# "We Had Everything to Procure from Missouri": The Missouri Lifeline to the Mormon Exodus, 1846-1850

*Richard E. Bennett*

It has become almost habitual to think of Mormons and Missourians in the first half of the nineteenth century in antagonistic, if not belligerent, terms. The "Mormon War," Governor Lilburn W. Boggs' notorious extermination order, the infamous and tragic Haun's Mill Massacre, the forced wintry exodus in 1838-39 of several thousand Latter-day Saints from their homes in Caldwell and Daviess Counties to Quincy, Illinois, the illegal incarceration in Liberty Jail of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet—all these and more make for a dreary wasteland in the tortured landscape of early Mormon-Missouri history.

Wilford Woodruff, a leading Mormon apostle of the time and later president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, when once speaking of the resurrection, counseled those whose loved ones had died in the "Show Me" state to bring them out to Zion or some other more fitting place, for "if they should go into Missouri and be buried there, he did not know who would [take] the trouble to go there and hunt them up for they would never once think that a Saint of God would be buried there."[1] For their part, many nineteenth century Missourians considered the Mormons little more than "obnoxious settlers [who] should [have left] the county . . . Some of the Mormon settlers were good and industrious people, but many more were violent and

Richard E. Bennett (richard_bennett@byu.edu) is professor of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University.

lawless and considered that they had a right to take anything they chose from the Gentiles."[2]

Whatever the justification for such lasting ill will, there is another side to the story, a kinder, softer picture of mutual cooperation and advantageous economic interchange—a story still unappreciated and virtually untold. The purpose of this study is to demonstrate that for a period of four to five years, from 1846 to 1850, while the western-bound Latter-day Saints paused at their encampments near Council Bluffs, Iowa, Missouri became the lifeline to their exodus. Had it not been for this Missouri trade, most Latter-day Saints would not have gathered sufficient means to migrate to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. Once their inveterate enemy, Missouri became their provider, supporter—in a word, their economic salvation.

Our story begins with the expulsion of the Mormon people from their cherished Nauvoo, Illinois, beginning in the winter of 1846. Once again, under the direction of Brigham Young, several thousands joined in yet another exodus, this time to a new Zion somewhere in the Rocky Mountains. With the vanguard "company of the Twelve [Apostles]" leading the way, the hope was to cross Iowa Territory—a relatively short three hundred miles—and reach the Missouri River by mid-April, in plenty of time to send an exploration company on ahead to find a new valley home in that fateful "year of decision," 1846. That was the plan!

The reality, however, is an agonizingly different story. Incessantly wet weather, poor planning, over-crowded companies with over-eager teamsters with either too many provisions or, as more often was the case, far too few—all these factors led to confusion, delay, and frustration. Iowa became one giant mud hole in which wagons sunk clear to their axles. Forced to establish way stations or farms at Garden Grove and Mt. Pisgah in central Iowa for those too sick or unprepared to travel farther, as well as for the many thousands yet to quit Nauvoo and follow in their muddy wake, the vanguard companies never made it to Council Bluffs until mid-June, eight weeks behind schedule and all but too late for their planned dash over the mountains that season.

Moreover, within days of reaching the Missouri River, the Mormon refugees were asked to enlist voluntarily five hundred men in a "Mormon Battalion" to march in Stephen Kearney's Army of the West to California. More an answer to prayer than a political imposition, despite statements then and now to the contrary, this request translated into thousands of dollars of desperately needed cash and, equally important, permission to settle their winter quarters on Indian lands west of Council Bluffs near present-day Omaha, Nebraska. By the end of that year, 1846, some four thousand Mormons had established temporary shelter in Winter Quarters, another three to four thousand did the same in and about Council Bluffs which the Latter-day Saints soon renamed

Kanesville, with another four thousand or more found in outpost settlements all across Iowa and in various Missouri River communities all the way south to St. Louis.

Exhausted and ill provisioned, poorly clad and inadequately housed in huts and cabins, caves and wagons, scattered "Israel" had little choice but to suffer through the coming winter. Their greatly weakened condition and over exposure to the harsh elements were an open invitation to disaster, and nature soon had her way. Thousands took sick and hundreds would die. Many of those still well enough followed the only course available to them—turn south to Missouri, an improbable ally—for food, raiment, and supply.

