

The Annotated 1846 Mitchell Map: Francis Moore Jr.'s Chronicle of the Mormon Exodus, the Mexican War, the Gold Rush, and Texas

Max W. Jamison

To some the year 1846 has seemed a crucial era in the history of the Republic; one writer even made a not implausible case for it as the “year of decision.” Events of lasting significance piled up on one another, all reflected sooner or later in the cartographic record. When the year opened, John Charles Frémont was already in California with his momentous Third Expedition, which had traversed the central reaches of the West to get there; and before the summer was out, he was to be entangled in war and revolution. His map, however, would not appear for another two years. During the spring of 1846 other men bent their steps toward California, notably T. H. Jefferson, whose amazing map of the overland trail would not appear until 1849; and others traveling to or from California would contribute to the enlarging knowledge of the western trails.

In February, 1846, a new factor in Western history, the Mormons, began moving across the frozen Mississippi from beleaguered Nauvoo. All through the rainy, muddy spring of 1846 the Saints made their slow way west across Iowa, hoping as late as July to get a pioneer colonizing party to the Great Basin, but they were halted finally by events of the Mexican War. Enlistment of more than 500 of their able-bodied men as a Mormon Battalion, to march first to Santa Fe, then to California . . . forced the main body of the Saints to winter at various camp-

MAX W. JAMISON is a member of the Douglas-Sarpy Counties [Nebraska] Mormon Trails Association, a member of the Board of Trustees of Kaneshville Restoration, Inc., and a member of the Mormon Trail Earth Sciences Team. (See John S. Nealon, “Morning Fair, Roads Bad:’ Geology, Topography, Hydrology, and Weather on the Iowa and Nebraska Mormon Trails, 1846–1847,” *Nauvoo Journal*, vol. 10, no. 1, Spring 1998.) Mr. Jamison is a graduate of Brigham Young University, where he majored in geography and minored in history. He has spent the past twenty years doing classified work for the Central Intelligence Agency as an Intelligence Research Specialist (Imagery Analysis), and as an aerospace engineer for Lockheed Missiles and Space, and for Martin Marietta Denver Aerospace. He recently moved from Omaha, Nebraska, to Utah, where he is seeking employment. A more detailed and extended version of this paper, including analysis of all 169 annotations and drawings, will be published soon.

*sites along the Missouri River above and below present Omaha, postponing until 1847 their advance to the Great Basin.*¹

A Precursor of Westward Expansion

Mitchell's popular 1846 Map was highly inflammatory in its day—illustrating the three regions most coveted by the United States for westward colonization and settlement. Most Americans still believed the myth that the only remaining arable land available in the West was in Texas, Oregon, and Upper California. Presuming the rolling grass prairies of the great plains to be an untilable and worthless “Great American Desert,” the federal government had even signed treaties preserving the central plains Indian Territory, the northern plains Missouri Territory, and most of the eastern plains Iowa Territory as perpetual homelands for native Americans.²

As a snapshot of the most current geographical knowledge of the West available in 1846, **any** copy of Samuel Augustus Mitchell's *New Map of Texas, Oregon and California with Regions Adjoining Compiled from the Most Recent Authorities* provides valuable insights in the study of America's westward expansion. But the mysterious addition of 156 handwritten pencil and ink annotations to the map, plus three pencil drawings of Sam Houston, the Alamo, and a Texas church on the rear flyleaf and five pencil annotations and four “tick marks” on a folded 1846 Texas newspaper clipping glued to the same flyleaf, significantly enhance both the value of this **particular** copy of Mitchell's 1846 map and our understanding of the events of that period. They bear all the earmarks of the international intrigue surrounding the American conquest of trans-Rio Grande Mexico, New Mexico, and Upper California; the Mormon settlement of the Great Basin; and the subsequent California gold rush of 1849.^{3, 4}

Achievement of the American dream of western expansion (frequently referred to as “Manifest Destiny”) appeared to have little chance when this map was published in mid 1846. The newly inaugurated President Polk faced the distinct probability of fighting two simultaneous losing wars in the West. When the United States annexed Texas in December 1845, a military junta took power in Mexico with the express intent to invade the southern United States to recover Texas.⁵ Most international military analysts believed the seasoned professional Mexican armies would easily defeat the poorly trained volunteer armies of the United States.⁶ And Britain not only had massed a formidable fleet in the Pacific in preparation for war over the jointly administered Oregon but was also actively courting Mexico's rebellious and semi-independent Upper California. President Polk reacted to these threats by prepositioning a naval squadron in the Pacific and quickly dispatching explorer John C. Frémont with sixty well-armed frontier commandos overland to California (ostensibly on his third topographical survey) with discretionary orders to seize California before Britain could intervene if war broke out with Mexico.⁷ Capt. Frémont gave the following explanation in his memoirs:

