LDS Emigration in 1853: The Keokuk Encampment and Outfitting Ten Wagon Trains for Utah

William G. Hartley

Beautiful Rand Park sits on several bluff-top city blocks in Keokuk, Iowa (twelve miles downriver from Nauvoo, Illinois). Graced by stately trees and tasteful shrubs and flower beds, the park ends abruptly on the east at a cliff that drops precipitously fifty feet or more to the majestic Mississippi River below. Today, people walk, stroll, jog, bike, picnic, and play in Rand Park; but 150 years ago, that prime location and adjacent acres swarmed for three months with Latter-day Saints encamped there in 1853 to join Church wagon trains being outfitted for Utah. Artist Frederick Piercy was there, and his drawings and writings and others' diaries depict a vast tent and wagon camp sprawling along that bluff top.[1] There, between late March and early July 1853, Church emigration agent Isaac C. Haight and his assistants blended together 2,548 Saints, 360 wagons, 1,440 oxen, and 720 milk cows to create ten wagon trains that rolled successfully some fourteen hundred overland miles to Utah by mid-October.

However, despite the scale and importance of those operations, standard histories about America's westward migration slight the Keokuk outfittings.[2] And standard Latter-day Saint emigration studies hardly mention it. Assistant LDS Church Historian Andrew Jenson, for example, who wrote individual studies about each LDS emigration year to 1860, for 1853 provided ship accounts but not his usual wagon-train summaries. "No informa-

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tion, to speak of, is at hand concerning the overland journey of these companies," he explained, because the *Deseret News* ran out of paper during the weeks when those wagon trains reached Utah. Therefore, no trip summaries were reported.[3] Keokuk is not a place familiar in Latter-day Saint history. However, many diary and reminiscent accounts by participants are now available, allowing us in recent years to start to fill in the gap in Jenson's and others' coverages.[4]

The1853 LDS wagon train emigration from Keokuk merits scholarly attention for several reasons: (1) large numbers of emigrants, outfits, and wagon trains were involved; (2) it served only rarely as an overland outfitting place on the Mississippi River, not the Missouri; (3) it included the Church's first large company of convert-immigrants from Scandinavia, the John Forsgren Company; (4) in addition to Perpetual Emigrating Fund travelers, in 1853 the Church experimented with a low-cost travel method called the Ten Pound Plan (or £10 Plan, which historian Polly Aird recently has carefully examined);[5] and (5) it was the subject of the first book ever published about LDS immigration, Frederick Piercy's *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*.

What follows is an in-depth examination of aspects of the 1853 LDS outfittings at Keokuk: obtaining the camping site and grazing sites; purchasing from far and near enough wagons, oxen, and milk cows; arrivals by steamboat of the LDS emigrants, mostly Europeans; experiencing everyday life in the encampment; constructing Keokuk streets by the Saints; visiting run-down Nauvoo; learning how to yoke and drive oxen; discarding belongings to lighten wagon loads; forming ten wagon companies and appointing experienced men to lead them; and reviewing the companies' departures and treks to Utah.[6]

Why Keokuk?

Ten years before the Keokuk encampment, Marcus Whitman led a thousand emigrants to Oregon in 1843. This was the first company of wagons to reach the west coast. From then until the transcontinental railroad opened in1869, an estimated three hundred thousand people went "across the plains" to Oregon and California, and sixty thousand or more went to the Utah Territory.[7] Almost every one of the non-LDS wagon trains was independent—not part of a set of trains directed by one agency as were the LDS companies.[8] For twenty-one years, LDS officers directed the outfitting and organizing of most members bound for "the Valley." Church agents selected workable outfitting camps each year. In 1846, the first jumping-off point was Nauvoo, and during the next decade, the outfitting centers were as follows:

1847–48	Winter Quarters, Nebraska
1848–52	Council Bluffs/Kanesville, Iowa
1853	Keokuk, Iowa
1854	Westport (Kansas City), Missouri
1855	Mormon Grove, Kansas

For emigration year 1853, agents sought an assembly place other than the long-used Kanesville/Council Bluffs area for two key reasons. In 1852, at First Presidency urging, Saints vacated Kanesville and most other Iowa locations, leaving commerce there in the hands of non-LDS merchants who were eager to jack up provision prices in 1853. (With Mormons gone, residents in 1852 quickly changed the city's name from Kanesville to Council Bluffs.) Also, because the steamboat *Saluda* had exploded in April 1852, killing nearly thirty Saints heading up the Missouri River to Kanesville, agents decided against sending LDS emigrants up the Missouri in 1853.[9] For an alternative, agents chose Keokuk, Iowa, despite the fact that travel from Keokuk required an extra 350 overland miles compared to starting from Kanesville. Keokuk had two key advantages: it was a Mississippi River steamboat port, and roads ran from it across Iowa to Council Bluffs.

In 1853, Keokuk was a small and undistinguished Mississippi River port. From a waterfront warehouse district, it spread several blocks inland. In 1852, Keokuk had a population of 4,663, one hundred brick homes, two hundred frame homes, a medical college, a hospital, and five churches.[10] LDS immigrant Christian Nielsen said that Keokuk had four new factories and a sawmill and that "most of the houses are board houses."[11] Immigrant Maria Walker described Keokuk as a "small town, or village it would be called in England," which had "a few stores, groceries and general merchandise stores, butcher shop or two, Post Office and several saloons, and some nice dwellings."[12] Stephen Forsdick, another Mormon, said the business district "was confined to about one street, which I think ran west from the landing."[13]

Agent-in-Charge Isaac Haight

In America, three on-site Church agents directed the 1853 LDS emigration. At New Orleans, John Brown met the sailing ships from Liverpool and helped Saints transfer to river steamers.[14] St. Louis agent Horace S. Eldredge helped them board boats going up to Keokuk.[15] At Keokuk, Isaac Haight directed the outfittings and departures; and, by May, Elder Eldredge came up to help him. Vincent Shurtleff came early in 1853 from England, bringing funds and assisting with the outfittings.[16] (By mid-May, Haight was considered the Keokuk camp president and Elder Cyrus Wheelock his coun-

Isaac Haight.
Photo courtesy Church Archives.

selor.)[17]

Elder Haight was born in 1813 in New York state, became a Mormon in 1839, lived in Nauvoo, and reached Utah in September 1847. He went to England in 1850 on a proselytizing mission. In 1852, leaders in England sent him to America "with means for the emigration" and to assist Elder Eldredge and others because Haight "was acquainted with all the plans" proposed in England, plans that "those who should have charge of fitting up for the plains" needed to understand.[18] While sailing to New Orleans, he presided over the 369 Saints. He spent the rest of 1852 assisting LDS travelers.[19]

Assigned to supervise the 1853 outfittings, he approached Keokuk officials, who on 25 March gave him permission to use land "on the bluff north of the town." He noted that "the principal men of Keokuk were pleased to have me fit out the Emigrants at that place."[20] Artist Frederick Piercy, an April arrival, said the camp was atop a steep bluff by the river, "most picturesquely situated on top of a hill, surrounded by wood, and commanding a view of the country for miles around," and had good drainage and plenty of wood and water.[21] Maria Walker said the camp was "situated in an unsettled land with considerable timber and an open range where the campers turned the stock to feed."[22] William Clough dubbed the location "a very pretty place" that had a "large wood" nearby where firewood was free for the taking.[23] Then, for livestock grazing, Haight gained permission on 28 March from a Mr. Potter for a two-thousand-acre field two or three miles west of Montrose, along Sugar Creek.[24]

With camp and grazing grounds reserved, Elder Haight next tackled five major tasks: (1) arrange how to temporarily house and feed emigrants whenever they arrived; (2) provide for the emigrants' spiritual needs while in camp; (3) purchase wagons, oxen, and milk cows for the wagon companies, herd those to the grazing grounds, and obtain equipment and provisions for

the wagon trains; (4) group the emigrants into workable-size wagon trains and appoint captains and officers for each train; and (5) manage the emigrants' funds and keep accurate financial accounts. Haight enlisted several of the arriving emigrants to help him.

Immigrant and Emigrant Arrivals

Between January and early April1853, eight tall sailing ships from Liverpool brought 2,586 Mormons to New Orleans.[25] A few stayed there, but most moved up the Mississippi River on steamers to St. Louis and then to Keokuk.[26] The ships, company presidents, and departure and arrival dates are as follows:[27]

Company/Ship	Passengers	Company President	Depart Liverpool	Aprox. Arrive New Orleans	Aprox.Arrive Keokuk
Forest Monarch	297	Jn. Forsgren	1/16/53	3/16/53	4/21
Ellen Maria	332	Moses Clawson	1/17/53	3/06/53	Bef. April 21
Golconda	321	Jacob Gates	1/23/53	3/26/53	Bef. April 21
Jersey	314	Geo. Halliday	2/05/53	3/22/53	Bef. April 21
Elvira Owen	345	Jos.W. Young	2/15/53	3/31/53	4/13
International	425	Chrstph.Arthur	2/28/53	4/25/53	Early May
Falcon	324	Cnlius. Bagnall	3/28/53	5/18/53	About May 28
Camillus	228	Curtis Bolton	4/06/53	6/07/53	Middle of June

Four of the company presidents became wagon-train captains at Keokuk: Elders Forsgren, Clawson, Gates, and Young. So, too, did two returning missionaries aboard the *Golconda*, Claudius Spencer and Appleton Harmon. Also gathering to Keokuk were Saints residing in St. Louis and converts from the United States and Canada.[28] Most Saints reached Keokuk on steamboats belonging to the Keokuk Packet Line, after a twenty-four-hour trip from St. Louis, two hundred miles away.[29]

Artist Frederick Piercy

Sometime before 21 April, twenty-three-year-old artist Frederick Piercy arrived at Keokuk. Born in Portsmouth, England, in 1830, by age eighteen, he was a talented artist. Converting to Mormonism, he was baptized in 1848. He served a Church mission to Paris in 1850. In 1853, he joined the LDS emigration so he could make drawings to be published in a travelers' guide for use by English converts immigrating to Zion. A *Jersey* passenger, Piercy reached New Orleans on 22 March. James Linforth traveled with him and took notes for the book. At Keokuk, Piercy sketched the encampment, visited and sketched Nauvoo, and then went by boat to St. Louis and up the