As the Mormon wagon train struggled across Iowa, many in Missouri watched the sad spectacle with a jaundiced eye. In what one Missouri historian has labeled the "Second Campaign," or "Second Mormon War," a Missouri delegation, led by Colonel Thomas Jennings, well known by the Mormons, is said to have led a small "army" to intercept Young near Leon, Decatur County, Iowa, and to warn the Saints against any possible travel through Missouri. "A treaty was entered into under the terms of which the Mormons were not to come into Missouri or disturb its people or property, and while they observed these conditions, the militia were to give them no trouble."[3] Whether this influenced Brigham Young's decision not to follow the advice of his leading scouts to travel southward into Missouri and cross the river at Banks Ferry, some fifty-five miles upriver from St. Joseph, is not yet certain.[4] Whatever the case, the Mormon leader considered it "wisdom to avoid the Missouri settlements as much as possible for there seems to be only one disposition which is universal amongst the inhabitants in this region, and that is, to speculate out of us as much as possible, and we mean to defeat them."[5]

Agreements and good intentions notwithstanding, many at Garden Grove and Mt. Pisgah saw no other alternative but to turn southward for sustenance. Better that than starve. Benjamin F. Johnson in May 1846 made two trips into Missouri for seed and supplies. Said he: "We had no bread, no seed to plant, no cow or chickens; in fact we had everything to procure from Missouri." Without a dollar with which to buy provisions, Johnson persuaded his wives, Melissa and Mary Ann, to give up "their feather beds, only reserving one pillow for each, . . . their china, glassware, fine table cutlery, etc. and with it I went to Missouri [incognito, we should add], a three days travel, and returned with plenty of corn, bacon, beans, three young cows, garden seeds, and chickens."[6] Several others were forced to do the same.[7]

Meanwhile, among the many leaving Nauvoo later that spring, some went by boat to St. Louis, where there was hope of employment, while a few others traveled overland right across Missouri to St. Joseph or some other jump off-spot on the Missouri River.[8] Mary Jane Tanner and her family chose the

latter alternative. "As soon as we were able to travel," she reported of their departure from Illinois, "we made our way down through Missouri; stopping occasionally a few days to work . . . We reached St. Joseph, Missouri late in the fall [1846] and decided to stay there through the winter. We found some of our people already there . . . my father rented houses and went to work in a wagon shop."[9]

**"It Will Be Far More Convenient For Us to be Near the Missouri Settlements"**

The nature of the Mormon-Missouri trade during the period 1846-1850, when so many thousands of Latter-day Saints circulated their way through the Winter Quarters-Council Bluffs region, may be categorized under two broad headings: (1) trade in behalf of the Church itself, and (2) individualized trade and employment. And whether one represented the Church or his specific family, the purpose was invariably the same—(1) buy, trade, or work for immediate survival; and (2) do the same for fit outs of wagons, ox teams and provisions for an anticipated march to the mountains. Indeed, one of the benefits Brigham Young identified for settling the Church in temporary refuge near Council Bluffs was what we might call the "Missouri factor." After listing several other advantages he gave arguably the most compelling reason to a people facing a winter without a harvest: "It will be far more convenient for us to be near the [Missouri] settlements where we can procure provisions and grains."[10] And it all started from the moment they arrived at the Missouri river.

Although Battalion contributions of wages fell short of Church expectations, authorities did receive $5,000 from Battalion funds, sufficient to send Newel K. Whitney, then presiding bishop, down to St. Louis that fall of 1846 for supplies, equipment, and hardware. Whitney, with instructions to buy at wholesale prices, set out with Jonathan C. Wright and John Vancott in late August via steamboat.[11] Upon his return in early December, Whitney brought with them enough supplies to stock a store full of merchandise in their new city of Winter Quarters.[12] In an attempt to make their encampments self-sufficient, Whitney also brought back two sets of mill stones and other fixtures needed to build a flour mill, while John Pack and his party returned from Savannah with a carding machine and other necessary hardware to make willow baskets to assist in trading efforts with Missourians "for grain and commodities we need."[13] Though neither enterprise proved successful, such initiatives showed their intent to carry on whatever trade they could.

