs, in the Horne train just beyond Fort Laramie, wrote that "the Overland Coach with its mail and passengers in a cloud of dust goes dashing past, and with interest we see workmen setting the poles for the Overland Telegraph, while Indians visit our camp to 'swap' their pelts, buckskins, etc. for sugar, flour and trinkets."⁴⁵ On this part of the trail, Englishman Teasdale paid the Utah Boys a compliment:

Begin the ascent of the Black Hills. Over we roll, now on an eminence, now in a vale, over rough stoney ground, looking at the wagon wheels frequently. The boys drive well.⁴⁶

On the August 14, the Horne, Murdock and Eldredge companies reached another telegraph station where "some of the telegraph boys came among us, some to pay visits, some to stay."⁴⁷ In the same area, the Johnson train encountered three interesting groups between August 24 and 28. A telegraph train passed them. "Four mule teams pass us laden with telegraph wire," Teasdale wrote on the twenty-eighth. The next day "the telegraph company camped behind us" and "some of the 'boys' visited their friends in the evening." Ten companies of soldiers with small ordnance pieces passed them, Teasdale noted, and "invited some of the sisters to return with them instead of going to Brigham," which invitation, he said, "was not accepted." Then, "large companies of grasshoppers passed like a cloud over the train."⁴⁸

Too bad Mark Twain did not have an opportunity to talk to teamster Zeb Jacobs about the fun the Utah Boys had three days west of Fort Laramie. In his delightful diary, Zeb recorded perhaps the only account of a snipe hunt in all of the overland trail literature! The victim was a gullible Englishman:

We stopped him and found he belonged to Heber P. Kimball's train which was a short distance ahead of us. The boys had induced him to catch rabbits in Yankee fashion, by building a small fire and lying down by it with an open sack for the rabbits to run into, and then hit them on the head with a club,

now and then giving a low whistle; other boys going out to drive the rabbits in, when all of a sudden the boys gave a yell. The man thought the Indians were upon him, and off he started at full run. He had run about a mile when we stopped him. The fellow was scared out of his wits.⁴⁹

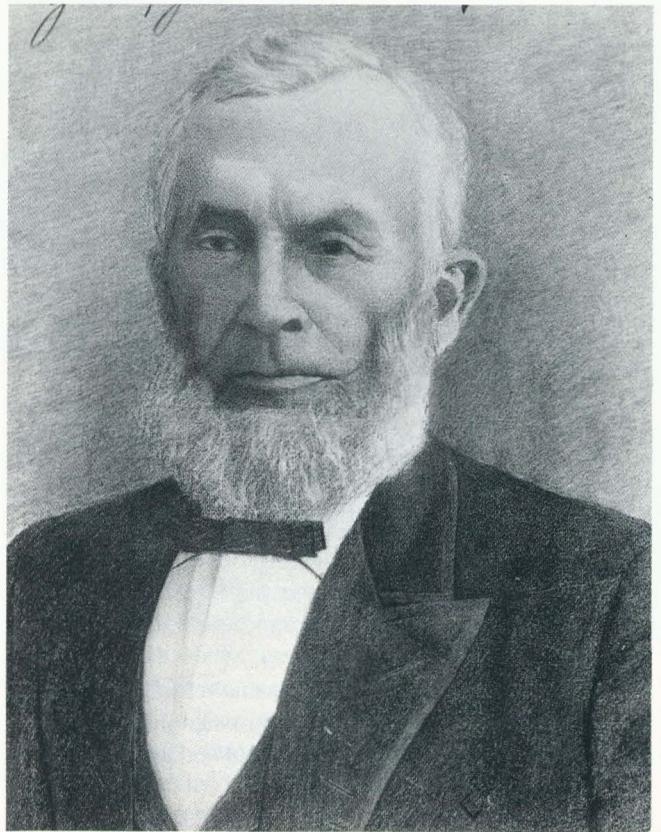
Five days beyond Fort Laramie, Blake said the Eldredge company crossed the one-yard-deep Platte and picked berries and black currants which grew abundantly but which "the forward camps have the advantage of gathering the first picking." However, his train's pickers got enough "to make a few pies and puddings."⁵⁰ Eighty miles past Fort Laramie the last Mormon company passed "Colonel Cooke's detachment from Utah," and Peder Nielsen recorded, "they shot at the train."⁵¹