Missouri River to Council Bluffs. From there, he and Linforth went to Utah in the Miller-Cooley company (which did not outfit at Keokuk). By January 1854, Piercy returned to England to publish his book, which came off the press in Liverpool and London in 1855: *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*. It contained his narrative and drawings and Linforth's insightful notes.[30]

Four Funding Plans

In England in 1852, the estimated cost for an adult to travel from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake City was twenty pounds. (A pound then equaled about five American dollars, so twenty pounds was worth about $100 then, or $2,000 in year 2000 American dollars.)[31] During the early 1850s, European Saints had four ways to finance their "gathering to Zion." First, they could pay their own expenses but travel on and in Church-arranged ships, river boats, and wagon trains. In 1853, some funds for buying teams and supplies came to Keokuk from Europe, money paid by the immigrants up-front before sailing. Elder Shurtleff brought from England funds for the purchase of teams and provisions for Saints crossing the plains, and ship company leader Christopher Arthur turned over to Elder Haight a bit more than eighty-four pounds paid in advance by emigrants.[32]

"Our folks were one of the independent companies," Maria Walker said, meaning "people who had enough money to fit out their own teams. Our folks bought a good supply of provisions, groceries, and with an extra allowance in case of long delay or accidents that were not looked for." Some in her company had horses and buggies, "but our folks had not bought any, not being told we should need them on getting to the end of our journey." Her father wanted to buy a pair of horses, for use in Utah, "but he found it almost impossible to get a good rig"(carriage and horses) in Keokuk. She noted that the Christopher Arthurs and the Thomas Kings, well-to-do people in her company, had purchased buggies in St. Louis.[33]

As a second method, immigrants could pay their way to America and then stop and work until they could afford to move on to Utah. Third, some had their transportation expenses prepaid by someone in Utah. Fourth, they could be assisted, in all or part, by the Church's Perpetual Emigrating Fund (PEF), in return for which they signed a promissory note to pay back, with interest, all expenses the PEF covered for them.[34]

As a new option, in October 1852, European Mission President Franklin D. Richards announced a £10 plan for British Saints. Essentially, it offered a half-price option, whereby costs were reduced to a minimum—more people per wagon and milk cows, less luggage allowed, and less food provided. The

plan covered steerage and food on an Atlantic ship, Mississippi River steamer steerage fare and food, and a wagon, two yoke of oxen, and two milk cows per ten people, plus provisions for ten from Keokuk to Utah. To be £10 travelers meant the persons would not go as comfortably as earlier £20 passengers.[35] Traveler Maria Walker said that "most of them were too poor to buy a team all of their own. So, they put their money together and perhaps two families in one wagon with two yoke of cattle or three if they could. Some came in what was called the £10 company. . . . Of course they came on the cheapest way there was."[36] Historian Polly Aird has determined that "in 1853 more than 41 percent of the emigrants came through its (£10 companies) auspices," which was "equal to the percent that came independently."[37]

Procuring Wagons and Cattle

People, arriving by the hundreds, found that Elder Haight's crew had tents and food ready for their immediate use. That procurement, handled locally, was a minor labor compared to Haight's task of finding enough wagons and ox teams and milk cows for the Utah trek. Almost all arrivals were from Europe and were therefore wagonless and counted on the Church to provide the outfits. The logistics to buy and move to camp enough vehicles and animals were staggering; and, Haight discovered, rising prices meant his funds were inadequate. He calculated than an outfit cost about $295—that is, $70 for a wagon, $150 for two yoke of oxen, $75 for two heifers, and $50 for provisions to cross Iowa—or about $6,000 in year 2000 dollars.[38] How many people brought their own wagons is not known, but Elder Haight supplied at least 200 of the 350 outfits, at a cost then of about $60,000, or $1.2 million today.[39]

Before the first wave of emigrants arrived, Haight was deal-making for wagons and cattle. He had most of the wagons made to order in Cincinnati and St. Louis at wholesale prices and then shipped to Keokuk by river steamers.[40] Later, at least once, he personally went to St. Louis, with Vincent Shurtleff and bought teams and wagons and shipped them to Keokuk.[41] In mid- May, he went down to St. Louis "to make the necessary preparation for the late companies."[42]

At the end of March, Elders Haight and Eldridge were searching the countryside for oxen and milk cows. On 26 March, Elder Haight bought eight yoke of cattle at Alexandria, Missouri.[43] An Iowa newspaper noted earlier that year that speculators in 1852 had made such good profits that the herding business increased in popularity, "draining Missouri annually of her stock at high prices for years to come, and making the cattle raising business a very profitable one to our farmers."[44] California speculators were herding

livestock "by tens of thousands" to the Pacific coast.[45] So LDS buyers faced problems of livestock availability and price. Then, when cattle were located and purchased, they had to be driven to Keokuk. "It required an immense labor to deliver these at the overland starting point," agent Horace Eldredge said.[46]

Elders Haight or Eldredge or another agent signed a big contract with a cattle purchaser in central Missouri for nearly eight hundred oxen—enough for about two hundred wagons. (William Clough wrote from camp on May 1–3 that men had gone to Missouri for oxen, which was "farther than they expected.")[47] John Isaac Hart was one of ten emigrants at St. Louis "called upon" to go up the Missouri River to Boonville, Missouri, to "buy up 8 hundred head of oxen to take that season's emigration across the plains."[48] Three men from the Keokuk camp—Appleton Harmon, Vincent Shurtleff, and Joseph W. Young—met these ten men near Boonville.[49] In Pettis County, they went to the home of John S. Jones. "Met here Mr. Russell," Harmon said, "who delivered to us, according to contract, 780 head of oxen and we purchased twenty-five more." The Mormons spent a day and a half branding the oxen with the letter "H."[50] Heading for Keokuk, the group spent five days ferrying 825 oxen across the Missouri River. Sometimes while crossing a stream they had to pull oxen out of the mire with ropes. On 17 May, the riders and oxen arrived near Montrose, at Jack Oak Grove; and the next day Harmon and others reported to the Keokuk Camp, where the oxen had been long awaited.[51] Joseph W. Young returned from that herding venture exhausted from what he termed "one of the most severe and trying trips" he had experienced, "having to drive cattle all day and then guard them at night, ferry & swim many streams of water which were swollen to full bankes."[52]

Haight and others were busy buying milk cows from farmers far and wide and through buying agents. (As an illustration of that effort, early in June, the Joseph Young Company started, traveled forty-four miles, and then stopped to wait for its cows. When "a herd of 74 cows and 1 bull arrived," only 30 cows could be milked and 45 were dry.[53]) In addition, camp authorities had to obtain enough ox yokes, tent poles, chains, axes, Dutch ovens, ropes, wagon bows, wagon cover material, and nonperishable provisions.[54] Fortunately, immigrants arrived, bringing many tent and wagon covers sewn together during the Atlantic crossing.[55]

High costs forced Elder Haight to borrow. "Started to go to St. Louis to negotiate a loan of some eight thousand dollars to purchase another yoke of cattle to each waggon," he journalized, "but failed to obtain the money and returned much cast down in my mind as the season was getting late and the saints having some fourteen hundred miles to travel to the valley with very

heavy loads." He did borrow $1,000 from wealthy immigrant Christopher Arthur and apparently received some help, on credit, from Perpetual Emigrating Company funds.[56]

Other Emigrants Crossing Iowa in 1853

A large flow of others besides Mormons streamed across Iowa in 1853, heading for California or Oregon.[57] Some were Iowans; others came from states to the east. Illustrative is Henry Allyn's group, bound for Oregon. In early April near Agency City, Allyn said that "several Oregon teams pass us." Near the Des Moines River, he noted that "emigrants continue to pass us." Two days later, he wrote that "many emigrants pass us today." Three days after that, he said that "eight or ten wagons of emigrants overtake us today" and that "Oregon and California emigrants are scattered all over the country." Near Council Bluffs, he said that"many emigrant wagons are camped near us." On May 10, there were "many wagons in sight before and behind us." The next day in Council Bluffs—five days before any LDS wagons left Keokuk—he found that "the whole length of the street today is filled with wagons and teams."[58]

The Encampment from April to July

On April 5, the *Keokuk Dispatch* reported the first Mormon arrivals—two hundred from England and Wales had reached Keokuk on 1 April aboard the steamboat *Hindoo* and had gone into camp "above the city incorporation."[59] Another two hundred Saints arrived on 10 April, the *Keokuk Dispatch* noted.[60] By 21 April, immigrants from five of the eight Atlantic ships had reached the campground. It was then "a very busy time,"agent Eldredge wrote.[61]

Delayed Starts. People began arriving in early April, but the first wagon company did not leave until 16 May, as soon as herders brought the eight hundred oxen from Missouri (see above). Two more left by late May, five by mid-June, and two on 1 July (see chart below). Early arrivals had long stays; later arrivals had short ones. Sarah Birch's situation was typical: "Here we waited for five weeks for teams and wagons."[62] However, the time spent there was pleasant. English convert Hannah Cornaby (who became a noted poet in Utah) commented that "during our stay here of one month, awaiting the arrival of the oxen and cows for our journey, we became somewhat familiarized with camp life" and found "the surrounding country was delightful in the habiliments of spring. Wild flowers of great beauty and variety were profuse in the woods."[63] Three or four died in camp, perhaps two were born, and

at least one wedding took place.[64] Camp numbers probably peaked about 5 May, the day when a Keokuk newspaper said the encampment covered about a square mile, was composed of tents arranged in"close order," and sheltered "upwards of 2,000 persons."[65]

Scotsman James Ririe, a late May arrival, spent but a few days in camp but found others who had been there a month, some for two. Characteristics of camp life, he said, included having nationalities camp together, living in tents or in covered wagons, gathering firewood, attending Sunday church services, doing jobs for pay in Keokuk, putting covers on the wagons, and, for some, making visits to Nauvoo.[66]