Even before the call for the Battalion, John D. Lee found himself down in Missouri on Church assignment. "From Council Bluffs I took a cargo of

traps, consisting of feather beds, five counterpanes, quilts and such goods," he recorded,

> and went down to Missouri, with a large number of wagons to obtain a cargo of supplies, and beef cattle and cows. During my absence a call was made on the Mormons for 500 men to go to Mexico. . . . From Council Bluffs I returned [once more] to Missouri to buy a drove of cattle for Brigham Young, Dr. [Willard] Richards and others . . . I also loaded some twenty wagons with provisions and articles for trade and exchange. I also exchanged horses for oxen, as the latter were low and the former high in price. About the middle of August I returned with about 500 head of cattle.[14]

Gilbert Belnap, also on Church assignment, tells of traveling southward early that first wilderness winter "after wheat which the Church had purchased from a merchant by the name of Johnson. We received a portion of the wheat due and the remainder in money."[15]

Such organized trade in the name of the Church went both ways. On the eve of his departure for the West in the spring of 1847, Brigham Young broke his strict policy of attempted self-sufficiency by inviting E. M. Estill, a reputable Missouri merchant from either Savannah or St. Joseph, to come and open "a trade at this place. "You will not interfere with the arrangements of the church," Brigham counseled, "by bringing goods here to sell on the common principles of trade and if you will go and sell on reasonable terms, or I would say cheap . . . and go into a general barter trade. . . . I believe you may do a good profitable business here and do this people good at the same time."[16]

**"We Were Obliged to Go Down Into Missouri to Work for Provisions"**

The really fascinating aspects of this developing economics lay in the accounts, some pathetic, some humorous, yet all revealing, of individuals who felt compelled to make the trip into Missouri. Most followed what many referred to as the "Bottom Road . . . upwards of 100 miles long, and from five to ten [miles] perhaps wide, with the Missouri River and Indian Territory on the west, and large bluffs on the East with splendid prairies for farming lands lying back with valleys interspersed with timber."[17] Along this road, traversing some of the finest farmland in America to this day, a tired and destitute people familiarized themselves with communities in Atchison, Holt, Andrew, and Buchanan Counties, all recently carved out of the so-called "Platte Purchase" from vacating Indian tribes. And for the most part, this Missouri showed a much friendlier face to the Mormons than had that of Caldwell, Daviess, and Jackson counties just seven years before.

Some of the earliest venturers came as little more than beggars. "We are now very destitute for clothing having been one and a half years since we started [from Nauvoo]," remembered Goudy Hogan, who then was but a lad. "I, in company with one of our neighbors' boy little older than myself, started to Missouri down the river afoot with no clothes scarcely only what we had on which was nearly worn out. . . . I prayed to the Lord to open the way for me that I could receive wages for my labor."[18]

A hungry John Dowdle trundled down with two brothers and his sister "so as to get some thing for our support." However, despite their best efforts, they were only able "to obtain through the kindness of some friend to get only once in a while a poor frost-bitten ear of corn, which we would parch by our scanty fire and thanking God that we [were] that well off."[19]

Most, however, fared far better than the Dowdles. Some went down for six weeks, some for six months, while a few chose to move down for three, four or more years. Many made multiple trips, soon after the crops were planted, or after harvest, or whenever else they could see their way to go. After building a cabin for the winter at Silver Creek on the Iowa side, Amasa Potter and his brother went down "to get an outfit to cross the plains in 1847." However, "when spring came we had not earned means sufficient to take us all through, so father concluded to stay until the year 1848, so we worked until the spring of 1848. By this time we had got a yoke of oxen and wagon and two cows."[20]

Very soon after their arrival at Winter Quarters, "a man came up from . . . Missouri," Robert Crookston recalled, "wanting a company of men, all kinds of builders, to go with him to build a mill. He got about 20 men, so on the 20th Day of November 1846 I left Father and Mother and went with them to Missouri to work all winter."[21]

All went down with the blessing—and the warning—of their leaders. "It had been predicted by [our] leaders," the same Robert Crookston later recalled,

