

THE
LATTER-DAY SAINTS'
EMIGRANTS' GUIDE:

BEING A
TABLE OF DISTANCES,
SHOWING ALL THE
SPRINGS, CREEKS, RIVERS, HILLS, MOUNTAINS,
CAMPING PLACES, AND ALL OTHER NOTABLE PLACES,
FROM COUNCIL BLUFFS,
TO THE
VALLEY OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE.

ALSO, THE
LATITUDES, LONGITUDES AND ALTITUDES
OF THE PROMINENT POINTS ON THE ROUTE.

TOGETHER WITH REMARKS ON THE NATURE OF THE LAND,
TIMBER, GRASS, &c.

THE WHOLE ROUTE HAVING BEEN CAREFULLY MEASURED BY A ROADME-
TER, AND THE DISTANCE FROM POINT TO POINT, IN
ENGLISH MILES, ACCURATELY SHOWN.

BY W. CLAYTON.

ST. LOUIS:
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1848.

EDITED BY **STANLEY B. KIMBALL**

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION BY **JAMES B. ALLEN**

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**THE
LATTER-DAY SAINTS'
EMIGRANTS' GUIDE**

THE EDITOR'S PREFACE

AS OUR NATIONAL HERITAGE DISAPPEARS there seems to be a direct relationship between the rapidity with which we destroy this legacy and our desire to write and read about it, even to go in search of it. Nowhere is this more true than with our great western trails. For over twenty years interest has been growing in them, excellent books have been published, preservation and historical societies have been organized, and there is no evidence that this special and general interest is waning. In 1968, for example, Congress enacted the National Trails System Act (Public Law 90-543) and The Patrice Press is one of several publishers devoted almost exclusively to trail publications.

Clayton's guide to the Mormon Trail (as distinct from the Oregon Trail) has seldom been appreciated for what it was and is. It needs to be better known and put into proper perspective. His twenty-four-page, pocket-size paperback booklet of 1848 was simply the first practical and best emigrant guide of its day to the great Far West. (Clayton also kept a journal along with his guide and it, too, has become famous — see pp. 32-33. Furthermore, in 1846, while the Pioneers were crossing Iowa, he wrote the words to the most renowned of all Mormon hymns, "Come, Come, Ye Saints," often called the "Mormon Marseillaise." The verses epitomize the Mormon motivation for going west. The words and music for this hymn are reproduced on page 101.)

Although possessed of no special qualifications for such a work, Clayton came to his task rather naturally. An English convert to Mormonism in 1837, he immigrated to Nauvoo, Illinois in 1840 where he served in many capacities as a clerk, eventually assisting the Mormon Prophet, Joseph Smith.

In 1846, when Brigham Young led the Mormons west from

Illinois, Clayton was appointed "Clerk of the Camp of Israel" and kept a very sketchy journal of the trek across Iowa, that Mormon Mesopotamia between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers.

The following April 15, when the Mormon Pioneers of 1847 pushed on to the Far West on their 111-day, 1,032-mile trek from Civilization to Sundown in search of their new Zion, Clayton became one of the historians of that company of 143 men, 3 women and 2 children. Perhaps at Brigham Young's insistence, Clayton's journal of this portion of The Exodus was five times as long as his Iowa account.¹

Part of Clayton's responsibility was to keep an accurate record of distances traveled daily, campsites, and any other information which would be helpful to the thousands of other Mormons Young expected would follow him west. Although there is no evidence that any formal published guide was thought of at this time, it is clear that Clayton's journal was planned as a source of useful information for future westering Mormons.

It is this concern over subsequent emigrants which helps make the Mormon emigrant movement unique. Not only did Mormons not go west for furs, gold, land, adventure, or a new identity, they did not even want to go. Furthermore, the Pioneers of 1847 were not concerned with just a one-way passage for themselves as were most who went west. They were charting and improving a road for thousands of converts who followed for over twenty years, until the coming of the railroad in 1869.

At first Clayton merely guessed the distance traveled daily, a most unsatisfactory practice which led to many disputes. But on May 8 he measured a wagon wheel which was 14 feet 8 inches in circumference, or, fortuitously, exactly 1/360th of a mile. To this he tied a piece of red flannel and began the mind-stultifying, but accurate, business of counting the revolutions. A few days later an idea Clayton had been toying with since at least April 19 began to take shape. This consisted of a system of cogs mounted on a wagon wheel for measuring distance. By May 13 and 14 this contraption, called an "odometer" or "roadometer," was installed and worked rather imperfectly, on and off, until the Pioneers reached the Valley of the Great Salt Lake.

Probably as a result of his conception of an odometer Clayton was asked on May 18 to make a map of the Pioneer route. Lacking cartographic skills and not knowing how to coordinate his measurements with the Frémont-Preuss maps the Pioneers had with them and the astronomical observations made by a member of the Mormon com-

pany, Clayton suggested that he wait until the return journey and try to make a new map not based on Frémont's. By July 3, Clayton had "made out a table of distance between creeks and camp grounds,"² which may have been the genesis of his later *Guide*.

Orson Pratt, a Mormon with some astronomical and engineering skills, served informally as the Pioneers' "scientific member," and had been making sightings along the Mormon Trail from Nauvoo. His latitudinal determinations, according to his journal, were made alternately by "meridian observation of Sirius," by "altitude of the Pole Star," by "meridian observation of the sun," and by "the meridian altitude of the moon." They are generally quite accurate, for west of the Missouri at least he had excellent instruments especially ordered from England. Lacking a suitable chronometer, however, his few longitudinal sightings made by the "angular distance of the sun and moon taken by sextant and circle" cannot be trusted. Even Fremont, who often spent hours making multiple sightings of the occultations of the planets and stars by the moon and of the Jupiterian satellites, had difficulty determining proper longitude. He had to later redo much of his early work. Along the Platte River a miscalculation of only one minute causes an error of 6,000 feet in latitude and 4,500 feet in longitude.

After reaching the Valley of the Great Salt Lake it was necessary to make another roadometer and test it out. This second one appears to have worked much better and on August 10 Clayton recorded in his journal, "I am expected to keep a table of distances of the whole route returning from here to Winter Quarters and make a map when I get through, and this for public benefit." (See illustration, p. 10.)

One week later Clayton left the valley with a slow moving ox team company of 71 men and 33 wagons. This was ten days before Young started on the return journey; the two parties never traveled together. This means that not only were Clayton's calculations made returning east, a route differing in parts from the Pioneer route going west, but they were not necessarily identical with the route Young took on his return.