Hannah Cornaby.
Photo courtesy International Daughters of Utah Pioneers

New Arrivals. When steamboats unloaded LDS emigrant groups, camp officials tried to send wagons to pick them up, along with their baggage. Artist Piercy praised Elder Cyrus Wheelock, who generously "volunteered the use of his teams for the public good," mainly transporting luggage from the wharf. His help mattered because the camp had few oxen, and some people with oxen did not want to wear them out helping new arrivals.[67] Some arrivals overnighted in Keokuk or stayed in town for several days before going to the campground. William Clough, 25, wife Rosella, 22, and their baby girl, passengers from the *Elvira Owens*, arrived on 12 April. "The night was wet and the Streets were up to the covers in mud," William said, so he found a place to board his family. "We stayed one week for which I paid 7 dollars, this made a hole in my pocket money."[68] When Saints from the ship *Falcon* reached Keokuk on 28 May, Elders Haight, Wheelock, and John Lyon (another gifted poet) met them. Emigrants spent that night at "the depot"—Peter McIntyre said they slept in a large stone house—and wagons came for them the next morning.[69] Christopher J. Arthur and others with him "put up at a hotel for a few days"before going to the campground.[70]

Nationality Groupings. Within the campground, "the emigrants from

each nation had wisely been placed together," Piercy said, "and those who had crossed the sea together were still associated as neighbours in Camp." He "heard no complaints of sickness, and I was told that the general health was good." Elders Haight and Horace Eldredge, the agents in charge, "seemed thoroughly competent" and were "incessant in their labours."[71] (Hannah T. King, a Utah poet also, said on 20 May that Elder Eldredge visited her in the camp. "In the course of our talk, it came out he had 2 wives! He was the first man that ever confessed that to me." "Oh! Brother Eldredge!" she exclaimed. "He is a good man," she told her journal, "I liked him as soon as I saw him.")[72] By May, Maria Walker said the camp was about a mile long—"two rows of camps, one each on both sides of a road."[73]

Elder John Forsgren's big company of 297 Scandinavians, who crossed the Atlantic on the *Forest Monarch*, stopped in St. Louis for a month and then moved to Keokuk in two contingents. One arrived on 22 April and the other on 1 May. Theirs was the first Church-supervised large company of converts to immigrate to America from Scandinavia. One in the company, Christian Nielsen, said the Keokuk encampment began a little way north from Keokuk "and goes up along the river until we came to a down hill." An unnamed Scandinavian, an April arrival, wrote that the Saints "had to live in our wagons which were covered with canvas, and tents where we slept as well as in a house."[74] On 8 May, Nielson noted that "our 'territory' for our quarters gets wider day after day." More Saints arrived that day, so more tents were put up. That day, too, Elder Forsgren performed a wedding. On 11 May, captains of ten were appointed to supervise Scandinavians in the camp. That day Christian Nielsen counted 250 wagons in the overall encampment.[75]

"The Danes were a strange sort of people," Maria Walker said. " They wore hats like Chinamen (the women did) and wooden shoes, blue stockings or red, and short dresses made of wool and mostly red or blue."[76]

Ten People Per Wagon and Tent. Ten, sometimes twelve, people were allotted one wagon and tent for sleeping and baggage purposes. In a letter in early May, William Clough told his father that the camp had in it "191 wagons with tents to them all" except seven or eight. "Six sleep in a wagon," he said, "the other six in the tent."[77] Seventeen-year-old Stephen Forsdick came in early May.[78] On the ship, he had met a "Brother Pugnell,"a misspelling of Bignal, who had a wife and little child.[79] Bignal proposed that Forsdick go with them and add another family to comprise the "ten" people in their wagon. They invited a Butler family—a couple with six or seven children—to join them. Two Butler children and the Bignal boy were small, so, Forsdick said, "we averaged ten adults." (He added that many times during their trip to Utah, he and the Bignals wished they had enlisted some

other family. "Butler was a shoemaker and was fit for nothing else, while his wife was entirely out of her element on the plains. They had two good sized boys, but one of them was too lazy to eat, and other one, Jack, did fairly well.")[80] William Clough said of his tent group that they appointed their own guards. He wrote that "there are 4 of us on guard at once."[81] The Bignal "ten" received a wagon cover and tent. Mrs. Bignal and child and Mrs. Butler and their small children slept in the wagon; the others slept in the tent.[82] Christopher Arthur, a mid-May arrival, found the Keokuk camp scattered over many acres, with some people in tents and others in wagons.[83]

Fuel, Food and Water. For firewood, the campers gathered timber from the woods nearby. Peter McIntyre spent part of his first day in camp "in a wood line" cutting a tent pole and making tent pins and then pitching his tent. During days after that, he gathered wood for fires.[84] "Some bacon and flour were served out to us and we commenced camp life," Stephen Forsdick said.[85] Because "eggs were cheap in Keokuk," they "bought some eggs, fried bacon and eggs and made pancakes and felt like we had had a feast." They became anxious to "move off" like some were doing, but they were told that their cattle had not come yet.[86] Living was "very cheap" at Keokuk, William Clough noted, where flour cost 2.5 cents a pound, forty-eight eggs cost 25 cents, and beef from 5 to 7 cents per pound. In camp, they received a weekly allowance of twenty-one pounds of "excellent flour." He wished his father "could see us baking and cooking like gypsies."[87] Hannah King recorded a breakfast she fixed for friends she made in camp: "Eggs beaten up with wine and Brandy," she said.[88] Christopher J. Arthur, son of Elder Christopher Arthur, said that while encamped "near a clump of trees" for several weeks, he spent many enjoyable hours in the nearby woods, "shooting game birds, and it furnished us many a game dinner."[89] Maria Walker said the campers used a spring for water and the river for doing laundry: "The camp was pleasantly situated on a high hill, so there was a hill to go down to the river. The place where the camp was [was] level. We could see the boats going up and down the river. We had to carry water from the river. There was a clear spring close to the underbank of the river. We got our water and one had to nearly step into the water of the river to get to the spring and I used to get dizzy looking at the water. It looked so big and rolled so. We used to bring our washing to the river and made a fire and do the washing there."[90]

Rain and Thunderstorms. Poet Hannah Cornaby arrived in April. She spent her first night in Keokuk in a large warehouse on the levee. The next day she went up the bluff: "Here we found our wagons and tents. We had just placed our baggage in the wagons; some were making awkward attempts at erecting tents while others were trying to place the covers on the wagons, some of which obstinately refused to reach over at both ends, when we were

struck by a furious storm of wind and rain, accompanied by thunder and lightning such as we had never heard or seen before."[91]

Rain for three days and nights "thoroughly soaked" their luggage and bedding, turning the campground into a quagmire of mud in which camp members were "ankle deep with mud." Under those circumstances, Hannah gave birth to her second child, prematurely. Hannah was ill, and her husband nursed her.[92] Heavy rains caused "all hands to the pump to keep our tents from being blown down," William Clough recalled, and caused Cyrus Wheelock to be up to his knees in mud "for our welfare unloading our luggage and driving wagons."[93] Every night, Peter McIntyre said on 2 June, the camp suffered from heavy rain showers, thunder, and lightning. Perhaps related to the storms, on 4 June, he noted that some Saints, their faith fading, had decided to stay in Keokuk or go back to St. Louis instead of going west.[94]

Visitors. William Clough observed that many local people came to see the camp on horses and in carriages.[95] On Sunday, 8 May, local resident William Belknap visited the camp: "They had preaching at three stands in three languages," he said, "English, German, and Danish." He was particularly impressed by the singing of the Danes, whose voices were "very sincerely & perfectly enthusiastic." He was amazed by the numbers, which he overestimated to be thirty-five hundred, "and still they come." He judged the Mormons to be "mainly honest, earnest & sincere," some of them genteel, and "many of the girls very pretty." He said they held public prayer "every morning and evening" and that "an oath," meaning swearing, "is never heard."[96] Another non-Mormon visitor that day said that the camp had 278 emigrant wagons ready for the trip and that the campers were "a motley crowd of English, Welsh, Danes, etc."[97]

Church Services. Scottish convert James McNaughton, in camp in late May and early June, said the Saints met weekly for public worship in the camp.[98] On 15 May, John Forsgren and some of his Danes attended a conference in the English camp; and then, in their own afternoon meeting, they sustained Brigham Young and his counselors, the Church patriarch, the Twelve, the Seventies, and all priesthood officers. They voted, too, to sustain Elder Haight as president of the whole camp and Elder Wheelock as his counselor. They approved a rule that anyone found drunk in the Danish camp "should be cut off from the Church." Then, Elder Forsgren preached about a touchy matter. He "spoke to the edification of those who had wives who would not be obedient to their husbands, and said that if he had a wife who would not listen the first time, she should be warned, and likewise the second time, but that the third time he would cut her off and not be in the same tent with her nor travel with her to Zion."[99]

On 5 June, "camp leaders held public worship meetings at the camp ground at 10:30 a.m. and 4:00 p.m.," James McNaughton said. He and Appleton Harmon were speakers.[100] Peter McIntyre attended services that day at 10:00 and 3:00 (his and McNaughton's meeting times don't match), at which "a few of the Keokuk people stood and listened quietly."[101] A Sunday later, the Saints had morning and afternoon meetings, and at an evening testimony meeting "many of the Saints bore Testimony."[102]

Grading Keokuk's Streets

Piercy said he saw few idlers in the encampment. Those who could got work in Keokuk at their trades, Piercy learned, and others worked on the city roads. Such work helped emigrants add "little comforts" for their journey.[103] Sarah Birch "secured work in the town so I could earn enough to purchase a few things I needed, before starting."[104] Keokuk's wages ranged from $1 to $2 per day.[105] Scotsman James Ririe said he and Adam Smith worked fourteen hours one day at Keokuk unloading a boatload of salt for $.3.50, "the biggest money I ever made in one day."[106] Scandinavian brethren, Hannah Cornaby said, "with characteristic industry and forethought, purchased trees from the owners of the neighboring forests, from which they manufactured a variety of useful articles."[107]

Keokuk hired some Mormons to grade Main Street and build a plank road. Keokuk's streets were "little more than lanes" that rains softened into seas of sticky mud. Businesses developing back from the waterfront wanted better streets, so the city council contracted with Mitchell Marshall for some grading work. Main street, ungraded above First Street, was impeded by two large hills separated by a wide ravine about twenty feet deep (at present Sixth Street). Marshall hired Mormons to shovel the hills down and fill in the ravine with the dirt. On 26 April, the *Keokuk Dispatch* reported that a large number of Mormons were doing pick-and-shovel work on the city's streets: "The rough places of our city are rapidly becoming smooth, and if the Mormons remain here awhile longer, our streets will present quite a different appearance from what they have presented heretofore."[108] By 27 May, Main Street was nearly graded, presenting a straight and unbroken avenue for nearly a mile. The Mormons, a local history credits, played a key part "in making the muddy lanes of Keokuk into proper streets."[109]