> that those who needed an outfit to go on to the valleys of the mountains and went down to Missouri to make one would find employment and be blessed, but if they stayed after they had sufficient means to come on, the Lord would cease to bless them and they would grow poor, lose the good spirit, and be unable to follow the Church. This I have seen bitterly fulfilled. There were brethren there who were much better off than we. They thought they would just stay one year more. The last I heard of them they had not emigrated.[22]

For his part, Crookston and his family moved to Savannah and obtained work digging wells all over town. "We fixed up the place better than it ever had been. We lived well for those times and our cattle were well wintered."[23]

Later on, with the coming California Gold Rush, Crookston's wife and mother made trail goggles which they sold for twenty-five cents a pair while his friend, John Welsh, "being a cutter, started to make Bowie knives to sell to the Emigrants who all wanted a knife with a guard on the handle and a scabbard to hang on their belts."[24] By the time the Crookston family left for the Valley in June 1851, they had become well-respected citizens, bringing with them several new Missouri converts to the faith.[25]

Some of those who chose to stay in Missouri and not come west did so because they objected to following Brigham Young to a new nowhere in the West and saw in the California Gold fever a new chance not merely to make profits but to return to Jackson County. "It appears to be the will of the Lord that we sojourn in Missouri," wrote Martha Long Peck in May 1849 from somewhere in "Andrew County":

> Our hearts were revolted at the idea of going so far away from Zion [Jackson Co.], the place which we first went up to by revelation. That land is dearer to us than all the riches of the mines though I have no doubt but the Lord will effect his purposes in this thing for the Lord has said he would turn the world upside down and scatter abroad the inhabitants thereof. Now is not this prophecy being fulfilled? . . . Many men are going to the mines without selling their farms and according to your predictions Zion must be redeemed within two or three years.[26]

Most, however, did not stay as long as did either the Crookstons or the Paces. James Fackrell, like many others, set a pattern by making the journey first in the fall of 1846, to obtain essential foodstuffs, then later that winter returning to work at whatever jobs were available, then again, after planting, in the spring and summer of '47. On his third trip, Fackrell, along with his sister, Betsy Jane, also chose to go to Savannah, a favored site and then only a very young city of a few hundred people.[27] The following year, he returned on his fourth excursion, their family being scarce of hay, "partly to keep the cattle and to make a fitout to go in the spring. I went and took a job of hauling logs to a saw mill. I was where I could buy corn for ten cents a bushel so I kept my cattle fat for all winter so in the spring they were in good plight to start." He concluded: "I was successful in making a fitout while I was there this time."[28]

While scores found various kinds of seasonal employment in Atchison and Holt Counties, at Nishnabotona or in Oregon [City], the evidence suggests that St. Joseph, with a population of 936 in 1846, was the favorite Mormon rendezvous place for this period.[29] That there was some opposition to their coming is not in dispute. Samuel Hall, a local resident, served "a notice" upon the Mormons "to seek some other home."[30] Others probably felt the same way.

However, if the Mormon accounts are accurate, St. Joseph was a good and friendly place. "The people here seem to feel a sympathy for the Saints," one seasoned Mormon passerby noted. "Generally I hear nothing scarcely said against them. Although I make considerable inquiry, and there are quite a number of the Saints here, perhaps pecuniary motives is the object of sympathy."[31]

John D. Lee, returning with Howard Egan from the Battalion with thousands of dollars in cash, recalls the friendliness and safety of the place. "We put up at a hotel," he wrote, "but before our animals were in the stable, Egan was gone and I could not find him that night, yet we searched for him diligently. I was fearful that he would be robbed but he happened to meet some honest men who put him in bed and kept him and his money in safety until morning, when we found him."[32] Charles B. Allen tells of going down just south of St. Joseph for two loads of apples and stopping at the home of Mrs. Thorton

> who had a large plantation and lots of Negroes. She treated us very kindly and invited us into the house to take our meals with the family. So we brought two loads of apples and started back home. We stopped at St. Joseph . . . and called on General [Alexander] Doniphan who was Mrs. Thornton's son-in-law, and a merchant in St. Joseph. He treated us very kindly and made us some presents from his store.[33]

Alonzo Raleigh spent the spring of 1847 working in St. Joseph as a mason "and made a tolerably comfortable outfit for the Valley of the Salt Lake for which we started in the spring of 1848."[34]