By October 31 all of the Pioneers who had not remained in the valley were back in Winter Quarters and the winter was spent in staying alive and preparing for a spring removal of the Mormons still in the Winter Quarters area. So many of these Mormons wanted copies of Clayton's notes on the route that he recorded in the preface to his *Guide*, "The labor of writing a copy being considerable, as well as requiring much time — it was concluded to publish it in its present form, by which means it can be afforded at a price which

will bring it within reach of any person wishing to have it.''

Such then is the background of the manuscript and the motivation for Clayton leaving Winter Quarters early in 1848 (on Feb. 10, as Professor Allen has discovered) by riverboat to go to St. Louis to have 5,000 copies of his guide published. (There is no evidence he ever prepared a map to accompany the guide.)

Specific information about Clayton's stay in St. Louis has failed to turn up. His preface is dated "St. Louis, Mo., 13th March, 1848," which is probably the day he turned the manuscript over to the printer, or perhaps the date he secured the copyright. Three St. Louis daily newspapers, the *Missouri Republican*, the *St. Louis Daily Union*, and the *St. Louis Daily New Era* do not list him in their daily "hotel guests" column, and carry no ads or any notice at all of his publication. (Since he chose as his printer Chambers and Knapp at 11 Chestnut St., between Main and Second streets, who also owned and printed the *Missouri Republican*, one would think some notice might have appeared in that paper.)³

Obviously Clayton stayed with some of the hundreds of Mormons then in St. Louis (to whom he had a letter of introduction) who were preparing to go west in 1848. He returned to Winter Quarters with his publications, not bothering to try and sell them in St. Louis.

There is even a question as to how Clayton marketed his guide among Mormons. In the United States there was no official Mormon newspaper from February 15, 1846, when the Mormons were quitting Nauvoo, and February 7, 1849, when the *Frontier Guardian* commenced in Kanesville (now Council Bluffs), Iowa. Although this paper advertised many goods and services appropriate to Mormon and non-Mormon emigrants, no reference to Clayton's *Guide* was found in it. In over 700 Mormon trail accounts I also found no reference regarding the distribution of this guide.

Equally surprising is the fact that no significant reference to it was found in the *Millennial Star*, an official Mormon bimonthly published in England. The editor, Orson Pratt, was a member of the original Pioneer company of 1847 and published his own Pioneer journal in 1849 and 1850 in the *Star*. Furthermore, Pratt could not have been ignorant of the fact that thousands from Great Britain would follow in the tracks of the Pioneers and would need such a book.⁴ Nor did I find any reference to this *Guide* in the *Deseret News*, an official Mormon newspaper which commenced publication in Salt Lake City June 15, 1850. Most likely it was handled by Mormon emigration agents and, as Allen has noted, by Clayton himself and his friends.

One would assume that Clayton's work was popular with Mormons, yet in my study of Mormon trail accounts I found but three incidental references to his *Guide*. Of course many foreign emigrants could not have read the booklet had they had it and after a few years the trail was so well known that many emigrants felt such guides to be unnecessary. Furthermore, most Mormon companies were accompanied by trail-wise Saints who, perhaps, needed no guides.

There is some evidence that many non-Mormons, especially California gold seekers, used this guide. George Washington Averett, one of the few Mormons to join the Gold Rush of 1849, for example, wrote in his journal, "Our company having for their guide what we called the Mormon Guide found to be most reliable of any we could find, having several others in our company, Frémont and Bryant's neither of them being so reliable as the Mormon Guide." Averett is referring to the famous *Reports* of John C. Frémont and to Edwin Bryant's *What I Saw In California . . . in the Years, 1846-1847*: New York, 1848. The later work is a 455-page travel account, *sans* maps or tables, hardly a practical guide.

Not surprisingly Clayton had a very high opinion of his work. In his preface he noted, "Many works have been published, and maps exhibited for the instruction of emigrants, but none which ever pretended to set forth the particulars contained in this work, so far as regards the route from Council Bluffs to the Great Salt Lake."

Let us now attempt to assess the truth of Clayton's opinion, to evaluate the "Many works . . . and maps" to which he refers, to discern from what sources he drew, to discover with what contemporary frontiersmen he may have consulted, to briefly trace the genesis and development of the Mormon plan to go west, and to note what influence Clayton's *Guide* had on other writers — in short, to place Clayton's work in its proper perspective.

The usual place to start the story of the Mormons and the Rocky Mountains is with a statement of August 6, 1842, which Joseph Smith allegedly made: "I prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains. . . ." There are claims that he said something similar as early as 1838 or even 1834. Many, in fact, have taken comfort in, and indeed still take comfort in the idea that the move to the West was in fulfillment of some prophecy. These early allegations, however, need not concern us here.⁵ We are on firmer ground and dealing with more germane material if we start no earlier than July 1843,

when Smith sent Jonathan Dunbar to investigate a route across Iowa from Nauvoo, Illinois to the Missouri River. By February 1844 Smith had also suggested an exploring party be sent to investigate locations for possible settlement to California and Oregon. In March 1844, he sent a memorial to Congress requesting authorization to raise 100,000 armed volunteers "for the protection of citizens [Mormons] in the United States emigrating to the territories [Texas and Oregon]."

For several reasons nothing came of the projected exploring party or the memorial. Among other things, Smith began campaigning for the presidency of the United States, Congress refused to receive the memorial, and Joseph was murdered the following June by an anti-Mormon mob.

One important event, however, did come from the abortive memorial. Congressman Stephen A. Douglas from Illinois did give to Joseph's petitioner, Orson Hyde, and also sent to Joseph, a "map of Oregon, and also a report on the exploration of the country lying between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains . . . by Lieut. John C. Frémont." (A copy of this map appears on pp. 96-97.) Such was the beginning of the Mormon acquaintance with Frémont's *Reports* and maps. (It is not known whether Smith ever saw Frémont's *Report*, for he was killed about a month after Hyde's letter was received.)⁶

The death of Joseph ended further discussion of going West for the rest of that year and the church as a whole dedicated itself to effecting the plans of its martyred prophet — completing the temple, building a better Nauvoo, and expanding the proselytizing program.