President Polk entered on his office [presidency] with a fixed determination to acquire California, if he could acquire it in an honorable and just manner. The President and Mr. Bancroft [presidential advisor and Secretary of the Navy] held it impossible for Mexico, situated as things then were, to retain possession of California; and therefore it was right to negotiate with Mexico for the acquisition of that which to her could be of no use. This it was hoped to accomplish by peaceful negotiation; but if Mexico in resenting our acceptance of the offer of Texas to join us, should begin a war with us, then, by taking possession of the province [of Upper California] . . . and in arranging this [1845–47 Frémont] expedition, the eventualities of war were taken into consideration. The geographical examinations proposed to be made were in greater part in Mexican [Upper California] territory. This was the situation: Texas was gone [annexed by the United States] and California was breaking off by reason in distance; the now increasing American emigration was sure to seek its better climate. Oregon was still in dispute; nothing was settled except the fact of a disputed boundary; and the chance of a rupture with Great Britain lent also its contingencies. Mexico, at war with the United States, would inevitably favor English protection for California. . . . Our relations with England were already clouded, and in the event of war with Mexico, if not anticipated by us, an English fleet would certainly take possession of the Bay of San Francisco. For use in such a contingency the only available force was our squadron in the North Pacific, and the measures for carrying out the design of the President fell to the Navy Department. . . . As affairs resolved themselves, California stood out as the chief subject in the impending war; and with Mr. [Sen. Thomas Hart] Benton and other governing men at Washington it became a firm resolve to hold it for the United States. To them it seemed reasonably sure that California would eventually fall to England or to the United States and that the eventuality was near. This was talked over fully during the time of preparation for the third [1845–47] expedition, and the contingencies anticipated and weighed. . . . For me, no distinct course or definite instruction could be laid down, but the probabilities were made known to me as well as what to do when they became facts. The distance was too great for timely communication; but failing this I was given discretion to act. The instructions early sent, and repeatedly insisted upon, to the officer commanding our Pacific squadron, gave specific orders to be strictly followed in the event of war. But these frequent discussions among the men who controlled the action of the Government, gave to me the advantage of knowing more thoroughly what were its present wishes, and its intentions in the event of war. And so it came that as soon as war was sure between Mexico and ourselves, Lieutenant [William] Gillespie was despatched with instructions; and with letters which, if intercepted when crossing Mexico, would convey no meaning to others while to me they would be clear. . . .

This officer informed me that he had been directed by the Secretary of State to acquaint me with his instructions, which had for their principal objects to ascertain the disposition of the California people, to conciliate their feelings in favor of the United States; and to find out, with a view to counteracting, the designs of the British Government upon that country. . . . These [encrypted letters from home] threw their own light upon the communication from Mr. Gillespie, and made the expected signal. In substance, their effect was: The time has come. England must not get a foothold. We must be first. Act; discreetly, but positively. . . . Now it was made known to me that my country was at war, and it was so made known expressly to guide my conduct. I had learned with certainty from the Secretary of the Navy that the President's plan of war included the taking possession of California, and under his confidential instructions I had my warrant. Mr. Gillespie was directed to act in concert with me. Great vigilance and activity were expected of us both, for it was

desired that possession should be had of California before the presence in her ports of any foreign vessel of war might make it inconvenient. . . . The citizen party under my command was made up of picked men, and although small in number, constituted a formidable nucleus for frontier warfare.⁸

American Strategy for Mexican War

To best understand the 169 handwritten pencil and ink annotations and drawings added to this copy of Mitchell's 1846 Map, we must understand their context in the American strategy for the Mexican War. The United States Army planned to seize all of New Mexico and Upper California in a sweeping, three-pronged attack across northern Mexico:

1. **Eastern Front**—General Zachary Taylor would lead the main force up the Rio Grande from Point Isabel to Matamoros and then inland to Camargo, Cerralvo, and Monterey. This force was intended to draw out and defeat the main Mexican units.

2. **Central Front**—General John Wool would lead a flanking force from San Antonio to Chihuahua and Parras in central Mexico. This force was intended to intercept and defeat any Mexican units reinforcing New Mexico and Upper California.