So many Mormons congregated in St. Joseph that if they did not have a church, they certainly did have a tavern. "I had a house at the west end of St. Joseph," Charles Lambert recalled, which "the brethren used to call . . . the Mormon Tavern, as many used to stay there when they used to come there to trade."[35]

## "Every One Was Working Industriously for the Purpose of Going to the Mountains"

Some of the stories coming out of the journals of those in Missouri make for interesting reading. (For a partial listing of names of those who worked in Missouri and the types of jobs they worked at, see Appendices 2 and 3). There were plenty of good times, though for many it became a rigorous test of their faith. Mosiah Hancock learned the hard way that prayer works. Camping down one night in the darkness, a dismal sound awakened him.

> I grabbed my gun and corn dodger and up a tree I went, for wolves were in force! I threw some wood on the fire so that the blaze would keep back those "clamoring varmints." . . . Oh, how the cold wind did pierce me! By daylight the wolves were gone, and I left my perch. I soon got warm by the good fire and I tried to do some praying—for the music in the wolves choir seemed to introduce in me a desire to feel a little religious.[36]

Another young man, hired on to help ferry supplies over to Fort Kearney at the rate of twenty dollars per month, soon found his beliefs under scrutiny, if not derision. "I was the only Mormon boy that worked there out of 23 work hands," he recorded. "At first they commenced to try to run me because I was a Mormon but I observed the Mormon creed. I took a straightforward course and I often tended to my secret prayers and got along remarkably well."[37]

Some met tribulations on every side. Charles Allen got a job hauling corn across the river, a task made much easier in the wintertime when the river froze over. "I hauled on till sometime in February," he wrote:

> The river had frozen over sufficiently to bear up loaded wagons. So my younger brother, Andrew, and I began hauling our corn across the river. We hauled one day and a half when the weather began to get warm and the ice began to get rotten. We hitched our oxen three or four chain lengths from the wagon so that if the ice broke, the cattle and wagon wouldn't both go down together. About four o'clock in the afternoon when we were about one third the way across the river, the wagon broke through the ice and the corn floated out and down the river making a good bait for the catfish. With some outside help we got the wagon out and went home and that was the last time we tried to take our corn across the river.[38]

As if that was not enough of a trial, this same Charles Allen the following year returned to Missouri only to suffer another serious accident. "While trying to chop the top of a part of a tree which was lying on the ground," he painfully remembered,

> my axe struck a limb on which I was cutting and hitting my left foot in the instep and cutting it about half off, leaving my big toe to lie right back. I walked and hopped down to the house about 40 rods, and all the while the blood was running so freely that I nearly fainted. The women folks at the house screamed and left the house when they saw the blood, so I had to get a cloth and wrap my foot myself. The doctor was sent for and when he got there gave me a very strong medicine to numb my pain while he served up the wound. . . . I had to walk on crutches for six months.[39]

Of all the work performed, perhaps the strangest was the case of dream interpreter, a modern Joseph in Pharaoh's Egypt. One young man lost his way in the dark one fateful night and came across a lonely farm-house with a candle still flickering in the darkness. The husband had retired for the evening but his wife was still up.

> As I could not see the gate I made for the light and came against a high rail fence. A big dog was barking furiously so the Mrs. came out and cried 'Sick him, Jack!". . . I called to the dog not to bite me. At this she called to the dog to come back. When I got to the house they wanted to know who I was and what I was. I told them. He asked where I was from and where I had worked. I asked him if he knew "so and so." "Yes" . . . At that he jumped right up and asked "do you belong to the Lodge, the operative Masons?" I said yes. He told me he was bound to relieve me because of his oath but he wanted no preaching. I told him that was not my errand. It was to procure means for my family but he asked so many questions on religion that [we] did not sleep much that night.
>
> He had a dream and came to me saying, "If thou be of Joseph explain it to me." Says he to me, "I was led to a fine building and there shown into an upper room. In the middle of that room was a table on which was spread all kinds of precious jewels to adorn the human body. The sight was a most imposing one." At this a door opened and in walked a beautiful couple as ever he saw. His wife would have a kiss of the queen and did.