But the working relationship was not entirely smooth. Mormons had trouble getting paid, and they were underpaid. William Clough complained that he and others went to work with street crews but quit because they weren't paid every night.[110] James Farmer said he worked "on the public works" for four days for Mr. Marshall," but Marshall refused to pay the Saints

more than one dollar each. "There were hundreds of the Brethren working there and he robbed them all of part of their wages." The workmen left the matter in the hands of Elder Haight, but he failed to get anything more from Mr. Marshall.[111]

Visits to Nauvoo

While waiting for teams, some Saints took time to explore. Quite a few, converts after the Church had deserted Nauvoo in 1846, visited Nauvoo. Sarah Birch saw the ruins of the temple and visited with Lucy Mack Smith, the Prophet's mother, and Emma Smith Bidamon, the Prophet's widow.[112] Artist Piercy went to Nauvoo with eight or ten others.[113] Stephen Forsdick said that "a lot of us concluded that we would visit Nauvoo," so they ferried across from Montrose and "visited the house that Joseph Smith built." They "found his widow living there, but she had married again. She told us that Brigham Young had no right to lead the church, that he was a false prophet." Forsdick's reaction? "They might just as well have tried to turn the Mississippi River up stream as to make us believe that. Our faith was too strong."[114] James Campbell Livingston, before the Harmon ox train left Keokuk, was guarding a cattle herd opposite Nauvoo. He crossed over and met Emma Smith's husband, Major Bidamon, "who took us in his carriage and showed us the residences of Brigham Young and several of the Twelve Apostles and also Joseph's farm. The temple was burned, but part of the walls were standing and we were much interested even in the ruins."[115] Twenty-year-old John V. Adams and three friends visited Nauvoo and "viewed the ruins of the great portion of the city and Temple."[116]

Appointing the Wagon Captains

Supervisor Isaac Haight selected ten wagon-train captains. Nine had journeyed to Utah before; only Cyrus Wheelock lacked overland trail experience. The men's average age was thirty-seven—the oldest fifty-one, the youngest twenty-five. Of the ten, three were from New York, two from Pennsylvania, and the rest from Massachusetts, Vermont, Tennessee, Nova Scotia, and Sweden. Four (Wheelock, Harmon, Gates, and Clawson) had recently served as conference presidents in the British Mission.[117]

Moses Clawson (51) was born in New York state on 8 October 1801. He had been with LDS President Joseph Smith just before the leader was killed in Carthage Jail. Clawson had crossed Iowa during the 1846 exodus, had lived at Kanesville, had journeyed to Utah, had returned from Utah in 1852, and had gone to England as a missionary. He led the company of 332 Saints

who crossed the Atlantic on the ship *Ellen Maria*.

Jesse W. Crosby (32) and William Atkinson (40). Crosby, born 25 November 1820 in Nova Scotia, had been one of the 1847 pioneers. At Keokuk, he was returning from a mission to New Brunswick. Captain Crosby chose as an assistant William Atkinson, a New Brunswick native whom

Jesse Wentworth Crosby.
Photo courtesy Marjorie Eddy.

Moses Clawson.
Photo courtesy
Moses Clawson Family Organization, see
http://www.mosesclawson.com.

Crosby had helped baptize and confirm. Atkinson had been in his home area of New Brunswick until at least 1850, when his and wife Phoebe's last child was born there. This daughter, Profinda, died near Keokuk on 19 May.[118]

John Erik Forsgren (36) was born 7 November 1816 at Gefle, Sweden. A sailor at age twenty, he was baptized in 1843. He lived in Nauvoo, crossed Iowa during the 1846 Mormon exodus, marched with the Mormon Battalion to California, and arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. He went east on the Mormon Trail in 1849, bound for Scandinavia where he was a missionary and then mission president. On the *Forest Monarch*, he presided over the first large company of Scandinavian Mormons to emigrate. At Keokuk, Elder Haight agreed that the Scandinavians should continue to travel together under Elder Forsgren's leadership.[119]

Jacob Gates (42) was born in Vermont on 9 March 1811. He had lived in Nauvoo and had moved west to Utah. In 1849, he followed the Mormon Trail eastbound to go to England. He then led an 1853 company of 321 Saints across the ocean on the *Golconda*.[120]

Joseph W. Young (25) was a nephew of Brigham Young and the son of Lorenzo Dow Young and Goodall Persis. Born on 12 November 1828 in New

York, he had lived in Nauvoo and had crossed the plains to Utah in 1847. He had served a proselytizing mission in the British Isles from 1850 to 1853 and had married Mary Ann Pugh there in September 1852. When assigned to captain a wagon train, Young was feeling downhearted because his beautiful young wife was suffering from tuberculosis and was in precarious health. (She would die on the way to Utah.)[121]

Cyrus H. Wheelock (46) of New York state was born on 28 February 1813. He had lived near Keokuk in the Mormon settlement of Nashville.[122] He visited with Joseph Smith in Carthage Jail just before the martyrdom. At the time of the exodus from Nauvoo, Wheelock went to England to serve a mission. While he was there, his wife died early in 1847 in Iowa. He left Liverpool on 20 February 1848 with a new wife, Mary, on the *Carnatic*.[123] They were in St. Louis that May and assisted Saints there and at Kanesville. He and Mary returned to England in 1849.[124] He composed what became a missionary anthem, "Ye Elders of Israel," first published in 1851. In 1852, Mary and infant daughter Kate sailed on the *Ellen Maria*, and little Kate died at sea. Mary went west in 1852 in the Allen Weeks wagon train. Elder Wheelock and Elder Vincent Shurtleff left Liverpool on the steamer *Arabia* on 12 February 1853, disembarking in New York City. He visited his "father's house" and tried to take some of them with him to Utah. At Keokuk, Elder Wheelock had with him his half brother, Andrew J. Wheelock, age twenty.[125]

Claudius V. Spencer (29) was born in Massachusetts on 2 April 1824. From Nauvoo, he went to Winter Quarters, where he married in 1847. That year they went to Utah in his father's company, the Daniel Spencer/Ira Eldredge Company. In 1850, he went to England to serve a mission. While there, he married Georgiana King on 25 April 1852. He was one of the leaders on board the *Golconda*.[126]

Appleton Harmon (33) was born in Pennsylvania on 29 May 1820. He had lived in Nauvoo, had crossed Iowa during the Mormon exodus, and had gone to Utah in Brigham Young's 1847 pioneer company. A skilled mechanic, he earned a place in history by constructing an odometer that the 1847 pioneers used to measure distance. He went east on the Mormon trail in 1850, heading for England. At Keokuk, he was returning from that mission.[127]

Henry Ettleman (54) was born in Pennsylvania in 1798. In the 1840s, he served as a Church officer in Lima, south of Nauvoo, along with Moses Clawson. Little is known about him, but apparently he went to Utah and returned. His company was a freight or merchandise train.[128]

John Brown (32) was born in October 1820 in Tennessee. He had lived in Nauvoo. He led a group of Saints from Mississippi west in 1846, returned

to the South, and then served as a captain of ten in the original 1847 pioneer company. He was a Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company agent in the states in 1850 and then returned to Utah. As noted, he had been the Church's emigration officer at New Orleans early in 1853.[129]

Organizing the Companies

"No one can form a correct idea of the perplexity of fitting up a company of people who are unacquainted with traveling for a journey over the plains," Captain Young assessed. "God alone is able to reward those who act for the good of the Saints from foreign nations. Elder Isaac Haight is worthy of the highest praise for his untiring zeal in trying to make the Saints comfortable."[130] Elder Haight's grand finale as agent-in-charge was sending off the wagon trains.

Assigning Wagons to Wagon Trains. How the agents decided which people to assign to what wagon train is not clear. It seems that efforts were made to keep together groups who had crossed the Atlantic together. The Scandinavians continued to travel together as the Forsgren Company. The Clawson Company was dubbed the "St. Louis Company" and consisted of persons from Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, and Missouri.[131] By the time agents made the wagon- trains assignments, a particular wagon already had two or three families attached to it during the encampment. Thomas Tanner was assigned to the Spencer Company of forty wagons. In his wagon were his several children by his first wife, two new widows whose husbands had died in St. Louis, three children of one of the widows, and a single woman. They traveled with acquaintances from England, including Thomas Carter, who provided the Tanners with an ox team.[132]

Any given company had a mixture of passengers who were independents, Perpetual Emigrating Fund recipients, or £10 passengers.[133] Captain Young's company included thirty-two wagons of £10 Saints, Captain Wheelock had thirty wagons of £10 and PEF Saints, Captain Spencer had about forty wagons servicing PEF passengers, and Captain Harmon had twenty-two PEF wagons. Captain Brown had ten wagons designated for £10 and PEF passengers.[134]

Each Company's Camp North of Keokuk. Those assigned to a particular wagon train received oxen at the camp and were expected to get their wagons out of the camp and to a rendezvous point several miles north, where a second camp for just their wagon train was created. On 25 May, Hannah T. King said her group left the main encampment "and went up the hill" to the new site she says was on Sugar Creek. Two days later, she walked back "down to our late location." There, they organized her company, the Daniel

Spencer Company, after which she walked back to the new location.[135]

Hannah Tapfield King.
Photo courtesy
Utah State Historical Society.