By January 1845, however, it appears that Brigham Young, Joseph's *de facto* if not *de jure* successor and other Mormon leaders carried on simultaneously two mutually exclusive programs: (1) to build up Nauvoo, and (2) to prepare to leave. Until October 1845, however, the second program was not generally known. That Young was preparing his followers for such a move is manifested by the fact that on October 30, 1844, the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, a Mormon newspaper, printed a selection from Washington Irving's *Astoria* entitled "The Climate of the Rocky Mountains," and that throughout 1845 the same paper published many other articles on Oregon, the Indians, and especially extracts from Frémont's *Reports* about the Oregon Trail, the Bear River area, and the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. Also published were portions of Lansford W. Hastings' *Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California*, which had just ap-

peared in 1845. Furthermore the *New York Messenger*, another Mormon publication, printed between July and September 1845, in a nine-part series, almost the entirety of Hastings' book.⁷ Young even revived Smith's proposal about sending out a party to search for locations in the West, but nothing came of it.

How long Young intended to carry on both programs is not known, for his hand was forced that fall. During September 1845 anti-Mormons, convinced that the Mormons were not going to leave Illinois, commenced a program of harassment. More than 200 Mormon homes and farm buildings located outside Nauvoo were burned that fall and the anti-Mormon convention headquartered in Carthage decreed that the Mormons must quit Illinois the following spring. Therefore, on October 4 a western exploring party was organized and during a general conference of the church held that month the exodus was officially announced and scheduled for the spring of 1846.

Mormon historical records show that on December 20, 1845, Apostle Franklin D. Richards "read Frémont's Journal giving an account of his travels to California," to Young and "a few of the Twelve [apostles]," that on December 27 "Elder Parley P. Pratt read from Hastings' account of California," and that on December 29 "Elder Parley P. Pratt read Frémont's *Journal* to Brother [Heber C.] Kimball and me [Young]." A notation for New Year's Eve deserves to be cited in full: "Elder Heber C. Kimball and I [Young] superintended the operation in the Temple, examined *maps*, with reference to selecting a location for the saints west of the Rocky Mountains, and reading *various works*, written by travelers in those regions."⁸(Italics added.) For a discussion of these maps and works see pp. 20-27.

Even after quitting Nauvoo during February 1846, the advance group of Mormons continued to gather information about the West. That July, shortly after the Pioneers had reached the Missouri River, Col. T.L. Kane, a young Philadelphian friend and self-appointed guardian of the Saints, was in their midst and later sent them presents and "Capt. Frémont's topographical map of the road to Oregon for the use of the pioneers."⁹ There is also evidence that David Atchison, who had befriended the Mormons in 1838 in Missouri and who was then a senator from Missouri, also sent Young a copy of Frémont's 1845 map.¹⁰

Furthermore, on January 6, 1847, Young wrote to a Church member in St. Louis: "I want you to bring me one half dozen of Mitchell's new map of Texas, Oregon & California and the regions ad-

joining, or his accompaniment for the same for 1846, or rather the latest edition and best map of all the Indian countries in North America . . . If there is anything later or better than Mitchell's, I want the best."¹¹ (For a discussion of this map and also of the frontiersmen the Mormons consulted with see pp. 27, 28-29.)

This brief sketch regarding the Mormons' plans and preparations for going west raises some fascinating questions about which maps and works they were familiar with and consulted. Obviously they were acquainted with Irving's *Astoria*, Frémont's *Reports* and maps, and with Hastings' book. Professors James Allen and Glen Leonard have noted that along with Fremont's, "three other maps hung on the walls of the temple" in Nauvoo and that church leaders "were also familiar with the expeditions of Charles Wilkes and B.L.E. Bonneville."¹²

In order to better understand just what maps and works were consulted we must examine the trans-Missouri travel/guide literature available to Mormon leaders generally through April 1847, when they left the Missouri River for the Far West. We are also concerned with the material available to William Clayton through the time of publication of his *Guide* — February 1848.

Probably the Mormons were not even aware of much of the literature, still less able to consult it, but it will be helpful nonetheless to survey the field.

Travel literature had had a long and honorable vogue in the young republic. Dozens of guides appeared between a 1748 guide to Kentucky and throughout the nineteenth century to one to the Klondike goldfields in 1897. However, the Mormons probably consulted nothing prior to the appearance in 1814 of Meriwether Lewis' *The Lewis and Clark Expedition*. Although the Mormons in general would have learned little of value from this publication, Clayton might very well have been influenced by Meriwether Lewis' eight-page "Summary Statement of Rivers, Creeks and most Remarkable places, their distance from each other, etc.." This was a five-column table giving "Names of remarkable places, Widths of rivers and creeks, Sides on which they were situated, Distance from one another, and Distance from the Mississippi." Perhaps Clayton got his idea for arranging his guide in such a columnar form from Lewis.

Had the Mormons read H.M. Brackenridge's 1816 *Journal of A Voyage up the River Missouri* . . . they would have gleaned about

three pages of very general references to the Platte River and a quaint story that Missouri rivermen indulged in horseplay with first timers passing the mouth of the Platte River, much as ocean voyagers did when crossing the equator for the first time. Clayton, however, might have been interested in Brackenridge's "A Table of Distances," which was almost identical in form to Lewis' except that it added one important additional column for "Latitude."

In 1819 John Bradbury published his *Travels in the Interior of America* . . . which would have given the Mormons some very general information about the mouth of the Platte River.

Perhaps the earliest publication of specific value to the Mormons would have been Edwin James' 1823 *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, based on the notes of Maj. S.H. Long of the famous U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers. This work detailed Long's 1820 expedition from a point on the Missouri about ten miles above the later site of the Mormon Winter Quarters, westward along a line of march very similar to that of the Mormons in 1847; that is, along the *north* bank of the Platte — across the Elkhorn River and Shell Creek, past the Pawnee Villages, the ford of the Loup River, and continuing west along the north bank of the Platte to the confluence of the North and South Platte branches. That is where Long turned southwest into present-day Colorado (and discovered Long's Peak.) The forty-two-page account of this part of Long's expedition and his map would surely have been one of the best works the Mormons could have consulted, for this was the best exploring account of the Great Plains before Frémont.

In 1831 Hall J. Kelly published a *General Circular* and *A Geographical Sketch* regarding Oregon which would have been of no use whatsoever to the Mormons save for his recommendation that the mouth of the Platte River was a good point of departure.