At this, the Missourian asked his midnight guest what it all meant. Without hesitation, "I asked him if he kissed the Queen? He said, 'No.' I told him he should have done [for] God is no respecter of persons."[41] Apparently the answer was more than satisfactory, for the Missouri couple later migrated west, the wife eventually converting to Mormonism.

**Conclusion**

To put it all into perspective, one has to conclude that the economics of Mormon work and trade in Missouri during these years proved very significant. The numbers of those working in Missouri who could be positively identified numbered seventy (see Appendix A). However, it was more likely many more, perhaps at least two hundred, when taking into account such other statements as the following. From William I. Appleby in St. Joseph—"Quite a number of the Saints here." From Appleby again, describing the scene hear Nodaway—"many of the brethren [here] with corn."[41] From the pen of George Laub when he was working at the Nishnabotona—"Quite a number of the Brethren settled [here]."[42]

Listing all the various jobs worked at is a daunting task, probably one that could never be completed, considering the many accounts given. However, the accompanying second chart gives a good sampling of the kinds of work Latter-day Saints took in Missouri. Shingle making and well digging, cutting hay and binding oats, splitting rails (one man split ten thousand of them) and making fences, wagon building and the barrel making, chopping wood and hauling logs—these and many more attest to the wide variety of jobs they willingly performed (see Appendix B). Known for their hard-working ethic

even then, the beehive of Mormonism buzzed around the northwest angle of Missouri during these years.

How much was it all worth in dollars and cents? Any calculation would be both tentative and imprecise, but the figure is much higher than we may have previously supposed. As per the attached table, my estimate is derived from three categories of endeavors: (1) trade on behalf of the Church; (2) store-bought purchases at Winter Quarters from Missouri merchants; and (3) the value of individual work. The first two tally at least ten thousand dollars, and the last, based on a minimum of two hundred laborers working an average of six months at one dollar a day equaling thirty-six thousand dollars, for a combined total estimate of fifty thousand dollars. In today's figures, the sum would be comparable to somewhere between two and three million dollars (see Appendix C).

It would be inaccurate to conclude this study on too positive a note, for the currents of ill-will and animosity between peoples ran deep for a very long time. John Pulsipher, for one, criticized the inhabitants of Missouri as "indolent," having "possession of one of the choicest lands in the world, yet they have no spirit of enterprise."[43] Nor did Brigham Young sound too complimentary when he prayed the curse of heaven upon those to the south.[44]

The truth is, however, that far more accounts exist of cooperation than conflict during these years. Hosea Stout, the hard-nosed chief of police at Winter Quarters, may have said it best when he reported that "the most opposition we have in Missouri is in consequence of the stories of the dissenters otherwise the Missourians are very friendly."[45]

Historians have tended to think that the wages earned by the Mormon Battalion were the financial salvation of the Church. From the evidence presented here, it is obvious that the Mormon/Missouri trade was of pivotal importance not merely to the cause of their exodus but perhaps to the very existence of the Church itself. Perhaps the most enduring legacy of this economy was the openness and communication made necessary between peoples, an attitude that sowed the seeds of eventual reconciliation in the difficult decades to come.

## Notes

1. Mary Hasking Parker Richards, Journal, January 12, 1847, LDS Church Archives, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives). All incorrect spelling in original sources is corrected for use in this paper. This paper is a much revised study of a previous similar work which I presented at the Missouri Valley History Conference in 1986 and later published as "Mormons and Missourians—The Uneasy Truce," *The Midwest Review* (2nd series) 9 (Spring, 1987): 12-21.

2. *History of Andrew and De Kalb Counties Missouri* (St. Louis: The Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1881), 72.

3. *A History of Northwest Missouri*, Walter Williams, ed., 3 vols. (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1915), 1:512. Such reports may have influenced Brigham Young's decision to stay out of Missouri. No reference has yet been found in any contemporary Mormon sources to an Iowa meeting between Jennings and Brigham Young.

4. For a thorough study of the Mormon exodus across Iowa and their changing travel plans, see the author's *Mormons at the Missouri, 1846-1852: "And Should We Die"* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 27-45.

5. Brigham Young to the Trustees-in-Trust in Nauvoo, April 12, 1846, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

6. Benjamin F. Johnson, Autobiography, 92, LDS Church Archives.

7. See Joseph Fielding, Journal, 5:87, LDS Church Archives; and Horace K. Whitney, Journal, April 19, 1846, LDS Church Archives.