On August 18, the Eldredge wagons reached Deer Creek and "took in flour which was deposited there." Griggs said flour was stored there in a "log storehouse."⁵² Near Deer Creek Station, Teasdale, in the Johnson company, filed a humorous complaint about dust: "It is glorious when you have spread out your dinner on the ground, Gipsy fashion, and sit down to enjoy a 'good feed' to have everything covered with dust. Or you have just cooked a nice fry pan full of bacon, wind and dust, how comforting it is to have it well peppered with grit—dreadfully trying!"⁵³

At some point before the Upper Platte crossing near present Casper, Wyoming, diarist Tripp told about two oxen the Johnson company lost to disease. "Its 1st appearance is a stupidity on the part of the animal drooping of the ears & soon he runs at the eyes, passages of blood soon takes place, the animal runs blood at the nose and dies sometimes in 2 hours from first symptoms of the disease."⁵⁴ Tripp noted that his company's wagons crossed the Platte River bridge on July 21, which he considered to be "one of the finest constructed in this upper country—built of pine and cost \$60,000."⁵⁵ Peder Nielsen said it cost the Woolley train forty cents per wagon to cross the bridge.⁵⁶ At this crossing, near another mail station, the down-and-back wagon trains loaded up once again on flour they had deposited earlier.⁵⁷

During the Johnson company's last camp on the Platte River, just beyond the bridge, Teasdale said the passengers "filled our water bottles," preparatory to going two days without water to reach the Sweetwater River. He told his diary about guard duty he performed at that camp. There are two sets of guards, he explained, two camp guards and four cattle guards, which changed shifts at midnight. "It is not unpleasant on a fine starlight night, with good sociable companions to go on guard," he said.⁵⁸

Five days before reaching Independence Rock, diarist Blake waxed poetic again. From a hillside he enjoyed a commanding view of the camp below. He wrote that their "corral" was arranged in an orderly and uniform manner "in the shape of an egg that has an opening or passable space at each end." Tents were pitched according to terrain so were "unevenly placed" outside the wagons. "Men and women are seen in all directions at various duties," he wrote watching



Jacob Gates, who was in charge of the Florence outfitting operation for the 1961 Mormon Migration. (Courtesy Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints)

them, "children playing about in freedom, horses grazing." At bedtime, a man said the camp prayer so softly Blake could not hear, so he stayed kneeling until he heard others utter the congregation's "amen."⁵⁹

Blake, by mid-Wyoming, had gained respect for the Utah Boys. Three days before Independence Rock, his train entered some "very uneven passes, which would perhaps blanch the cheek of an English Teamster to go over", but "our Mountain Boys went along full of boldness and without accident."⁶⁰ The next day, August 22, two days east of Independence Rock, the Eldredge train passed soldiers returning from occupation duties in Utah. Some Saints held bad feelings toward the soldiers and the government for sending them to Utah.⁶¹ Observed diarist Blake: "They are respectably clad, blue is the prevailing color of the cloth. They are various heights, quite a common feature in the American Army." Jokes and satirical remarks were exchanged. Blake mentioned that the overland mail express passed at a "galloping rate" as did the "pony," meaning the Pony Express. Mail stations, Blake recorded, were ten to fifteen miles apart.

Crossing Prospect Hill just before and east of Independence Rock, Dane Peder Nielsen noted that the road was so steep that men tied ropes to the oxen to help the beasts pull the wagons up the hill.⁶² When the Horne train was near that



A Mormon wagon train winds through Echo Canyon. It is being delayed by water that has been backed up onto the trail by beaver dams. (John F. Bennett Collection, Utah Historical Society)

spot on August 21, Mary Ann Foreman, "a faithful old lady" from Dover, England, slipped from a wagon, was run over and died an hour later. Griggs described her burial:

The same evening, without change of clothes, no coffin or box, and in a shallow grave hard by a running stream, was laid this Pilgrim Saint. A few words of consolation, a short prayer and a buffalo skull with a pencilled epitaph to mark for a brief time her resting place, and by the starlight the train again rolls out while the moon rises over a distant hill. The frosty air gives brilliancy to the camp-fires of a large body of U.S. troops, traveling from Camp Floyd, Utah, to the seat of war. We finally make camp at 1:30 a.m.⁶³

On August 23, one day before reaching Independence Rock, Blake recorded that two babies were born. Six wagons, including his, waited for several hours for the births. Then they made a "brisk run" to rejoin the "main stock of wagons."