On 18 May, one part of the Forsgren Company moved out. The second part left on 21 May and had difficulty until they came to the planked road north of Keokuk, where "things went better," Christian Nielsen said. At 10 p.m., they camped in a big field. Next day they caught up with the rest of the company and camped on beautiful land with a stretch of forest growth and walnut trees a half mile from the Mississippi River. From there they had a "fine view" east over the Mississippi River and "over to Nauvoo and the ruined temple." Nielsen noted that the land between Keokuk and that camp had an abundance of fruit and acres of grain. On 23 May, each wagon received four oxen as "pullers." Nielsen said he then owned four oxen, a tent, and a covered wagon and noted that "the English" were camped below them.[136]

A week after leaving Keokuk, while camped at nearby New Boston, the Young Company organized into fifties and tens. One fifty was designated the "Welsh Company." Leaders announced that each wagon should have a number painted on its cover, designating its fifty and ten, and that "on the march the teams should move in order according to their number."[137]

During the Brown Company's pullout from Keokuk, William F. Rigby said that "we drove on a turnpike road built of 2-inch plank for five miles with a ditch on either side." His team ran off the road into the ditch and upset the wagon. Mr. Haight rode back and swore at him for just standing and not helping. "I had never heard a Mormon Elder use such language before and it just paralyzed me to the spot." He swore again, but realizing Rigby was frozen, he came and put his hand on Rigby's shoulder and said "Brother William, let's go and assist to unload the wagon."[138]

Discarding Belongings to Lighten Wagons. When passengers loaded their

assigned wagons with baggage and food that the Church agents allotted, many wagons were overloaded, forcing Saints to toss out unneeded items. Scotsman James Ririe had understood that his company would have ten people to a wagon and that he could take one hundred pounds of luggage. But they assigned twelve per wagon and reduced luggage to seventy-five pounds and, if possible, to fifty pounds. "There was no way to hire our extra luggage taken to the valley so we burned our boxes and extra weight," he said, and "put our clothes in sacks."[139] Stephen Forsdick said Saints were told in England they could take one hundred pounds across the plains, but overloads meant they "had to throw away our trunks, boxes and some of our books and made bags for our clothes, so that I do not think we averaged sixty pounds each. By the time we had flour, bacon and other provisions for ten people, our clothing and bedding packed in the wagons, we were very heavily loaded."[140] Marie Shelmerdine said that "we had to sell all our books and our bed tick and flocks and best blankets and many things to lighten our luggage."[141]

Joseph and Sarah Greaves were assigned to the Jacob Gates Company. "We were put in companies, twelve persons to a wagon," he said, and two small families and two others were assigned to his wagon.[142] When the wagon he belonged to pulled out, a man told him to stay at Keokuk with three others "to bring along a herd of cows when they came." Greaves had never been separated form his wife since they had married. His company moved to Montrose, without him, "by which time they found out they were too heavily loaded" for the journey. "We had to lighten up; the locks and hinges were taken off the boxes, and the boxes were piled together and burned. Crocks, extra cooking utensils, books, and anything that could be dispensed with had to be got rid of. The inhabitants of that place got lots of things for a few vegetables or a little milk." The Greaveses were "allowed one box to a wagon to put in the best things," and because Joseph was gone on duty, others in his wagon "family" chose which of the Greaveses' objects went into the box. When Greaves caught up with his company, his wife informed him about "all the things she had to part with."[143] William Clough and seventeen others pooled resources and bought an extra wagon and four oxen to haul items that exceeded their weight-limit allotment.[144]

Learning to Handle Oxen and Cows. Those assigned to a wagon chose one person to be their driver. He then had to go to where the oxen were and learn how to yoke and unyoke, hitch and unhitch, and make oxen go, stop, and turn. Most of the oxen were "quite wild" and not broken to the harness,[145] so the learning process was painful, particularly for Europeans, but was humorous to nonparticipants. Danes struggled because "the way in which they drive them here is entirely different from the Danish way,"

meaning with yokes instead of harnesses, and the oxen "are steered with a whip and some very definite words which the oxen know."[146] John P. Squires, assigned to the Gates Company, found that "green Englishmen did not know a yoke from a bow, a steer from a heifer." For two weeks "those English teamsters managed to tip over several wagons, broke numerous tongues, reach poles and wheels, due to misunderstandings between cattle and teamsters. We blamed the cattle at that time, but I now throw the blame on the teamsters as I believe the cattle understood their business best. Then, too, these cattle could not get into their heads the English brogue"[147] Hannah Cornaby described the challenge best:

> The oxen were wild, and getting them yoked was the most laughable sight I had ever witnessed; everybody giving orders, and nobody knowing how to carry them out. If the men had not been saints, there would doubtless have been much profane language used. . . . It did seem so truly comical to witness the bewildered look of some innocent brother, who after having labored an hour or more to get "Bright" secured to one end of the yoke, would hold the other end aloft, trying to persuade "Buck" to come under, only to see "Bright" careening across the country, the yoke lashing the air, and he not even giving a hint as to when he intended to stop. . . . Imagine, if you can, the operation of starting over one hundred ox teams, chiefly by men who had never done anything of the kind before; but through the controlling power and ability of Captain Cyrus H. Wheelock, even this was accomplished.[148]

Stephen Forsdick noted that only "after driving the cattle around for a few days and getting the men used to their teams" were the companies ready to begin the long trek west.[149]

Emigrants found that handling the cows posed problems, too. Maria Walker said their group had to lassoe and tie up one of their cows. It had never been milked, "and we had quite a time training her."[150] Joseph Greaves said that the cows came from farmers all over the country "and were all strange to each other," so they would not travel together. "I can assure you we green horns had a hard time of it. They would go every way but the way we wanted them to go."[151]

When Peter McIntyre received his oxen on 9 June, he said that they "appear to be good and accustomed to the yoke." He was led to believe that for English forty pounds silver, he would be given two yoke of oxen, one wagon, and two cows, but he received no cow, even though he had paid not forty pounds but forty-three pounds. The problem was that "the price of cattle has advanced owing to the extra demand. They take advantage of the Mormons."[152]

Sustaining Wagon Train Officers and Rules. Elder Haight visited a wagon company near the time it was ready to start and formally organized it. That is, he presented the name of the captain to be sustained as the company pres-

ident and then saw to it that each company appointed a chaplain and subcaptains over fifty wagons and over ten wagons. Then, Haight or the wagon captain explained the company rules regarding travel, camping, and conduct. Captain Gates, as one example, chose two captains of fifty and put every three wagons under a captain of ten. It was a captain of ten's business to see that his group's wagons "all got through the mud holes and all came into camp each night." Every man and boy fourteen or older was enrolled for guard duty and was directed by a captain of the guards, which was divided into two shifts. All able-bodied men were called to the "night watch," half on duty from 8 p.m. to midnight and the other half from midnight to 4 a.m. But the older men and the boys did day watch, herding cattle from the time camp was made until 8 p.m. and then from 4 a.m. until the oxen were hitched up for the day's journey. "As we crossed Iowa," Stephen Forsdick confessed, "our guard duties were light, and we only had to keep the cattle from straying."[153]

Departures

When ready, the wagon companies pulled out. Some traveled close together, others not. On 16 May, Captain Moses Clawson's "St. Louis Company" was the first to leave.[154] On 31 May, *Keokuk Dispatch* readers learned that during the previous week, eight hundred Mormons had left (probably the Young and Wheelock companies) and that three hundred more had just arrived (probably passengers from the *Falcon*). The paper complimented the emigrants: "The Mormons have behaved in the most peaceable and courteous manner during their stay here and have won the respect and confidence of the community with their orderly and law abiding behaviour."[155]

John Brown.
Photo courtesy International Daughters of Utah Pioneers.

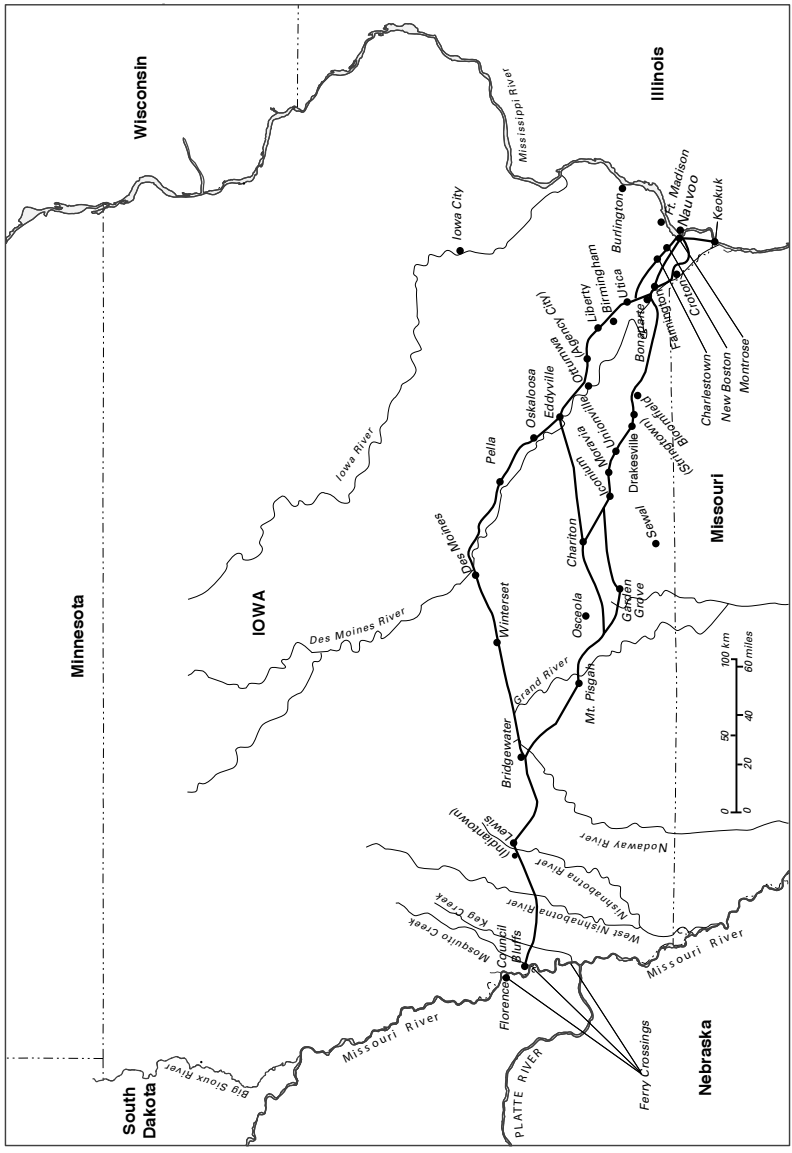
On 3 June, Church emigration agent John Brown arrived from his post in New Orleans. He met with Elder Haight the next day and visited the camps of Captains Wheelock, Gates, and Young, whose companies had moved a distance from Keokuk that week. Elder Brown helped outfit the Appleton Harmon company, which left on 15 June.[156] A day later, a consta-

ble from Keokuk came to the Harmon Company. He looked for and found a yoke of oxen that didn't belong to the Saints, "which had been drove along by Mistake." He arrested Captain Harmon and took him before "Squire Stokes" in Keokuk. President Harmon, with legal help, won a postponement for a day, and he was acquitted on 17 June.[157]

Appleton Milo Harmon. Courtesy International Daughters of Utah Pioneers.