In 1836 the *Journal* and map of Col. Henry Dodge's expedition along the Oregon Trail from Fort Leavenworth to the forks of the Platte (and into present-day Colorado) was published. Except for information about the Pawnees, the Mormons would have learned little from this publication.

One year later, in 1837, the imagination of the nation was caught by Washington Irving's reworking of the 1833 journal of Capt. Benjamin Louis Eulalie de Bonneville into *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West*. The account of the Oregon Trail between Fort Laramie and the Green River would have been of some value to the Mormons. Of special interest

would have been the five-page description of the Great Salt Lake provided for Bonneville by one of his men, Joseph W.R. Walker. Despite the fact that his name was attached to the ancient Lake Bonneville, the captain never saw the Salt Lake. However, Bonneville was the first to prove the feasibility of taking loaded wagons over the famed South Pass. As has already been noted, we have reason to believe that the Mormon leaders were acquainted with this publication.

The following year a book appeared which the Mormons might have known of. This was the Rev. Samuel Parker's *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains* along the Oregon Trail from Fort Leavenworth to the Green River via Bellevue; that is, across the Papillion, Elkhorn, the Loup, and along the *north* side of the Platte to Fort Laramie — the same way the Mormons later went. The reverend gentleman's thirty-one-page account from Bellevue to the Green River would have been most helpful to the Mormons had they seen it.

In 1839 there appeared John K. Townsend's *Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains . . .* along the Oregon Trail to the Bear River. The ten-page account of his route between the future site of Fort Laramie and the Green River would have been of marginal use to the Mormons, for Townsend had in mind readers, not emigrants. The 1843 appearance of *Travels in the Interior of North America*, by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, would have meant nothing to the Mormons, and the Mormons would have gleaned little from George Wilkes' 1843 *The History of Oregon* other than his two-page "Resolutions," a sort of traveling compact. They would not have learned much from Father Pierre Jean De Smet's 1843 *Letters and Sketches . . . of the Rocky Mountains* or from his *Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains* of 1847. (As will be noted on page 28, however, the Mormons learned from a personal visit with De Smet.)

Had the Saints been fortunate enough to have read the *New York Spirit of the Times* from November 1844 through April 1845, they would have learned much from the pen of Lt. J. Henry Carleton of a company of dragoons which spent some time in 1844 with the Pawnees along the Loup River. They would also have gathered a good description of the Indian trail from Bellevue to the Loup River, which they would travel in 1847. However, it is very unlikely they ever heard of the young officer of the dragoons.¹³

Thomas J. Farnham's 1843 publication of his trip to Oregon via Colorado, *Travels in the . . . Rocky Mountains*, would have helped

the Mormons not at all, for he also had readers, not emigrants, in mind. Of far more importance was another publication in 1843, the first part of a work which was probably worth as much to the Mormons as everything else published to that date combined. I refer, of course, to Capt. John C. Frémont's *A Report of the Exploring Expeditions to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842*. This was the Frémont Report mentioned so often by the Mormons. A 10,000-copy edition was reprinted in 1845 as the first part of his *A Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and To Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-44*. The seventy-nine-page Report of 1843 was the first scientific survey of the Oregon Trail and the first reasonably accurate guidebook to the West. Of special value to the Mormons was the accompanying Frémont-Preuss map (see pp. 96-97).

The 1843 Report was useful to the Mormons for its account of the Platte River Valley from present-day North Platte, Nebraska, to South Pass. Of most value to the Mormons in the subsequent 1845 Report was not the three-page account of the route from South Pass to the Bear River, but his account of the exploration of the Great Salt Lake (which he reached via the soda springs), the Bear River area, and the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. Of paramount interest to the Mormons were his comments on the fertility of the valleys west of the Rocky Mountains. Frémont's short, four-column "Table of Distances" might have suggested to Clayton the form his guide would take.

Next to Frémont the most often mentioned source of information to the Mormons was Lansford W. Hastings' *The Emigrant's Guide to Oregon and California*, also published in 1845. For all of the fame or notoriety of this work, it is difficult to see wherein its value to the Mormons lay. His short account of his traveling from St. Louis to the Green River would have been of small help to the Mormons. He devoted exactly one sentence on pp. 137-138 to what became the famous and infamous Hastings Cutoff, "The most direct route for the California Emigrants, would be to leave the Oregon route, about two hundred miles east from Fort Hall; then bearing west-south-west, to the Salt Lake; and thence continuing down to the bay of San Francisco, by the route just described." Nevertheless, this one sentence sent some to their deaths and suggested to the Mormons a shorter way to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake west from Fort Bridger, rather than via Fort Hall. The Mormons might also have found very valuable Hastings' excellent ten-page chapter on "The Equipment, Supplies, and the Method of Traveling."

Since Hastings has become the regulation villain among those who, for whatever reasons, encouraged Americans to go west, and since his 1845 work was so well known by the westerning Mormons, let us examine briefly just what he did do. A writer and a lawyer from Ohio, in 1842 he helped lead what some call "the first planned overland wagon migration to Oregon." From Oregon he went to California in 1843. There he became so enthusiastic about the potential of the area and his possible future there that he wrote his book and went east in 1845 via Mexico, to have it published. He returned to California that same year. There he met Frémont, who had just blazed a trail from the Great Salt Lake to Pilot Peak in Nevada (a trail which would become a part of Hastings' proposed cutoff). Hastings was so much encouraged by talking with Frémont over the feasibility of his proposed cutoff that he returned east in 1846, this time to actually check out his "direct route." Eastward from the Great Salt Lake he proceeded, to use modern toponyms, up Parley's Canyon, over Big Mountain, down Little Emigration Canyon, up East and Main canyons to Henefer on the Weber River, up Echo Canyon, crossing the Bear River near Evanston, and then to Fort Bridger. There he convinced at least five emigrating parties to try his cutoff. Hastings advised or guided all five parties. Four of them made it successfully to California, passing through the Rocky Mountains via the Weber River with great difficulty.

The fifth did not follow the Weber route because Hastings personally showed one of their party the way west from the Weber. This was the Reed-Donner party, forty-four of whom perished in Sierra snows. Their deaths have been blamed largely on Hastings, and this is somewhat unfair. Their late start, lack of both organization and cooperation among themselves also contributed to their fate. Perhaps Hastings' culpability should be limited to the fact he tragically failed to realize that oxen hauling heavy wagons across a desert is far different from men crossing on horseback.