Independence Rock impressed the Mormon travelers. Tripp wrote that "it bears the names of hundreds of its visitors, some in large bold characters others scarcely legible." Devil's Gate also received the usual diary notice from Mormon passers by. Zeb Jacobs had stopped there on the way "down" to Florence in May, at which time, his diary notes, "we dug out a piano, and several sacks of salt...cached 4 years ago" by Saints trapped by the winter snows. The items "were not damaged in the least."⁶⁴

During four days of following the Sweetwater after Devil's Gate, Blake said "we found the roads good, in some places surpassing the English roads."⁶⁵ Diarists agreed that the Three Crossings station at the Sweetwater were located amid "very romantic rocks" on which were inscribed "a multitude of names of travellers."⁶⁶ When facing Rocky Ridge, at least two of the companies, Johnson and Eldredge, and perhaps others took the Seminoe Road or McGraw Road which was "not so rough as the Rocky Ridge Road."⁶⁷

Blake received a rare assignment September 2 at South Pass to "drive the cattle," which made him and a coworker feel "dusted and tired through our position behind the train and cattle and having to chase those that strayed into the brush by the road edging." Tripp said the Cannon train crossed South Pass and camped at Pacific Springs—a mile west of a stage station. "Feed good, ground miry and will shake at a great distance, though the turf seems tough."⁶⁸ Near Pacific Springs, Capt. Joseph W. Young turned his wagon train division over to Heber P. Kimball "and went on to Salt Lake City by stagecoach." After two or three days in the city, he returned to his companies.⁶⁹

After leaving Pacific Springs the Johnson train suffered the loss of five oxen on September 11. One "was a favorite ox and caused a sadness in the family especially amongst the 'small fry' with whom 'muley' was a 'pet.'" He was left behind "to feed the wolves."⁷⁰

One day east of the Big Sandy River, two Englishmen tried hunting. They came back to camp with "boots so badly worn and our pants so ragged through the prickly nature of the brushwood" that they "resolved to give up hunting."⁷¹ At Simpson's Hollow beyond the Big Sandy, Tripp said the Cannon train "passed creek where the Mormons burned the soldiers wagons, the ashes still forming the outlines of the corral."⁷²

At Green River, Blake observed, the river was green and deep and its currents forceful. Wagons waded through it. At camp that night, September 2, a young man from Salt Lake Valley arrived to meet his mother and take her to the valley. He brought eggs and potatoes—foods worth their weight in gold. During the night some "black hearted" thief stole the eggs from under the family's wagon. That morning, the Eldredge company, having been without bacon for two weeks, were delighted to hear the cry "Oh yes, let a man from each wagon come for bacon." One pound per head was dealt

out. "Our appetite having greatly increased, almost any kind of food is devoured now," Blake confessed, although the basic diet continued to be bread and coffee. Blake thought it funny when a fussy young fellow insisted on crossing the Green River in a wagon, not in a boat, and the teamster led the wagon to the deepest part of the river and there yanked the young man out "giving him a complete immersion."⁷³

After crossing the Green, Tripp said men in his company gathered around the log fire that evening. "Speeches were made," he noted, "and stories were told in which each vied with the others until a late hour." Mark Twain would have enjoyed being in that campfire circle.⁷⁴ Nearing Black's Fork, travelers saw "a large number of bones," which were the remains of cattle brought by the army in 1857 which died that winter.⁷⁵

Fort Bridger, according to Blake, had "quite a good stock of houses built on the square principle," including a store. The Eldredge train camped a mile or two past it.⁷⁶ Tripp said Fort Bridger consisted of several block houses, tables and storehouses, and soldiers were there from Camp Floyd on their return to the United States.⁷⁷ The Johnson company, while passing Fort Bridger, "went over several streams that had log bridges over them."⁷⁸

UTAH

One day past Fort Bridger, Blake commented on "how beautiful the mountains are here." The next day he said that "the songs of Zion echo through the mountain passes."⁷⁹ After the Johnson company crossed Bear River, the last major crossing of a river in Wyoming and the location of another mail station, Teasdale, on September 21, again described camp life that he observed that evening.