As late as 18 June, about a thousand Saints still were encamped.[158] Elder Haight, when he had organized all the companies and had them beyond the Keokuk camping grounds, closed down the site and headed for Kanesville (Council Bluffs) on 23 June. He arrived there a week later. In a report to Brigham Young on 1 July, Haight explained that the emigration was "very late" that year "in consequence of the Season being so very wet and the long distance from the Mississippi."[159] (At Kanesville, he made final purchases of food and equipment for the companies' journey from the Missouri River to Utah.) The last companies finally left from the organizing campgrounds on 1 July. Based on LDS Church records,[160] diaries, and recollections, the departure schedule for the ten Keokuk wagon trains seems to have been close to the following:

Lv. Keokuk	Company	People	Wagons	Lv. Mo. River	Arr. SLC
5/16	Moses Clawson (St. Louis Company)	295	65	6/29	9/15–20
5/18	Jesse W. Crosby	79	12	7/1	9/10–11
5/21	John E. Forsgren	294	34		9/29–30
6/3	Jacob Gates	262	33	7/15	9/9
6/1–7	Joseph W. Young (with £10 & PEF companies)	425	56	7/17	9/22
6/1–3	Cyrus H. Wheelock (with £10 companies)	400	52	7/11–14	10/6–16
6/3	Claudius V. Spencer (PEF)	250	40	7/4–7	9/17–26
6/15–16	Appleton Harmon	200	22	7/14	10/16
7/1	Henry Ettleman (Mostly freight)	40	11	7/1	10/1
7/1	John Brown	303	35	7/20–22	10/13–17
	Totals	2,548	360		



Graphics by Kimberly Chen Pace, courtesy BYU Studies

Iowa Routes Taken by LDS Wagon Trains in 1853
Showing Present-Day Cities and Towns (The Ones in Parentheses No Longer Exist)

(As noted above, that year other LDS companies left from the Council Bluffs area. Most were merchandise or freight companies.)[161]

Based on partial data, the average age of the adults in the Keokuk companies was 33.24. The sexes were fairly evenly balanced. Male and female numbers were as follows: Young Company, 102 and 93; Forsgren Company, 38 and 42; Crosby Company, 43 and 35; Clawson Company, 79 and 83. The Forsgren Company was one-fifth children under age seventeen; the Young Company was one-fourth youth. However, the Clawson Company was 45 percent young people.[162]

Crossing Iowa

During eight weeks, from mid-May to mid-July, one or another LDS wagon train was crossing the breadth of Iowa, roughly three hundred miles. They averaged four weeks each (or about eighty miles a week). By 1853, Iowa had some established roads connecting southeastern Iowa with Council Bluffs, ranging from good to very poor. May and June were rainy months when even the best roads turned to mud and when the streams, most of which lacked bridges, flowed high, making wagon travel difficult. James Ririe, in the Gates Company, said the roads by and large "were very bad."[163]

The 1853 wagon trains followed two well-established routes across Iowa. The Gates, Forsgren, Spencer, Harmon, and probably the Clawson companies took the roads used or blazed by Saints from Nauvoo in 1846.[164] That is, they crossed the Des Moines at Farmington, moved along the Fox River to Drakesville, and from there chose the 1846 alternate route heading to Chariton, Mt. Pisgah, Indian Town, and Council Bluffs. A better but longer route left Keokuk and followed along the ridge east of the Des Moines River, passing through Agency City, Ottumwa, Oskaloosa, and Pella, and reaching Fort Des Moines (today's Des Moines). There, the route crossed the river and went on to Winterset, Mt. Pisgah, Indian Town, and the Council Bluffs road. Captain Joseph Young took his company that way, and the Cyrus Wheelock Company probably did, too. Henry Pugh, the Young Company's excellent clerk, listed the mileage for their Iowa trek:[165]

Keokuk to Eddyville	100
Eddyville to Oskaloosa	11
Oskaloosa to Pella	18
Pella to Des Moines Ferry	38
Des Moines Ferry to Winterset	35
Winterset to Middle River	25
Middle River to Wood's Farm (on west branch of Nodaway)	35
Wood's Farm to Indian Town	15
Indian Town to Kanesville	50
Total	327 miles

"Twenty miles was the distance we were supposed to cover each day," Mary Morris (Young Company) said. "The wagons were for our baggage, and we walked alongside, or ahead of the teams, perhaps riding once or twice a day, for half an hour or so."[166] Maria Walker (Spencer Company) said that "it rained a good deal and the thunder storms the worst I ever saw. The rain just ran through the tent and wagon covers sometimes. But we made the best of it. We put up the tent, put our stove in it and cooked there when it was too wet to build a campfire." She said that in some places the grass was waist high "and a fine country unsettled except a log house or a small lumber one at intervals of from ten to twenty miles apart."[167] Stephen Forsdick, in the Gates Company, said they found "lots of mud holes," and farther west across Iowa, "many of the creeks had no bridges and we would have to wallow through the best we could. Several trains were ahead of us, so that the roads were badly cut up."[168] Several accounts tell of the companies stopping at streams and building makeshift bridges out of logs and brush. During the crossing, perhaps a handful died, but not more.[169]

When passing Iowa towns and farms, the Mormon trains attracted local attention. For example, the *Weekly Oskaloosa Herald* of 17 June reported that about 750 Mormons, principally from England and Wales, had passed through Oskaloosa the day before (the Young and probably Wheelock Companies). These passing interactions with local people became the stuff of which some still-existing Iowa family and local lore were made.[170]

To Utah

Beside the Missouri River, at Council Bluffs, the companies resupplied and did repairs for the long trip to Utah and waited their turns to cross the river on the busy ferryboats. All had crossed by 22 July and headed west on the Platte River Road and Mormon Trail. That year saw lots of traffic "crossing the plains," including livestock herds and flocks of sheep. The ten LDS trains made rather successful journeys to Utah. "It was a long trip," the boy Joseph Cooper later related; "we had some pretty good times and at other times not so bright." "By a little forethought and management, the daily routine of camp life was by no means irksome," Hannah Cornaby said; "I think that the weeks spent crossing the plains were as full of instruction and interest as any part of our lives."[171]

Beyond the normal challenges faced by all trail travelers, these wagon trains encountered Pawnee roadblocks in eastern Nebraska, where they had to pay tolls of food, and higher-than-normal rivers and streams. In Wyoming, they ran short of food. Historian Polly Aird's detailed analysis of what the £10 passengers received as food rations concludes that "these pro-

visions appear inadequate by any measure."[172]

By way of postscripts, Captain Young's wife died at the Green River. Most Danes in the Forsgren Company located in Sanpete Valley, establishing that region as the Scandinavian center in Utah.[173] Artist Piercy published his *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley* in 1855, the year when Mormons quit using New Orleans as their arrival port, making his new guidebook instantly obsolete. His illustrations, however, rank among the best ever drawn that depict sail, river boat, and trail scenes from America's era of westward migration. Because of 1853 food shortages and cost overruns, for 1854, Church leaders in England changed the £10 amount to £13.[174] And, because crossing Iowa cost time and required more days of provisions, LDS agents decided to use Westport (Kansas City) as the 1854 outfitting point. Keokuk never again served that purpose. However, eastern Iowa did provide another LDS outfitting location when the 1856 and 1857 LDS handcart and wagon companies outfitted in Iowa City—which was the new western terminus for railroad lines from the east.

Notes

1. Frederick Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley: illustrated with steel engravings and woodcuts from sketches made by Frederick Piercy . . . together with a geographical and historical description of Utah, and a map of the overland routes to that territory from the Missouri River: also an authentic history of the Latter-Day Saints' emigration from Europe from the commencement up to the close of 1855, with statistics*, ed. James Linforth (Liverpool, published by Franklin D. Richards; London: Latter-Day Saints' Book Depot, 1855). Fawn McKay Brodie's edition of that book, by the Belknap Press in 1962, gives Piercy a middle name of Hawkins, which he did not have.

2. Three standard histories about the overland migration say nothing about the Keokuk outfittings and wagon trains: George R. Stewart's *The California Trail* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962); John D. Unruh Jr., *The Plains Across* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1979); and Merrill J. Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969). Keokuk's public library has a copy of a booklet by Alois J. Weber, "History of the Mormon Encampment in 1853," *Lee County Historical Society Publication No. 7* (Keokuk, Iowa, 63), 14 pp.

3. Andrew Jenson, "Church Emigration XV: Detailed Emigration Account, 1853," *The Contributor* 13, no. 10 (August 1892): 458–67. P. A. M. Taylor's fine study of British LDS immigration, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966) does not mention Keokuk. William Mulder's study of Scandinavian LDS immigration, *Homeward to Zion* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), 161–62, briefly talks about the Keokuk outfittings.

4. Three recent articles deal with the 1853 Keokuk story: William G. Hartley, "Mormons and Early Iowa History (1838 to 1858): Eight Distinct Connections," *The Annals of Iowa* 59 (summer 2000): 217–60; Fred E. Woods and Douglas Atterberg, "The 1853 Mormon Migration through Keokuk," *The Annals of Iowa* 61, no. 1 (winter 2002), 1–23; and Polly Aird, "Bound for Zion: The Ten- and Thirteen-Pound Emigrating

Companies, 1853–54, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 70, (fall 2002), 300–25.

5. Aird, "Bound for Zion," 300–25.

6. At least eight other LDS companies went west that year, outfitting in or near Kanesville. Primarily freight trains, they were captained by Enoch Bartlett Tripp, Preston Thomas, Levi Stewart, Vincent Shurtleff, Orson Spencer/Joel J. Terrell, David Wilkin, Moses Daley, Moses Mecham, and Daniel Miller/John W. Cooley. See list posted in a subfile called "Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel (1847–1868)," posted at www.lds.org/churchhistory.

7. Stanley B. Kimball, *Historic Resource Study: Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Interior/National Park Service, 1991), 4.