Two other studies appeared in 1845, neither of which could have been of much help to the Mormons. One was the eleven-page *Report* of Col. S.W. Kearny's summer campaign to the Rocky Mountains; the other was a five-volume *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition . . .* by Capt. Charles Wilkes of the United States Navy, who commanded six ships and a corps of scientists and naturalists. They spent three years in the South Pacific and the Antarctic before proceeding to the Oregon area. As already noted, the Mormons in Nauvoo were familiar with this study. (Perhaps Douglas had sent them a copy.) They would have been interested in Wilkes' study of Ore-

gon in volume four.

While the Mormons were crossing Iowa and setting up Winter Quarters in 1846 three additional works appeared which somehow might have been secured from St. Louis. The best was *Route Across the Rocky Mountains* by Overton Johnson and William H. Winter. For 176 pages they appear to have had the armchair traveler in mind, but a two-part appendix reveals their concern for the practical. Following eight pages of "Instructions to Emigrants — Supplies and Equipment — Manner of Traveling, &c.," is a ten-page "Bill of Route" which would have been an excellent model for Clayton. In four columns it lists places or topographic features, distances between them, a cumulative trail of miles traveled, brief descriptions of each site, and what might be called "notes" on the road, wood, grass, water, landmarks and similar necessary observations — the same type of information Clayton later provided. (See page 100 for a sample page from that work.)

J.M. Shivley's very short nine-page *Route and Distances to Oregon and California* was a serious attempt to produce a real guide, not a book for armchair travelers, and is about as good as could be expected from something that brief. His first three and one-half pages provide helpful hints on how to prepare for the serious business of westering; the balance presents a brief description of the Oregon road, topographic features, and campsites. It concluded with a one-page table of "Distances from Independence to Astoria." Perhaps Clayton was also inspired by this little work.

Rufus B. Sage's highly literate *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains* offered vivid word pictures, good reading, and little else to the Mormons which they could not have found elsewhere.

The Pioneers of 1847 could not have benefitted from Joel Palmer's excellent account of the Oregon Trail, *Journal of Travels over the Rocky Mountains* . . . published that same year. Clayton, however, might very well have later after returning from the West. He may have become familiar with its "Table of Distances from Independence, Missouri; and St. Joseph, to Oregon City, in Oregon Territory," which also included brief notations regarding campsites, the road, fuel and water.

A survey of the maps available to the Pioneers and to Clayton will help determine what several maps might have been hanging on the walls of the temple and what maps might have been taken west by the Pioneers. There were many available — a plethora in fact. Since

at least 1722 dozens of Spanish, French and American maps had been published showing, in varying degrees of accuracy and fullness, the Platte River area. Over fifty maps of the trans-Mississippi West appeared during the first five years of the 1840s, and in the critical year of 1846 another twenty-eight were published.

From a practical standpoint there is no use in this study to consider anything published prior to the 1814 Lewis and Clark map, which sketched out the Platte Valley. So did Roberdeau's "sketch" of 1818, Bradbury's map and Tanner's of 1822. Probably the first map the Mormons would have taken seriously was Maj. S.H. Long's of 1823, which not only gave details along the north side of the Platte from the Missouri River to the forks of the Platte, but is also generally considered to have been his best map of the Platte area prior to the Frémont-Preuss work. (A copy of this map appears on page 94-95.)

Of the maps published during the 1830s it appears the Mormons did consult the 1835 map of Bonneville. Unfortunately he was an untrained amateur and his map, not based on astronomical observations, is of poor technical quality; still it was widely known and used in its day. Gallatin, who never left New York City, produced a vague and amateurish map in 1836. Two maps appeared in 1838; one by M.H. Stansbury was of limited value, but one by Samuel Parker clearly showed the connections between the Loup, Platte, Sweetwater, Sandy, Green, and Bear Rivers.

While there were many maps of the trans-Missouri West published in the 1840s, almost every one the Mormons might have been interested in were either those of Frémont-Preuss or those based on Frémont-Preuss. The three Frémont-Preuss maps which appeared in 1843, 1845, and 1846, were what we would call strip maps today, showing only the area actually explored with no attempt to present wide, general areas. They represent the best American cartography between Long's work and the Civil War.

The first of the Frémont-Preuss series, showing the Oregon Trail in great detail from the forks of the Platte to South Pass and the Wind River Mountains, was the basis for the two which followed. In large format, 14½" by 33¾", it was clearly the finest map of that area ever produced. Preuss prepared another map in 1845 to accompany Frémont's second *Report* of that year. As the 1845 publication included the 1843 material, the 1845 map embodied everything on the 1843 map. In huge format, 51" x 31½", it showed his route along the Oregon Trail from Westport (now part of Kansas City), to South Pass, Fort Vancouver, and on to San Francisco Bay. This map also provided a good sketch of the Platte River west from Bellevue,

showing the Elkhorn, Loup, and Wood rivers.

In 1846 Preuss reworked his 1845 map and produced another map compiled "from the field notes of Cpt. J.C. Frémont and from sketches and notes made on the ground by his assistant Charles Preuss," which was issued as a public document by order of the U.S. Senate.

This map, from Westport to the Columbia River, was constructed on a grand scale of only ten miles to the inch and issued in seven sections, each 26" by 16". There is good reason to conclude that the Pioneers successively acquired all three maps and had them with them during The Exodus.

Of those maps derived from Frémont-Preuss which the Mormons may have also consulted are products which appeared with the 1845 *Report* of Col. S.W. Kearny's expedition from Fort Leavenworth to South Pass; the 1845 Charles Wilkes Map of Oregon Territory; Rufus B. Sage's 1846 Map of Oregon, California, New Mexico and Northwest Texas; and above all, one or more of the three maps published by S. Augustus Mitchell in 1846. It was one or more of these Mitchell maps which Young ordered from St. Louis during January 1846, as cited previously. The map in question was probably the one entitled, "A New Map of Texas, Oregon, and California," which was 20" by 22" and appeared in four colors.¹⁴ (A copy of this map appears on pp. 98-99.) It would seem then that the maps which hung on the walls of the temple, besides Frémont's, were surely Mitchell's, Wilkes', Bonneville's, and most likely Long's. Unfortunately none of the copies used by the Pioneers has survived. Their discovery, especially if they showed Clayton's jottings, would be an invaluable find.