As soon as we roll in, off go the "boys" for wood and water and to take the cattle to water. The women prepare for cooking supper etc. The guard is set. Supper dispatched, a large camp fire is built in the middle of the corral, the horn is blown, and the voice of the Chaplain is heard, "Camp come together for meeting" and the folks flock round the fire. The Swiss open the meeting with singing. One of their company has a very fine toned accordin which is introduced and sounds melodiously in the clear night air. All kneel down and prayer is offered by John Beal. The Captain then gives some excellent instructions preparing the folks for their entrance into the valley. The Champlain [sic] follows in a similar strain and songs are given enlivening the evening. As time wears on the folks drop off one by one and all is silence in the camp once more. Twelve o'clock and the guards are relieved.

Teasdale thought the road in Echo Canyon was "quite a romantic road," but the next day he admitted it was "a rough road." Emigrants noticed breast works or piled rocks up on the tops of the canyon walls, behind which Mormon militia had taken positions during the Utah War.⁸⁰

The Cannon, Horne, Johnson and Woolley trains, and perhaps others, approached the Salt Lake Valley on the "Old Mormon Trail" which ran through East Canyon and then up

and over Big Mountain and Little Mountain and down Emigration Canyon.⁸¹ The Eldredge train was one that bypassed Big and Little Mountains by taking the "Golden Road" via Kimball's Ranch and Parley's Canyon—the route of Interstate 80 today.

Big Mountain, elevation 7,420 feet, was the third highest point on the Mormon Trail. Going up Big Mountain, the Johnson company had to double team near the top of the pass.⁸² Peder Nielsen said the Woolley train "managed with the exception of three wagons who needed help." Griggs noted that from Big Mountain's summit the Horne passengers "had our first view, in part, of Salt Lake Valley, causing various emotions."⁸³ His train stopped at the foot of Little Mountain where LDS emigration agents "met us and took promissory notes of those indebted for amount due for their emigration."⁸⁴ Peder Nielsen said the Woolley train camped at noon four miles from Salt Lake City. It was a pause "where we washed and fixed ourselves" to become presentable before parading into the settlements.⁸⁵

For Eldredge passengers taking the other route into the valley, church clerks met them at Kimball's ranch, near present Park City and settled accounts with the passengers. Blake's debt by then was \$42.64. Blake walked the final twenty-five miles into the valley that day and found many old friends who treated him well.⁸⁶

Wagon trains rolled into the broad Salt Lake Valley and made their final stop in Salt Lake City's Emigration Square where the city and county building now stands at Fourth South and State streets. Many emigrants were met by friends and acquaintances. Some slept a day or two in their parked wagons because "there was a shortage of houses to rent."⁸⁷ Teasdale wrote a nice finishing entry to his Mormon Trail adventure—his diary was the official Sixtus Johnson company journal:

We have arrived at our destination. All the excitement of the journey is over. We have been very much blessed for there has been but very little mortality when we consider our company—54 wagons and near 200 souls, but three deaths, one man drowned accidentally, 1 woman and a child. Amongst the cattle we have lost about 25 head of stock but we had a large heard. We have been favored with very fine weather. Let all the glory be to Him who has so highly favored us. And now Cap. Sixtus E. Johnson adieu. I shall not easily forget the pleasant times and conversations I have had in taking the days journeys and enjoying the chat that frequently followed the minutes of the previous day's journey.⁸⁸

The thirteen Mormon wagon trains arrived in Salt Lake Valley at various times during August and September. Church leaders welcomed the newcomers. The Utah Boys resumed their less exciting work at home. The down-and-back trains disbanded, and the borrowed wagons and teams were returned to their Utah owners. William Jeffries, who earned his family's travel fares by doing clerk work for the Ansel Harmon division of the Young down-and-back train, had to stay at Emigration Square four days to guard the

wagons until such could be picked up or taken to their owners throughout Utah.⁸⁹ Emigrants rather quickly found lodging and work in Salt Lake City or in various LDS settlements dotting the length of Utah.