8. T. Edgar Lyon, "Some Uncommon Aspects of the Mormon Migration," *Improvement Era* 72, no. 9 (September 1969): 33–40.

9. William G. Hartley and Fred E. Woods, *Explosion of the Steamboat* Saluda (Riverton, Utah: Millennial Press, 2002).

10. William Rees, *Description of the City of Keokuk: Lee County, Iowa* (Keokuk Dispatch Print, 1854), 13–15.

11. Christian Nielsen, Journal 1853–1858, translated by Niels F. Green, entry for 23 May 1853, LDS Church Archives, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

12. Maria Walker Wheeler, "My History," 13–14, microfilm, LDS Church Archives.

13. Stephen Forsdick, Autobiography, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

14. Information about John Brown is in the "Appointing the Wagon Captains" section later in this paper.

15. "Horace S. Eldredge," in Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols.(Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History, 1901–1936), 1:196–97.

16. Vincent Shurtleff was born in 1814 or 1815 in Massachusetts. He went to Utah in 1847 and went on a mission to England in 1851. During his trip home, he was assigned to help with the 1853 emigration. He assisted with the Keokuk outfittings and then led a merchandise wagon train that outfitted at Council Bluffs. See Vincent Shurtleff data in Susan Easton Black, comp., *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, electronic file on *LDS Family History Suite* CD database produced by Infobases, 1996.

17. On 15 May, the John Forsgren Company Saints voted to sustain Elder Haight as camp president and Elder Wheelock as his counselor. See Manuscript History of the John E. Forsgren Emigrating Company, microfilm of typescript, LDS Church Archives.

18. Samuel W. Richards to Brigham Young, 22 April 1853, in Journal History of the Church, LDS Church Archives.

19. "*Ellen Maria*" entry, FamilySearch, *Mormon Immigration Index*, CD (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2000).

20. Isaac Chauncy Haight, Journal, 25 and 28 March 1853, Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

21. Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, 91.

22. Wheeler, "My History," 13–14.

23. Letter of William Clough to his father, 1 and 3 May 1853, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

24. Weber, "History of Mormon Encampment at Keokuk in 1853," 4. The grazing grounds along Sugar Creek, based on this description, were within two or three miles of the site of Sugar Creek Camp where Brigham Young organized and started the first LDS company to leave Nauvoo in February 1846. However, a property title search needs to be

made to pinpoint where this grazing land was.

25. See Fred E. Woods, "From Liverpool to Keokuk: The Mormon Maritime Migration Experience of 1853," in this *Mormon Historical Studies* issue.

26. Regarding this sea immigration, see Fred E. Woods and Douglas Atterberg, "The 1853 Mormon Migration through Keokuk."*Annals of Iowa* 61, no. 1 (winter 2002), 1–23; and the version published in this issue of *Mormon Historical Studies*.

27. Based on information extracted from *Mormon Immigration Index*, CD.

28. An example of a Canadian who came is New Brunswick convert Marriner W. Merrill. He went to Boston, then journeyed by train to Buffalo, boat to Chicago, train to the Illinois River, boat to St. Louis, and another boat to Keokuk. See Melvin Clarence Merrill, ed., *Utah Pioneer and Apostle Marriner Wood Merrill and His Family* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1937), 29. Merrill later became an LDS Apostle.

29. Woods and Atterberg, "The 1853 Mormon Migration through Keokuk," 12.

30. Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*. Regarding Piercy, see L. Matthew Chatterley's, "Frederick Piercy: English Artist on the American Plains," in this issue of *Mormon Historical Studies*; and Wilford Hill LeCheminant, "Entitled to Be an Artist: Landscape and Portrait Painter Frederick Piercy, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (winter 1980), 49–65. Several of Piercy's best steel engravings and woodcuts from his book are beautifully reproduced in "Chronicling the Journey to Zion," *Ensign*, 30, no. 7 (July 2000), 36–43.

31. Aird, "Bound for Zion," 303, n13. Gustive O. Larson wrote that in the 1850s, thirty thousand pounds equaled $150,000, making one pound equivalent to about $5. See Gustive O. Larson, *Prelude to the Kingdom* (Francestown, New Hampshire: Marshall Jones Company, 1947),166. Claude Smith's calculations, "Early Canadian Currency and the Price of Land," posted on UPPER-CANADA-L Archives, found on Rootsweb.com (September 2003) estimates that in 1854 legislation in Canada set the American dollar about equal to the Canadian dollar, which was valued at roughly 4.8 dollars per pound. Based on Larson and Smith, it seems safe to assume that the £20 was equivalent to about $100 and £10 about $50. By comparison, that year's £10 or $100 equals about $2200 in year 2000 dollars. For comparative dollar values, I rely on a chart prepared by my research assistant Samuel Clark, which gives the dollar value year by year compared to a dollar in the year 2000. See Samuel Clark, "Dollar Calculations Information Sheet," prepared March 2001, in the possession of author.

32. *Millennial Star* 15, no. 9 (26 February 1853): 137; and Christopher Arthur, Emigrating Company Journal, LDS Church Archives. The funds are mentioned following the 15 May 1853 entry.

33. Wheeler, "My History,"14.

34. Aird, "Bound for Zion," 302–5. Regarding the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, see Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 97–106. A dated, book-length study is Larson, *Prelude to the Kingdom*. See entries under the subject heading of "Perpetual Emigrating Fund" in the comprehensive bibliography compiled by James B. Allen, Ronald W. Walker, and David J. Whittaker, *Studies in Mormon History, 1830–1997* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 839.

35. Aird, "Bound for Zion," 307–8.

36. Wheeler, "My History,"14.

37. Aird, "Bound for Zion," 324.

38. "James Ririe, 1827–1905," in Kate B. Carter, ed., *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958–1977), 9 (1966): 357–58.

39. Haight's agents purchased at least eight hundred oxen, so at four oxen per team, that meant he was trying to provide at least two hundred outfits. For dollar ratios, see

Clark, "Dollar Calculations Information Sheet."

40. Wheeler, "My History,"14.

41. Edward Kingsford, Autobiography, microfilm of holograph, 1–2, LDS Church Archives; Journal History, 20 May 1853; and James Harwood, Autobiography, 3, LDS Church Archives.

42. "Foreign Correspondence—The Western Emigration," *Millennial Star* 15, no. 26 (25 June 1853): 409.

43. Haight, Journal, 26 March 1853.

44. *The Weekly Dubuque Tribune*, 9 February 1853.

45. Cyrus Wheelock to Samuel Richards, *Millennial Star* 15, no. 20 (14 May 1853): 317.

46. Quoted in Edward W. Tullidge, *The History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders* (Salt Lake City: Edward W. Tullidge, 1886), 666.

47. Forsdick, Autobiography, 16.

48. John Isaac Hart, Autobiography and Journal, 15, 78, LDS Church Archives.

49. Joseph W. Young, Journal, vol. 3, May 1852–April 1857, 122–23, in the Joseph W. Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

50. Maybelle Harmon Anderson, ed., *Appleton Milo Harmon Goes West* (Berkeley: Gillick Press, 1946), 159, diary entries for dates indicated. It is possible the Mr. Russell mentioned here was William H. Russell, a Lexington, Missouri, enterpriser and trader who in 1854 formed the Russell, Majors, and Waddell partnership that operated freight and stagecoach lines to California and that in 1860–61 established the Pony Express.

51. Harmon, *Appleton Milo Harmon Goes West*, 159–61, diary entries for dates indicated.

52. Young, Journal, 122.

53. Joseph W. Young, Company Journal, kept by Henry Pugh, Journal History, 10 October 1853.

54. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, 666.

55. Wheeler, "My History,"14.

56. Aird, "Bound for Zion," 318.

57. See summaries of 1853 overland trail accounts in Merrill J. Mattes, *Platte River Narratives*.

58. "Journal of Henry Allyn, 1853," *Transactions of the Forty-Ninth Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association, Portland, June 16, 1921* (Portland: Chausse-Prudhomme Co., Printers, 1924), 373–86.

59. *Keokuk Dispatch*, 5 April 1853.

60. *Keokuk Dispatch*, 12 April 1853.

61. Horace S. Eldredge to Brigham Young, 21 April1853, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

62. "Sarah Birch Waters," in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 11:164. She was age twenty- five while in Keokuk.

63. Hannah Cornaby, *Autobiography and Poems* (Salt Lake City: J. C. Graham & Co., 1881), 31–32. Cornaby, age twenty-six, was born in 1827 in Norwich, England. With husband Samuel and daughter Edith, almost a year old, she had crossed the Atlantic on the *Ellen Maria*. Moses Clawson presided over that group, and she became part of his wagon train. In Utah, she gained fame as a poet. A popular LDS hymn she wrote is "Who's on the Lord's Side, Who?"

64. On May 17, Rasmus Andersen's youngest son died and was buried in the woods above Keokuk. See Manuscript History of the Forsgren Company under that date.

65. *Keokuk Dispatch*, 5 May 1853.

66. "James Ririe, 1827–1905," 357–58.

67. Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, 91.

68. William Clough to his father, 1 and 3 May 1853.

69. James McNaughton, Journal, LDS Church Archives; Peter McIntyre, Autobiography, LDS Church Archives.

70. Christopher Jones Arthur, Autobiography, LDS Church Archives. He left with the Spencer Company about 3 June.

71. Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, 91.

72. Hannah T. King, Diary, 20 and 21 May 1853, in Carol Cornwall Madsen, *Journey to Zion: Voices from the Mormon Trail* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997), 478–79. Hannah Tapfield was born 16 March 1807, in Sawston, Devonshire, England. She married Thomas Owen King (born 6 April 1800, in Sawston) on 6 April 1824. Several of their children died young. She converted in 1850. Thomas was not a Mormon. Children traveling with the Kings were Louisa (b. 1834), Bertha, (b. 1837), and Thomas (b. 1841), and a fourth child, Georgiana (b. 1831), was newly married to Claudius Spencer. In St. Louis the Kings bought a commodious carriage for the Utah trek. See also "Hannah T. King," in Edward Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (New York: Tullidge & Crandall, 1877), 477–78.

73. Wheeler, "My History," 14.

74. "Letter April 27, 1856 to Fisherman Carl Nielsen," in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 11:231–33.