It is interesting to speculate how these guides, travel books and maps might have influenced Clayton in the production of his guide and what he borrowed from others. Probably the earliest publications (not necessarily the earliest publications he saw, however) which might have benefited Clayton were Lewis', Brackenridge's, and Overton and Johnson's tables of distances, and "notes." And certainly the additional information about the trail, grass, water, wood, temperature, landmarks and camping sites which Clayton probably observed in some of the works of Long, Bonneville, Dodge, Townsend, and De Smet would have suggested what a satisfactory trail guide must offer. Some of the few things Clayton could have learned from Hastings and Shively, among others, were totally ignored. He gave no advice whatsoever about pre-emigration preparation, equipment or supplies. Likewise he presented almost

nothing regarding relations with Indians.

It is also interesting to examine the contacts the Mormons might have made while on the Missouri River from June 1846 to April 1847 and also along the trail. Surely they talked with all the frontiersmen and Indian agents they could find. From various sources we know they met Robert B. Mitchell, the Indian agent who was located at present-day Council Bluffs, Iowa; with Peter A. Sarpy, another agent at the same place; with a fur trapper named Fontenelle — probably a son of Lucian, who had died in 1840;¹⁵ with the Potawatomi chief, Le Clerk; and with Big Elk of the Omahas.

We also know Young, at least, talked with Father Pierre Jean De Smet while the latter was returning to St. Louis from Oregon. "Mr. Smith," Young recorded on Nov. 19, 1846, "a Catholic priest and missionary to the Black Feet Indians, called on me."¹⁶ Possibly, but highly unlikely, the Mormons may have been familiar with De Smet's 1843 publication, *Letters and Sketches With a Narrative of a Year's Residence . . . [in] the Rocky Mountains*. Of this visit De Smet later recorded in his 1847 *Oregon Missions*, "I was presented to their [the Mormons'] president, Mr. Young, a kind and polite gentleman [even though Young, like most Mormons, found it difficult to address him as "Father" and could not even spell his Belgian name correctly!] and he pressed me very earnestly to remain a few days, an invitation which my limited time did not permit me to accept."

Five days later Justin Grosclaude, a fur trader of Swiss ancestry for the American Fur Company, also called on Young and "sketched with pencil a map of the country west of the Missouri and north of the Ponca above the Yellowstone"¹⁷— a map which, regrettably, has not survived.

On the trail the Mormons likewise made the best use of every opportunity to learn from others. According to Clayton's journal (not *Guide*), on April 17 they met some traders from the Pawnee Village; on May 4 some traders, including Joseph or Lewis Papin from Fort Laramie; and on June 2 "Mr. Bordeau, the principal officer" at Fort Laramie. Also on June 2 they consulted with the guide of a "Missouri Company." On June 9 they met other traders who told them of a skin boat which they had left on the Platte; on the 26th they encountered "a small party of men direct from Oregon"; and on the 27th they met with Maj. Moses (Black) Harris, the first of three important "mountain men" they would encounter. The next day they ran into Jim Bridger and the two parties camped together

on the Sandy. Although Bridger was "likered up," they learned much from him. (Incidentally, when "Ol' Gabe" saw Frémont's maps he did not think much of them, for "he knew only the plain traveled road."¹⁸ This was a reference to the strip-like nature of Frémont's maps.)

On June 30 the Pioneers met one of their own, Samuel Brannan, who as noted earlier had reprinted most of the Hastings book in his *New York Messenger* and who in 1846 had led a party of Mormons from New York via Cape Horn to present-day San Francisco. Brannan, like Hastings, was smitten with California's potential and had ridden east via the California Trail and Fort Hall (not via Hastings' "direct route") to try and persuade Young to settle in California. Somehow Brannan had acquired from Hastings "a sketch of the Hastings Cutoff" and "'Hastings' directions from Bridger's Fort to the settlements in California, also a map of the route."¹⁹ Very likely Brannan, who may have met Hastings in New York City, had been with him again in California. The two men were alike in that they perceived a great future for themselves in California, but neither realized their dreams.

Finally, on July 10, they met Miles Goodyear who had settled in the Bear River Valley. Goodyear apparently drew for them a map of the route to his settlement.

Enroute Clayton and others checked their findings against their Frémont-Preuss maps. Perhaps it should be noted that the Frémont and Pioneer routes were on opposite banks of the Platte from Grand Island west to Fort Laramie. From Fort Laramie to Fort Bridger they were virtually identical. The Exodus commenced April 5 and by the 28th the Pioneers were opposite the place where Frémont reached the Platte, near the downstream end of Grand Island. On May 7 Orson Pratt was pleased that his longitudinal reading of 100 degrees, 5 minutes, 45 seconds "differed only 2" or 10 rods [165 feet] from Frémont's longitudinal [measurement] on the other shore of the Platte." Pratt's latitude was given as 40 degrees, 51 minutes, 18 seconds.²⁰

On May 18, near present-day Ogallala, Nebraska, Clayton noted that they had reached the Cedar Bluff "as named by Frémont." Here Clayton was using the Frémont-Preuss map of 1843 for it is the only Frémont map which shows the Cedar Bluffs. Today these bluffs, on the Oregon Trail on the south side of the Platte, have been largely inundated by Lake McConaughy. On that same day Clayton was asked to trace the Pioneer route onto one of Frémont's maps, a task he never completed. Two days later he suggested that someone cross the Platte to check out a place noted on Frémont's map as

"Ash Creek [Ash Hollow]," that they might "have a better privilege of testing Fremont's distance [of 132 miles] to Laramie." Two days later they tested their maps against Chimney Rock.

At Fort Laramie on June 2 Clayton compared Frémont's altitude against Pratt's calculation and found Frémont's was 380 feet higher.

On June 5 Clayton passed the Warm Springs as "noted by Fremont", and on June 8 a stream "named on Frémont's map as La Bonte River." The final reference to Frémont in Clayton's journal was made on June 26 while at South Pass: "Fremont represents that he did not discover the highest point on account of the ascent being so gradual. . . ."

Thomas Bullock, the official Clerk of Camp, also made a few references in his own journal to the maps the Pioneers had. Once he found a "river about 10 rods wide" not shown on their maps. Once he "inked our route on a map." That particular map evidently has not survived. Bullock was asked several times to make tracings of parts of Frémont's maps. His most interesting and important journal entry, however, is dated June 30 at Green River when he wrote, "I have eight sections of map to copy." This seems very much like a reference to the Frémont-Pruess map of seven sections.