The 1861 wagon trains required an average of seventy-three days for the trek—the fastest trip lasted sixty-five days, the slowest (loaded with freight), eighty-seven.⁹⁰ Their average speed was fourteen miles per day. The first train reached Salt Lake City on August 16, the last on September 27. In addition to the independent and down-and-back trains, several freight trains left Florence during July and August, most carrying some emigrating Saints. Several men earned transportation for their families by helping the freighters on the journey. These trains included Captain Asper's eleven wagons, Capt. Reuben Miller's eleven wagons, Capt. William C. Martindale's twenty-eight wagons, Captain Reid's twenty wagons, Captain Tanner's mule train of eleven wagons, the Godbe and Wright merchant and freight train of about twenty wagons and an earlier Godbe train, size unknown.⁹¹

Brigham Young liked how well the down-and-back system worked in 1861. Using Utah wagons and oxen had saved the church thousands of dollars that would have been spent to buy cattle and wagons at the Missouri River. He found that oxen sent from Utah to the frontiers "suffered far less loss by deaths and looked much better, as a general thing than those purchased in the states." He reported that "the companies have been pleased with their captains and the captains with their companies; and this season's emigration has been signally blessed all the time from their departure from their former homes to their new homes in our peaceful valley."⁹²

During the 1860s down-and-back trains became the established system for helping Saints, needy or not, reach Utah. From 1862 until 1868, the year before the transcontinental railroad opened, almost 16,000 of 19,000 LDS emigrants came west in down-and-back trains on the Mormon Trail in the years 1862, 1863, 1864, 1866 and 1868. No trains were sent in 1865 and 1867. Some of the 1861 wagon captains led down-and-back trains again during the later 1860s. More than 2,500 Utah outfits, or an average of 400 wagons per year, helped the LDS emigrants between 1861 and 1868.⁹³

By way of postscript, on October 19, diarist Blake noted, "the telegraph wires now extend across the American continent from East to West," and the first messages were sent.

It is unfortunate that most people, Mormon and non-Mormon, have an image of Mormon Trail travel distorted by the harrowing tales of hardship and deaths associated with two LDS handcart tragedies in 1856. That dark experience involved perhaps 1,000 out of some 70,000 Latter-Day Saints who used the Mormon-California Trail—not even two percent. For almost all Mormon Trail travelers, the 1,031 mile trek from the Missouri River or points farther west, was not tragic or overly hard. For most, the trip was routine, boring, sometimes hungry and often uncomfortable like all camping tends to be; but it was a successful trip. The carefully planned and orchestrated emigrations during the 1860s pay tribute to

the organizing genius of Brigham Young and LDS agents in charge of a large-scale migration. Although some companies had moments of hardships, the carefully planned and supplied down-and-back trains, and the independent trains traveling with them, offer a more realistic image of what trail life was like for Latter-Day Saint emigrants who "gathered to Zion" via the Mormon Trail.

NOTES

1. Justin Kaplan, *Mark Twain and His World* (New York, NY: Crescent Books, 1974), p. 15, 41. Samuel Clemens was born on November 30, 1835. He served two weeks in the Civil War, then headed west to be private secretary to the newly appointed Secretary of Nevada Territory, his brother Orion. He left Hannibal, Missouri in late July, 1861.

His trip west is recounted in *Roughing It* (New York, NY: New American Library, Signet Classic Book, 1980).

2. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

3. The best one-volume history of the LDS Church is James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1992).

Literature about the Mormon Trail is vast. A must read is Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion* (New York, NY: McGraw Hill, 1971.) Stanley B. Kimball and Hal Knight, *111 Days to Zion* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Press, 1979) is an excellent day-by-day account of Brigham Young's 1847 pioneers. Three published travelers' accounts are William Clayton, *Journal, 1847* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1921); James A. Little, *From Kirtland to Salt Lake City, 1849* (Salt Lake City: author, 1890) and Frederick H. Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to the Great Salt Lake Valley, 1853* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962).

For trail guides see *W. Clayton, The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide*, ed. by Stanley B. Kimball (Gerald, MO: Patrice Press, 1983) and Stanley B. Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers Along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988.)

A "must" reference book is Stanley B. Kimball, *Historic Resource Study: Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail* (U.S. Department of Interior, 1991).

4. This paper is an expansion of a speech given at the annual convention of the Oregon-California Trails Association in Rock Springs, Wyoming, in 1992. It draws in part from the author's "The Great Florence Fit-out," *Brigham Young University Studies* 24, Summer 1984, p. 341-371 and from "Down-and-Back' Wagon Trains: Bringing the Saints to Utah in 1861," *Ensign* 15, September 1985, p. 26-34.