75. Manuscript History of the Forsgren Company, 11 May 1853; and Nielsen Journal, 11 May 1853.

76. Wheeler, "My History,"14.

77. William Clough to his father, 1 and 3 May 1853.

78. Forsdick, Autobiography, 15.

79. He is likely referring to a passenger on the *International*, John Bignal (30), who was traveling with his wife Lucy (30), and a daughter (not a son), Emma (1). They joined the Gates Company, as did Stephen Forsdick and the Butler family.

80. Forsdick, Autobiography, 15. The Butlers probably were John (41) and Eliza (45) Butler, and their seven children: Argent (13), John (13), Sarah (11), Henry (8), David (7), Anne (4), and Martha (age not listed). See passenger list for the ship *International* on *Mormon Immigration Index* CD.

81. William Clough to his father, 1 and 3 May 1853.

82. Forsdick, Autobiography, 15.

83. Arthur, Autobiography, 6.

84. McIntyre, Autobiography, 28–38.

85. Forsdick, Autobiography, 15.

86. Forsdick, Autobiography, 16.

87. William Clough to his father, 1 and 3 May 1853.

88. "Hannah T. King," in *Journey to Zion*, 478, diary entry for 20 May 1853.

89. Arthur, Autobiography. He left with the Spencer Company about 3 June.

90. Wheeler, "My History," 14. At that location, the river level today is much higher than in 1853, being backed up by the Keokuk Dam, built in 1913.

91. Cornaby, *Autobiography and Poems*, 31–32.

92. Cornaby, *Autobiography and Poems*, 31–32.

93. William Clough to his father, 1 and 3 May 1853.

94. McIntyre, Autobiography, 28–38.

95. William Clough to his father, 1 and 3 May 1853.

96. William W. Belknap to Clara Belknap, 9 May 1853, William W. Belknap

Correspondence, microfilm, Keokuk Public Library.

97. *Diary of Dr. Thomas Flint: California to Maine and Return, 1851–1855* (Los Angeles: Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California: 1923), 20, entry for 8 May 853.

98. McNaughton, Journal, 29 May, and 5 and 12 June1853.

99. Manuscript History of the Forsgren Emigrating Company.

100. McNaughton, Journal, 5 June 1853.

101. McIntyre, Autobiography, 28–38.

102. McNaughton, Journal, 12 June 1853.

103. Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, 91–92.

104. "Sarah Birch Waters,"164.

105. William Rees, *Description of the City of Keokuk: Lee County, Iowa* (Keokuk Dispatch Print, 1854), 13–15.

106. "James Ririe, 1827–1905," 357–58.

107. Cornaby, *Autobiography and Poems*, 31–32.

108. *Keokuk Dispatch*, 26 April 1853.

109. *The History of Lee County, Iowa* (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1879), 622; Weber, "History of Mormon Encampment at Keokuk in 1853."

110. William Clough to his father, 1 and 3 May 1853.

111. James Farmer, Diary, original and typescript entries for early May 1853, Perry Special Collections. Farmer's dating is off so is not cited here. He lists May 10 and 17 as Sundays, but perpetual calendars show that in May 1853, the Sundays were May 8 and 15.

112. "Sarah Birch Waters,"164; The diary of Jane Ann Fowler Sparks as found in *Our Neat-Nate Ancestral Lineage* (Provo: Press Publishing Ltd., 1980), 52.

113. Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, 93.

114. Forsdick, Autobiography, 16.

115. Autobiography of James Campbell Livingston as found in Ronald B. Livingston, comp., *Descendants of Archibald Livingston* (n.p.: Livingston Family Association, 1980), 153.

116. John V. Adams, "Story of the Plains,"in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 10:125.

117. Aird, "Bound for Zion," 306.

118. "History and Journal of the Life and Travels of Jesse W. Crosby," *Annals of Wyoming* 11 (July 1939): 145–218. Regarding William Atkinson, see Frank Elwood Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing, 1913), 1:726, and William Atkinson and Phoebe Campbell family group record, *LDS Ancestral File* on FamilySearch.org website, 2003.

119. "John Erik Forsgren," in Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:370, 743; John E. Forsgren Diary, translation, typescript, LDS Archives. Summary details about John Forsgren and his wagon company are in *Heart Throbs of the West*, ed. Kate B. Carter, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1939–1951), 6 (1944), 2–3; followed by a transcript of the Forsgren wagon train journal, 6:3–31.

120. "Jacob Gates" in Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:197–99.

121. Joseph W. Young, Autobiography, holograph, LDS Archives.

122. Cyrus Hubbard Wheelock's various family group records as posted on *Ancestral File* found at FamilySearch.org. His wife, Olive Parrish Wheelock, gave birth to Henry Alphonzo on 28 March 1843 in Nashville, Iowa.

123. Because Elder Wheelock's first wife died, Church leaders extended his stay in England. See *Millennial Star* 9, no. 10 (15 May 1847): 151; and no. 16 (15 August 1847): 243.

124. Cyrus H. Wheelock, Diary, 1846–1849, holograph and typescript, LDS Archives.

125. *Millennial Star* 15, no. 9 (26 February 1853): 137; *Mormon Immigration Index* CD index; Cyrus Wheelock genealogy entries in FamilySearch.org.

126. "Claudius V. Spencer," in Black, comp., *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, electronic file.

127. "Appleton M. Harmon," in Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:706.

128. Joseph Smith Jr. *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed., rev. 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 5:427–28.

129. "John Brown," in Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:511–512; "John Brown: Out of the Ordinary," in Gene Allred Sessions, *Latter-day Patriots* (Salt Lake City, Deseret Book, 1975), 127–47; *Autobiography of Pioneer John Brown, 1820–1896* (Salt Lake City: John Zimmerman Brown, 1941).

130. Young, Journal, 123.

131. Clawson, Moses, Letter to Brigham Young, in Journal History, 7 August 1853, 4–5.

132. Thomas Tanner, Autobiography, 3, LDS Church Archives.

133. Aird, "Bound for Zion," 316.

134. Jenson, "Church Emigration Account, 1853," 466.

135. King, Diary, 25 May 1853.

136. Nielsen, Journal, 22–23 May 1853.

137. Young, Company Journal, 15 June 1853.

138. "Excerpts from the Diary of William F. Rigby," in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 4:248.

139. "James Ririe, 1827–1905," 355.

140. Forsdick, Autobiography, 17.

141. Marie Shemerdine account in "Historic Letters,"in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 12:360.

142. Joseph Greaves to William Greaves, 10 and 14 September 1897, Joseph Greaves Letters, microfilm, LDS Church Archives.

143. Joseph Greaves to William Greaves, 10 and 14 September 1897.

144. William Clough to his father, 1 and 3 May 1853.

145. Wheeler, "My History,"14.

146. "Letter April 27, 1856 to Fisherman Carl Nielsen," 231.

147. Autobiography of John Paternoster Squires, in *Notes of Interest to the Descendants of Thomas Squires by His Son John Paternoster Squires* (n.p.: n.d), typescript, lx.

148. Cornaby, *Autobiography and Poems*, 32.

149. Forsdick, Autobiography, 16.

150. Wheeler, "My History,"14.

151. Joseph Greaves to William Greaves, 10 and 14 September 1897.

152. McIntyre, Autobiography, 28–38.

153. Forsdick, Autobiography, 16.

154. Moses Clawson to Brigham Young, in Journal History, 7 August 1853, 4–5.

155. *Keokuk Dispatch*, 31 May 1853.

156. John Brown, Journal, in Journal History, 3 June 1853.

157. McNaughton, Journal, 16 and 17 June 1853.

158. Jenson, "Church Emigration Account, 1853," 466.

159. Journal History, 1 July 1853.

160. See a list in "Pioneer Companies That Crossed the Plains," *Deseret News 1997–98 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1996 [the almanac was published in advance of the 1997–98 years]), 170–71.

161. Wagon trains left the Florence area led by David Wilkin, Daniel A. Miller/John W. Cooley, Vincent Shurtleff, Moses Daley, and Joshua Mecham. See the 1853 wagon train list in *Deseret News 1997–98 Church Almanac*, 170–71.

162. Author's calculations based on the company rosters that list ages.

163. "James Ririe, 1827–1905," 356; King, Diary, 28 May–24 June 1853.

164. Stanley B. Kimball, "The Mormon Trail Network in Iowa, 1838–1863: A New Look," *Brigham Young University Studies* 21, no. 4 (fall 1981), 425–27; Gates Company: James Farmer Diary. Original and typescript held at BYU Lee Library Special Collections; Spencer Company: Christopher Arthur, Emigrating Company Journal; Harmon Company: Cornelius Bagnall Emigrating Company. Journal, LDS Archives. William Gibson said that the Clawson Company "took the old Mormon road through Iowa to Council Bluffs." See Journal of William Gibson, fld, 3, 6–7, LDS Church Archives.

165. Young, Company Journal, Journal History, 10 October 1853, 5. The Saints in 1846 had used a third route—going up that same ridge road and then ferrying across the Des Moines River at Eddyville or Oskaloosa. Apparently, none of the 1853 LDS wagon crossed at those points.

166. Journal History, 10 October 1853, 1.

167. Wheeler, "My History,"5.

168. Forsdick, Autobiography,17.

169. In the Young Company, a sixty-four-year-old woman died near Winterset on 24 June; a week later a sixty-one-year-old woman fell under a wagon wheel, broke her leg, and died the next day near Silver Creek; and a male in the Gates Company died of whooping cough near Chariton on 20 June. Young, Company Journal; and Christopher Arthur, Emigrating Company Journal.

170. An example of local lore is a 1994 travel booklet, *Pella Iowa, A Touch of Holland*, which says that twelve thousand Mormon *wagons* (should be *people*) crossed Iowa in *1845* (should be *1846*) and that one Mormon group led by Brigham Young passed through Pella (not true). That garbled story stems from the Joseph (not Brigham) Young Company passing through Pella in 1853.

171. "History of Joseph Cooper," Utah Pioneer Biographies, 7:130, copy at LDS Family History Library; and Cornaby, *Autobiography and Poems*, 33.

172. Aird, "Bound for Zion," 310.

173. Jenson, "Church Emigration Account, 1853," 459.

174. "Emigration," *Millennial Star* 15, no. 48 (26 November 1853): 776–77.