Surely the Pioneers would have taken with them maps other than those of Frémont-Pruess. Yet I have found but two references to other maps. One is a Clayton reference to the pencil sketch of Grosclaude (see p. 58). The other is a reference to "distances according to Mitchell's map" from Grand Island to Fort Hall found on the fly-leaf of the diary kept by Albert Carrington of the Pioneer camp for Amasa Lyman.²¹

There is one final question remaining in this attempt to place Clayton's *Guide* in its proper perspective: "How was Clayton's work thought of by later writers of similar guides?" Soon after Clayton's *Guide* appeared, two other writers of trail guides paid his work the highest of all praise — they plagiarized from him. In 1849 Joseph E. Ware brought out *The Emigrants' Guide to California*. He admitted it was an armchair job compiled "from various sources, private and public, that were known to be reliable." Without further acknowledgment he abridged pp. 12-18 and 23-24 straight from Clayton — over 500 miles of the trail from Fort Laramie to the Bear River.

Three years later P.L. Platt and N. Slater published their *Traveler's Guide Across the Plains . . . to California*. In the preface they admitted that they had consulted "several of the Guides which were in the market," noting that "the best one we saw was that prepared

by Mr. W. Clayton. . . .” Considering this acknowledgment enough, they proceeded to plagiarize his pp. 5-11 and 17-20.

Further evidence of the quality and preeminence of Clayton's *Guide* appeared that same year of 1852 in Hosea B. Horn's, *Horn's Overland Guide from . . . Council Bluffs to California*, New York. In his preface Horn wrote, “Many works, purporting to be Guides, have been offered to the public, and as many have proved worthless, save one — that of Mr. Clayton. . . .” While Horn could hardly be accused of plagiarism, his sixty-seven-page guide has a format much like Clayton's and follows him rather closely for thirty-four pages.²² On Nov. 29, 1852, the weekly *Quincy* (Illinois) *Whig* praised Clayton's *Guide* and disparaged most others as “mere catch pennies.” These three 1852 references to Clayton's *Guide* may have been the result of the “pirated” edition of his work, which appeared that year. (See p. 8.)

What then was so attractive about Clayton's *Guide* that he, a member of a not overly favored faith at that time and an unknown neophyte in the field, was plagiarized over the famous Frémont and the older and longer works by Hastings, Palmer, Shively, and others? Perhaps it is because Clayton provided, above all things, conciseness, accuracy, and practicality. He had, furthermore, personally been over the route two times. He did not clutter up his pages with philosophical musings, fine writing, or any personal allusions. He clearly and briefly guided the emigrant from one identifiable feature (especially water sources) to another, giving the carefully measured distances between them and a cumulative list of miles traveled from Winter Quarters on the Missouri River as well as miles remaining to the City of the Great Salt Lake. His measurement of distances is his single most important contribution.

Topographic discription and accurate distances, especially in relation to water sources, were essential to any guide to anywhere. Perhaps this came instinctively to Clayton. In any event he tried hard to name many land and water features. Where possible Clayton used the Frémont-Preuss maps and what oral information he could pick up along the way. Sometimes the Pioneers made up names as they went along — some still endure — and sometimes Clayton merely refers to a stream or a lake without citing a name.

By his careful measurements and his recording of toponyms Clayton made a significant contribution to what has come to be called The Great Reconnaissance of the Far West. As stated earlier, it is only in two aspects that his is inferior to many others — he gave no advice on preparing to go west or on how to protect emigrants from Indians.

In keeping with the spirit of Clayton I have attempted to add further identifying comments regarding some topographic features and, where possible, to give the Indian, Spanish, and French name variants. Unless otherwise noted the toponyms used by Clayton remain the same today. Some land features in the *Guide* either no longer exist or cannot now be identified. This is particularly true of certain water sources such as Long, Willow and Ptah lakes, Bluff Springs, as well as Black, Mud, Picanninni, Goose, Duck, Weed, Crooked, Camp, Pond, Watch, and Carrion creeks. Some of them came and went at the whim of the river, marshy soil, poor drainage, flood control and irrigation projects. No reference is made in the notes to these unidentifiable places.

For all the popularity and excellence of Clayton's *Guide* there is no evidence that it was ever reprinted by himself or his church during his lifetime. As Professor Allen has noted, however, a pirated version did appear in 1852. (Council Bluffs had become a favored jumping-off place by 1852 — someone obviously saw the chance to make a good profit from the piracy.) The book was reprinted in 1897 by the Mormons for its historical value, and again in 1930 as a facsimile addendum to Volume Three of B.H. Roberts' *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Salt Lake City, 1930. Since then there have been several other facsimile publications. In 1962 the Daughters of Utah Pioneers issued one and in 1968 so did the Laramie County Library in Cheyenne, Wyoming. In 1974 Ye Galleon Press of Fairfield, Washington, issued a limited edition of 300 copies; that same year University Microfilms offered it as part of the American Culture Series, and in 1976 the Lost Cause Press of Louisville, Kentucky, brought it out in microfiche. More recently the *Guide* appeared as an appendix to Joseph E. Brown and Dan Guravich's *The Mormon Trek West*, Doubleday, 1980. But none of these reprint versions has the thorough annotation and comprehensive biography of the author as this work carries.

As already noted Clayton kept a journal of The Exodus from Nauvoo to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake and back to the Mormon Winter Quarters on the Missouri River. Since its publication in 1921 as *William Clayton's Journal; A Daily Record of the Journey of the Original Company of "Mormon" Pioneers from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* it has become the most famous of all Mormon trail journals. So closely are the *Journal* and the *Guide* interrelated that in my notes I have cross-referenced the reader to the *Journal*, appearing at the start of each section of notes. The

first set of page numbers and dates refers to the trip west, the second set to the return trip east. This *Journal* has been reprinted but once, by the Taylor Publishing Company of Dallas, in 1973.