For analyses of LDS down-and-back trains during the rest of the 1860s see Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), p. 105-111 and John K. Hulmston, "Mormon Immigration in the 1860s: The Story of the Church Trains," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58, Winter 1990, p. 32-48.

5. Five Mormon handcart companies left Iowa City in 1856. The last two left late in the season and were caught by unusually heavy snows in western Wyoming. Both companies suffered heavy loss of life.

- The best account of the Mormon handcart companies is LeRoy C. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1960).
6. First Presidency to Bishop [Edward] Hunter and Utah Bishops, February, 1861, circular letter, Brigham Young Letterbooks, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, cited hereafter as HDC.
 7. Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, May 9, 1861, Brigham Young Letterbooks, HDC.
 8. The best study of Latter-day Saint immigrant companies crossing the Atlantic is Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the High Seas, A Maritime History of Mormon Migration: 1830-90* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983).
 9. George M. Ottinger, reminiscences and journal, June 12, 1861, in possession of Susanna Helbling, Salt Lake City, Utah.
 10. Jacob Gates, journal, microfilm of holograph, entries for February through May, 1861, HDC.
 11. Ibid, entries for late May, 1861.
 12. F.W. Blake, journal, holograph, HDC.
 13. Blake journal, June 27, 1861.
"David H. Cannon Company," *Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, Our Pioneer Heritage* 5, 1961, p. 32.
 14. William Jeffries, journal, typescript, entry for June 17, 1861, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
 15. A bowery was an outdoor place of worship. The benches were made of logs, and the worshipers were sheltered from the sun by tree limbs and leaves placed over a frame to create an arbor or bower, hence the name "bowery."
 16. LDS Perpetual Emigrating Fund Frontier Account Book, General and Personal Accounts, 1861, microfilm, HDC.
 17. Jeffries, journal, summary entry before entry for September 23, 1861.
 18. "Rosine Wilhelmina Aust Bitter Life Sketch," and "Traugott Bitter Life Sketch," typescripts, in possession of Constance Brown of Rexburg, Idaho.
 19. Thomas Cott Griggs, journal, typescript, HDC. Griggs's journal covers the Boston Saints's trip to Florence and the Joseph Horne wagon train trip. A condensed and revised version of his diary is found in *Journal History*, September 13, 1861, LDS Archives, Church History Department, Salt Lake City. This information is from the condensed version. (*Journal History* is an informal collection of pictures, clippings, letters, diaries, etc.)
 20. Blake, journal, July 7, 1861.
 21. Jeffries, journal. July 26, 1861. Jeffries said that Capt. Ansel Harmon had been captain of the large train, but after leaving Wood River Station Harmon took charge of the first division and Joseph Young the second division. Young later rode ahead and back to help supervise the church trains.
 22. *Journal History*, July 17, 1861.
 23. See, for example, the apostles's visit to the Horne company as recorded by Griggs, journal, July 23 and 24, 1861.
 24. *An Autobiography of James Henry Linford, Sr.* (N.p.: Linford Family Organization, 1947), p. 24-25.
 25. Blake, journal, July 5, 1861.
 - Griggs, journal, p. 1F.
 26. *Journal History*, August 24, 1861.
 27. Ibid., July 13, 1861.
 28. Blake, journal, July 13, 1861.
 29. Zebulon Jacobs, journal, in *Journal History*, September 13, 1861, entry for July 19, 1861.
 30. George Teasdale, journal, in *Journal History*, July 23, 1861, entry for July 16, 1861.
 31. Blake, journal, July 15-19, 1861.
 32. Ibid.
 33. Ibid., July 22, 1861.
 34. Bartlett Tripp, journal, holograph, HDC, June 13, 1861. Tripp was the clerk for the D.H. Cannon wagon train, and this is the official company journal.
 35. Blake, journal, July 25-26, 1861.
 36. Tripp, journal, July 1, 1861.
 37. Zebulon Jacobs, journal, July 24, 1861.
 38. Ibid., August 6, 1861.
 39. Blake, journal, August 7, 1861.
 40. Griggs, journal, August 7, 1861.
 41. Teasdale, journal, August 16, 1861.
 42. Ibid., August 17, 1861.
 43. Peder Nielsen, diary, entry for August 18, 1861, trans. Orson B. West, typescript, Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.
 44. Jacobs, journal, August 21, 1861.
 45. Griggs, journal, p. 1G, 1H.
 46. Teasdale, journal, August 23, 1861.
 47. Jacobs, journal, August 14, 1861.
 48. Teasdale, journal, August 24-28, 1861.
 49. Jacobs, journal, August 24, 1861.
 50. Blake, journal, August 17, 1861.
 51. Nielsen, journal, August 25, 1861.
 52. Griggs, journal, p. 1H.
 53. Teasdale, journal, August 30, 1861.
 54. Tripp, journal, July 17, 1861.
 55. Ibid., July 21, 1861.
 56. Nielsen, journal, August 28, 1861.
 57. Jacobs, journal, August 29, 1861.
 58. Teasdale, journal, August 31, 1861.
 59. Blake, journal, August 19, 1861.
 60. Ibid., August 21, 1861.
 61. Responding to reports of supposed Mormon disloyalty, the United States president, James Buchanan, sent a large army to Utah Territory in 1857, which Gov. Brigham Young ordered the territorial militia to resist. Although the episode was called the "Utah War," negotiators prevented actual warfare. The army created Camp Floyd southwest of Salt Lake City. When the Civil War broke out the fort was closed, and the troops headed east. See Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960).