8. For a fine account of the Latter-day Saints in St. Louis, see Stanley B. Kimball, "The Saints and St. Louis, 1831-1857: An Oasis of Tolerance and Security," *BYU Studies* 13, no. 4 (Summer 1973): 489-519. See also William G. Hartley, "St. Louis and the Nauvoo Exodus; The Experiences of the John Ellison Family," *Nauvoo Journal* 10, no. 2 (Fall 1998): 39-47.

9. Mary Jane Tanner, Personal History, 6, LDS Church Archives.

10. Journal History of the Church, August 1, 1846, LDS Church Archives (hereafter cited as Journal History).

11. Journal History, August 17, 1846.

12. Journal History, December 15, 1846. Whitney paid considerably higher prices than anticipated and encountered much higher freight costs, since much of the return trip, from St. Joseph to Winter Quarters, was overland.

13. Journal History, November 8, 1846.

14. John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled: Confessions of John D. Lee and Brigham Young* (St. Louis: Vandawalker and Company, 1892), 179.

15. Gilbert Belnap, Autobiography, 40, LDS Church Archives.

16. Journal History, March 25 March, 1847. Besides Estill, two other stores opened in Winter Quarters that spring, one owned by William E. Clifford and the other by a Mr. Hathaway. See Journal History, February 8, 1847.

17. William I. Appleby, Journals and Autobiography, 1848-1856, 186, LDS Church Archives.

18. Goudy Hogan, Journal, typescript, 10, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University (hereafter Perry Special Collections).

19. John Clarke Dowdle, Autobiography and Diaries, 16, LDS Church Archives.

20. Amasa Potter, Life History, 3, LDS Church Archives.

21. Robert Crookston, Autobiography, typescript, 12, LDS Church Archives.

22. Crookston, Autobiography, 12.

23. Crookston, Autobiography, 14.

24. Crookston, Autobiography, 14.

25. Crookston, Autobiography, 15. Crookston tells of the conversion of James Curry, a Savannah blacksmith, and his whole family.

26. Martha Long Peck to Reed Peck, May 6, 1849, LDS Church Archives. For a excellent study of the Mormon "stay backs" in Iowa, many of whom eventually joined the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints, see Barbara J. Bernauer, "Gathering the Remnants: Establishing the RLDS Church in Southwestern Iowa," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 20 (2000): 5-33. A branch of the RLDS Church, consisting originally of fourteen members, was established in St. Joseph, Missouri in 1870. "Some who did not follow the exodus further than St. Joseph "became part of this congregation." See Johann Baer, Autobiography, LDS Church Archives.

27. Savannah, county seat of Andrew County, was incorporated in 1842. Its first settler was James Wood, and a John Riggin built its first small house. Abram Nave was the town's first merchant. See Howard L. Conrad, ed., *Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri*, 6 vol. (New York: The Southern History Company, 1901), 5:589. Most of the area's earliest settlers were from Kentucky and other Southern states. See Rev. A. W. McGlothlan, "Andrew County," in Williams, *A History of Northwest Missouri*, 1:308-19.

28. James Fackrell, Journal, 8-9, LDS Church Archives.

29. Founded by Joseph Robidoux as an early river trading post in 1830, St. Joseph (formerly Blacksnake Hill) was officially renamed in 1843 with a population of barely two hundred people. Population boomed during the years from 1847 to 1850, and 143 buildings were erected. By 1849, its population had increased to 1,900. See Christopher L. Rutt, "Buchanan County" in Williams, *A History of Northwest Missouri*, 1:335-68. It is said that the type and press of the city's first newspaper, the *Gazette*, established in 1845, "were part of the Mormon paper, published at Independence, which had been suppressed." Rutt, "Buchanan County," 368. St. Joseph became a principal jumping-off city during the California and Oregon Trail days.

30. Rutt, "Buchanan County," 353.

31. Appleby, Journals and Autobiography, November 23, 1847.

32. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 194.