For those who may wish to read other contemporary accounts of the Pioneer Trek of 1847 the following printed works are recommended. "Orson Pratt's Journal," *Millennial Star*, vols. 11 and 12, 1849-1850; "Erastus Snow's Journal," *Improvement Era*, vols. 14 and 15, 1911-1912; Howard R. Egan, *Pioneering the West*, Salt Lake City, 1917; *William Clayton's Journal*, Salt Lake City, 1921, reprinted 1973; Andrew Jenson's *Day by Day With the Pioneers, 1847*, Salt Lake City, n.d. (1930?); "The Pioneer Journal of Heber C. Kimball," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*, vols. 30 and 31, 1939-1940; *Autobiography of Pioneer John Brown*, Salt Lake City, 1941; Leland H. Creek, "Journey to Zion: From the Journal of Erastus Snow," *Utah Humanities Review*, April, July 1946; Maybelle Harmon Anderson, ed., *Appleton Harmon Goes West*, Berkeley, Cal., 1946; "Biography and Diary of Lorenzo Dow Young," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, vol. 14, 1946; Preston Nibley, *Exodus to Greatness*, Salt Lake City, 1947; Matthias F. Cowley, ed., *Wilford Woodruff . . .*, Salt Lake City, 1964; Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-61*, 2 vols., Salt Lake City, 1964; Eldon J. Watson, ed., *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1846-47*, Salt Lake City, 1971; Stanley B. Kimball and Hal Knight, *111 Days to Zion*, Salt Lake City, 1978.

For those who today may wish to follow the wagon ruts of Clayton, the following publications are recommended. (Those strictly pertinent to the Oregon Trail will be helpful for only 397 miles of Wyoming, between Forts Laramie and Bridger.) Irene D. Paden, *The Wake of the Prairie Schooner*, 1943; R.E. Harvey, "The Mormon Trek Across Iowa Territory," *Annals of Iowa*, July 1946; Margaret Long, *The Oregon Trail*, 1954; Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, 1964; Merrill J. Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 1968; Stanley B. Kimball, "The Iowa Trek of 1846," *The Ensign*, June 1972; William E. Lass, *From the Missouri to the Great Salt Lake*, 1972; Stanley B. Kimball and Hal Knight, *111 Days to Zion*, 1978; *The Mormon Trail: A Study Report*, Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, 1978; Gregory M. Franzwa, *The Oregon Trail Revisited*, 3rd ed., 1983; Stanley B. Kimball, *Discovering Mormon Trails*, 1979; Joseph E. Brown and Dan Guravich, *The Mormon Trek West*, 1980; Stanley B. Kimball, *The Travelers' Guide to Historic Mormon America*, 13th ed., 1981; Stanley B. Kimball, "The Mormon Trail Network in Iowa, 1838-1863," *BYU Studies*, August 1981;

Aubrey L. Haines, *Historic Sites Along the Oregon Trail*, 2nd ed., 1983; Gregory M. Franzwa, *Maps of the Oregon Trail*, 1982. Although not yet published, regrettably, Olga Sharp Steele's "Geography of the Mormon Trail Across Nebraska," master's thesis, University of Nebraska, 1933, is invaluable.

I would like to thank Professor James B. Allen for having read the manuscript and for having made helpful suggestions. Dr. Allen is now completing a biography of William Clayton. I also thank my wife Violet for having read all versions. I am also grateful to Charles W. Martin of Omaha for his thoughtful critique of the manuscript. Publication of the historical maps is through the courtesy of the Lovejoy Library, Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville. The map on the endpapers of this book was drafted by Diane Clements, who also executed the reference maps in the back of this volume.

NOTES

¹All references to Clayton's journal in this study are taken from the printed version published in 1921, reprinted in 1973.

²Thomas Bullock's journal, July 3, 1846. Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Hereafter cited as Church Archives.

³Clayton's *Guide* is listed in R.F. Perotti and T.N. Luther, *Important Firsts in Missouri Imprints: 1808-58*, Kansas City, 1967.

⁴On June 15, 1850, there is a footnote to Clayton's *Guide* in reference to Salt Lake City. That is all.

⁵The best study of these prophecies and statements is Duane S. Crowther, *The Prophecies of Joseph Smith*, Salt Lake City, 1963, pp. 364-368.

⁶Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, B.H. Roberts, ed., Salt Lake City, 1950, vol. 6, pp. 275-277, 369-376. Hereafter cited as *HC*.

⁷The *Messenger* was edited by Samuel Brannan who, with official approbation, led a group of Mormons from New York City to California via Cape Horn. They sailed on the *Brooklyn* Feb. 4, 1846, arriving at Yerba Buena (San Francisco) on July 31. Hastings had been lecturing about his new book in New York City and apparently Brannan had met him there. They may have met again in California. See p. 29.

⁸*HC*, vol. 7, pp. 548-558.

⁹Eldon Jay Watson, ed., *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 1846-1847, Salt Lake City, 1971, entry of April 4, 1847.

¹⁰Eugene England, *Brother Brigham*, Salt Lake City, 1980, p. 135.

¹¹Credit for unearthing this important letter seems to belong to Dale L. Morgan. It is quoted in Carl I. Wheat's monumental *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, vol. 3, San Francisco, 1959, p. 31, and in Richard H. Jackson's "Myth and Reality: Environmental Perception of the Mormons, 1840-65, An Historical Geosophy," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Clark University, 1970, p. 106.

¹²James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, Salt Lake City, 1976, p. 214.

¹³Carleton's logbooks were edited and published by Louis Pelzer as *The Prairie Logbooks*, Chicago, 1943.

¹⁴In 1827 Martin Harris showed a copy of some Book of Mormon characters to Prof. Charles Anthon of New York City, and to the shadowy "Dr. Mitchell." For many years some Mormons thought that "Dr. Mitchell" and this man might have been the same person. See my "The Anthon Transcript: People, Primary Sources, and Problems," *BYU Studies*, vol. 10 (Spring 1970), pp. 325-352.

¹⁵The only source I have found for this alleged visit with Fontenelle is the journal of Lorenzo D. Young, Nov. 15, 1846, Church Archives.

¹⁶*Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, Nov. 19, 1846.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, Nov. 24, 1846.

¹⁸Matthias F. Cowley, ed. *Wilford Woodruff*, Salt Lake City, 1909 (reprinted 1964), p. 306.

¹⁹The source of both sketch and map is Bullock's journal, July 7, 1847.

²⁰Orson Pratt's journal, May 7, 1847. This sighting was taken near present-day Gothenberg, Nebraska. It proves that Pratt was reading page 19 of Frémont's 1843 *Report*, where is given this June 18, 1842 reading of 100 degrees, 05 minutes, 47 seconds west longitude.

²¹Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, p. 31.

²²In 1853 Frederick H. Piercy (who in 1855 published his *Route From Liverpool to Salt Lake City*) used both the Clayton and Horn guides.