62. Nielsen, journal, August 29, 1861.
63. Griggs, journal, p. 1H.
64. Jacobs, journal, May 19, 1861.
65. Blake, journal, August 25-28, 1861.
66. Teasdale, journal, September 6, 1861.
Tripp, journal, July 27, 1861.
67. John Reed, journal, entry for August 28, 1861, microfilm, HDC. Reed was in the Eldredge train.
68. Tripp, journal, August 31, 1861.
69. Journal History, December 31, 1861, Supplement, "Church Emigration in 1861," p. 5.
70. Teasdale, journal, September 11, 1861.
71. Blake, journal, August 28, 1861.
72. In October, 1857, Lot Smith and other Mormon militiamen on patrol during the "Utah War" encountered two army supply trains totalling about fifty wagons. They disarmed the teamsters, ordered them out of the wagons, burned the wagons and drove off the cattle, which later were returned to the government.
73. Blake, journal, September 3, 1861.
74. Tripp, journal, August 4, 1861.
75. Blake, journal, September 4, 1861.
76. Ibid., September 5-6, 1861.
77. Tripp, journal, August 8, 1861
78. Teasdale, journal, September 18, 1861.
79. Blake, journal, September 9-10, 1861.
80. Teasdale, journal, September 23, 1861.
81. Today, at the mouth of Emigration Canyon on Salt Lake City's east bench, is Pioneer Trails State Park, which includes an impressive monument honoring the original 1847 Mormon Pioneers.
82. Teasdale, journal, September 26, 1861.
83. Griggs, journal, September 11, 1861.
84. Griggs, journal, p. 1H.
85. Nielsen, journal, September 23, 1861.
86. Blake, journal, September 13, 1861.
87. Nielsen, journal, September 23, 1861.
88. Teasdale, journal, September 27, 1861.
89. Jeffries, journal, September 23-27, 1861.
90. Lucius Scovil, using a mule team, made the journey in six weeks. See Lucius Nelson Scovil, journal, 1861, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Historical Department Archives.
91. Journal History, December 31, 1861, Supplement, "Church Emigration of 1861," p. 7.
92. Brigham Young report to LDS Church leaders in England, copied into Journal History, December 31, 1861, Supplement, "Church Emigration of 1861," p. 7.
93. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, p. 208.

THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY

PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS SINCE 1902

Rare books and new publications dealing with the American West.

Free catalogs on request. Publication services for private publications.

Available for purchase at this time:

COVERED WAGON WOMEN: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1840-1890.

edited by Kenneth L. Holmes

A series of eleven volumes of original and rare documents. Details for each volume available on request. Price for the series: \$330.00. Terms available, volumes may be purchased individually.

This Emigrating Company: The 1844 Oregon Trail Journal of Jacob Hamner.

and

The Wagon Trains of '44: A Comparative View of the Individual Caravans in the Emigration of 1844 to Oregon.

Two volumes by Thomas A. Rumer. \$35.50 each, 274 pages, hardcover with d.j. Edition limited to 750 copies.

1-800-842-9286. P.O. Box 14707, Spokane, WA 99214.