33. Charles Hopkins Allen, Autobiography, 36, LDS Church Archives.

34. Alonzo Hazelton Raleigh, Journal, LDS Church Archives.

35. Charles Lambert, Autobiography, 25, LDS Church Archives.

36. Mosiah Hancock, Journal, typescript, 36, Perry Special Collections.

37. Hogan, Journal, 12.

38. Allen, Autobiography, 27-28.

39. Allen, Autobiography, 32-33.

40. Lambert, Autobiography, 23-25.

41. Appleby, Journals and Autobiography.

42. George Laub, Diary, January 31, 1847, Perry Special Collections.

43. John Pulsipher, Diary, typescript, part of entry for 1847, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

44. Richards, Journal, May 14, 1848, as quoted in Lynn Robert Webb, "The Contributions of the Temporary Settlements Garden Grove, Mount Pisgah and Kanesville, Iowa, to Mormon Emigration 1846-52" (MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 1954), 85-92.

45. Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout 1844-1861*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, Utah Historical Society, 1964), 1:222-23. See also David Fullmer and Aaron Johnson to Brigham Young, August 17, 1846, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

**Appendix A**
**Some Identified Latter-day Saint Workers in Missouri, 1846-1850**

Allen, Andrew
Allen, Charles H.
Allred, Reddick
Appleby, William I.
Ashby, Benjamin
Belnap, Gilbert
Butler, John L.
Call, Anson
Cotham, T.
Crookston, Ann
Crookston, "Sister"
Crookston, Robert
Curtis, Joseph
Davis, F. J.
Dowdle, John
Dowdle, "Brother"
Dowdle, "Sister"
Eames, Ellis
Fackrell, James
Fackrell, Betsy Jane
Gibbons, A. S.
Graybill, "Brother"
Harley, Edwin
Haskell, Thales
Hogan, Erick
Hogan, Goudy
Holbrook, Chandler
Holbrook, Joseph
Jefferds, Oren
Johnson, Thomas S.
Kingsbury, Joseph
Lambert, Charles
Lamoni, Joseph
Lane, "Brother"
Laub, George
Lee, John D.
Lee, George L.
Lytle, John

Moore, Justin
Moore, Thomas
Newcomb, “Bro.”
Noble, “Brother”
Owens, Alvin
Pace, Harvey
Pace, James
Pace, William
Peck, “Brother”
Potter, Amasa
Potter, Newell
Raleigh, Alonzo
Sanders, John C.
Sanderson, Henry
Sloan, James
Smith, Jackson
Swa[p]p, William
Tanner, “Brother”
Tanner, Chadwick
Taylor, Joseph
Taylor, Pleasant
Tolman, Judson
Wallace, George B.
Welsh, John
West, Israel
Willey, Jeremiah
Williams, Alex.
Williams, Francis
Wolsey, William
Young, Joseph
Young, Lorenzo D.
Young, Phineas

## Appendix B
## A Sampling of Mormon Work in Missouri, 1846-1850

| | |
|---|---|
| Shingle Making | Cutting Hay |
| Binding Oats | Fence Making |
| Making Rails | Making Brooms |
| Carving Staves | Mill Grinding |
| Carpentry/millwork | Wagon Building |
| Well Digging | Knife Making |
| Making Goggles | Cooper Trade |
| Spinning Clothes | Hauling Logs |
| Selling Chairs | Hauling Corn |
| Teamster for Forts | Binding Grain |
| Chopping Cord Wood | Ferrying |
| Masonry | Coal Digging |
| Pork Packing | "Roust-about" |
| Breaking Hemp | School Teaching |

## Appendix C
## The Value of the Mormon/Missouri Trade, 1846-1850

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Church-Sponsored Trade | | |
| Newel K. Whitney's trip to St. Louis | | $1,800.00 |
| John D. Lee's trip | | $1,702.00 |
| Daniel Russell and Joseph Matthews | | $1,139.00 |
| Other purchases | | $ 559.00 |
| | Sub-Total | $5,240.00 |
| Value of Store-Bought Purchases at Winter Quarters from Missouri Merchants | | |
| Albert P. Rockwell house and W. H. Estill's Store (Based on $30.00 per day multiplied by 170 days) | | $5,100.00 |
| Value of Individual Trading Transactions (Based on 200 laborers working an average of 6 months at $1.00 per day) | | $36,000.00 |
| | Total | $46,340.00 |