3. **Western Front**—Shielded from main Mexican armies by the units of the Eastern and Central Fronts, General Stephen Kearny would lead the Army of the West (including the Mormon Battalion) down the Santa Fe Trail from Fort Leavenworth to conquer and occupy both New Mexico and Upper California. They were to be reinforced and defended from possible British naval interference by the prepositioned nine-ship Pacific Squadron under the command of Commodore Sloat (and later Commodore Robert F. Stockton). There is no evidence that General Kearny knew of the special orders given the Pacific Squadron and Frémont's commando unit already on the west coast.

As the war developed, General Wool's army diverted eastward in a pincer's movement through Saltillo to assist General Taylor's attack on Monterey. After occupying Santa Fe, General Kearny detached a small force to occupy New Mexico and proceeded westward. When he met Kit Carson en route to Washington, D.C., with word that Captain Frémont and Commodore Stockton had already conquered California, he detached all but one hundred of his twenty-five-hundred-man Army of the West to follow General Alexander Doniphan in a southeastward sweep through Albuquerque, El Paso, Chihuahua, and Parras to reinforce the Central and Eastern Fronts.⁹ General Kearny then led his remaining 100 dragoons to join Frémont's 60 frontier commandos, Commodore Stockton's 215 Marines and sailors, and 300 local emigrant volunteers. After Kearny's arrival, this skeletal force of 675 men needed an additional five months to quell a rebellion by 400 local caballero lancers. The trailing 350 reinforce-

ments of the Mormon infantry battalion did not arrive in San Diego until 30 January 1847—eighteen days after combat had ceased.¹⁰

Mitchell's 1846 Map: A "Best Seller" in the West

In this highly charged atmosphere, Mitchell's widely distributed map was pivotal in mobilizing public opinion to propel a tidal wave of American settlers across the forbidden continent, securing their "Manifest Destiny" in less than five years. It fostered the 1846–48 war with Mexico over Texas, New Mexico, and Upper California, the Treaty of 1846 dividing Oregon with Britain, the abrogation of many treaties with the plains Indians, and the 1846–47 Mormon exodus from Nauvoo into the Great Basin of Upper California.

Coming to commercial mapmakers . . . , the outstanding man of 1846, insofar as the West was concerned, was clearly the prolific Philadelphian, S. Augustus Mitchell, who during the year issued no less than three maps. The esteem in which his maps were held is shown by Brigham Young's letter [see pages 8, 14–15]. . . . *The third map, "A New Map of Texas, Oregon and California with the regions adjoining" . . . was a work of real importance, highly popular, and doubtless published in a large edition; on it the influence of the [impending] War with Mexico is strikingly revealed. . . . Because of its popularity, this map of the West exerted great influence, not only on the public but on other commercial cartographers.*¹¹

As noted below, S. Augustus Mitchell began publishing his 1846 "New Map of Texas, Oregon and California" in Philadelphia sometime before 5 June 1846.¹² This up-to-date and convenient folding "pocket" map soon became *very* popular on the frontier! By 26 October 1846, Francis Moore Jr.'s frontier Houston, Texas weekly *Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register* carried an advertisement selling "Mitchell's new map of Texas, Oregon, and California!"¹³

MAPS — C. S. Williams' Maps of Texas; H. S. Tanner's map of Mexico; Mitchell's new map of Texas, Oregon and California. For sale by may 19
WADE & CRUGER

The first known copy of Mitchell's 1846 Map to arrive in California was carried overland by Lt. William H. Emory, General Stephen Kearny's chief topographer during the Mexican War. Congress declared war on 13 May 1846, and on 5 June 1846, Emory received orders in Washington, D.C., to join General Kearny's Army of the West in its conquest of New Mexico and California. As Kearny had already departed Fort Leavenworth for Santa Fe, Emory and his four assistants—in a single day—hastily gathered the best cartographic materials they could find and departed for the West. Emory took only three maps of the West: (1) Josiah Gregg's 1844 *Map of the Indian Territory, Northern Texas, and New*

MORMON DIFFICULTIES. — We learn from the Warsaw Signal, that there is a scism among the Mormons that threatens to defeat the plans of the Saints to establish a new church in Oregon. The principal leader of the disaffected part is Bill Smith, who proposes that the Mormons, instead of removing to Oregon, shall scatter themselves abroad throughout the country. The Twelve Saints, as they style themselves, have issued a new edict in which they assert that all old things are done away, and everything has become new. This edict, it is said is applied to all contracts and even to matrimonial alliances, and many of the "faithful" have taken advantage of it to put away their old wives and marry new ones. A new prophet has arisen in Wisconsin who pretends that he has found a new set of plates and he is busily engaged in translating enough of the inscriptions to convince his bewildered followers that he is the rightful successor of Joe Smith. He opposes the immigration to Oregon. Several of the Mormons have been arrested for theft and counterfeiting.

Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register, Volume XI, No. 7, Whole No. 530, 18 February 1846, p. 3.

Mexico showing the Great Western Prairies,¹⁴ an invaluable aid in crossing the southern plains to Santa Fe, (2) his own 1844 *Map of Texas and the Country Adjacent* (all the way to the Pacific Ocean!) drawn for Colonel J. J. Abert, and (3) Mitchell's similar, but more current 1846 Map.¹⁵ The latter two were considered the best general maps of the Southwest then available. Emory's copy of Mitchell's map may have included updated annotations about the newly annexed state of Texas as well as intelligence data on potential invasion routes from Texas to Monterrey, Mexico.¹⁶ If found, perusal of Emory's three maps and his own drawings for similar annotations would be illuminating. But though it might be useful to locate Emory's copy of Mitchell's map, it is certain that *this* copy was not his.¹⁷

The Mormon Battalion did not arrive at Fort Leavenworth for outfitting until 1 August 1846. As Lieutenant Emory had already passed through there in June, it is uncertain

whether the Mormon Battalion knew of the existence of Mitchell's 1846 map while traveling to California. We have no record of any copies being issued to army units departing Fort Leavenworth; and no mention is made of it in any of the numerous journals kept by Mormon members of the Mormon Battalion.¹⁸ Ltc. Phillip St. George Cooke, commander of the Mormon Battalion from Santa Fe to San Diego, complained in his journals of having no map to follow General Kearny to California. He had to draw his own as he went.¹⁹

In the process of preparing this paper, the author discovered that a second copy of Mitchell's 1846 map was carried overland to California with the Mormon Battalion by Lewis (Louis) Dent, paymaster Major James H. Cloud's unheralded non-Mormon civilian clerk.²⁰ Apparently, *Lewis Dent did not share the existence of his Mitchell map with Battalion members!* He refers to a personal copy of Mitchell's map in a letter dated 1 February 1847 from San Diego (two days after arriving) to his brother, George Wrenshall Dent, at the family estate in St. Louis. (See previous article) Apparently, a prior unpublished letter recording the travels of the Mormon Battalion from Fort Leavenworth through Santa Fe to

the Rio Grande del Norte had set precedent:²¹

Dear Brother:—I wrote to you last from a point on the Rio Grande, about two hundred and fifty miles south of Santa Fe, *designated on Mitchell's Map* as Fra Cristobal. (*I referred you to this map in the letter.*) . . .

The Gila (pronounced Hela) empties into the Colorado of California about eighty miles east of the gulf. *In Mitchell's map* both rivers are represented as emptying in to the gulf.

As became the custom,²² “Mr. G. W. Dent, of our city” supplied this letter to the St. Louis *Reveille* newspaper, which published it in both the daily and weekly editions on 12 and 14 June 1847.²³

One week later, on 19 June 1847, Francis Moore Jr. reprinted the letter “From the St. Louis *Reveille*” in his own weekly *Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register*—but deleted Lewis Dent’s signature at the bottom. As a regular recipient and reprinter of articles from the St. Louis *Reveille* (and many other communications), Moore had ample opportunity to annotate Dent’s references on his *own* copy of the map—and add any other references he wished!

By the time Brigham Young ordered six copies from Winter Quarters, Indian Territory on 18 February 1847²⁴—nine months after Emory, seven months after the departure of the Mormon Battalion, and two months after going on sale in Houston, Texas—Mitchell’s 1846 map was already a national bestseller!

Early Planning for Mormon Exodus

To understand the Mormon interest in Mitchell’s 1846 map, we must understand their longstanding motivation to immigrate to the Mountain West. Few people of our day fully appreciate how pervasive the religious, social, economic, and ethnic intolerance was in the United States before the Civil War—nor how severely it affected the Mormons. Without pertinent facts, recent historians have even theorized that the Mormons would not have left Nauvoo voluntarily and had no detailed notion of where they were going when they were forced out.²⁵ Although it is true that mob violence prematurely initiated the Mormon expulsion from Nauvoo by three months from spring to the dead of winter in February 1846,²⁶ it was foreseen. For thirty-six years, the storm clouds of prejudice and persecution had shadowed the Mormons westward from New York to Ohio to Missouri and then

MORMON EMIGRANTS. — The Warsaw Signal mentions that a large band of Mormons are preparing to start in a few weeks for the Rocky Mountains. They intend to form a settlement on the eastern side of the first range of these mountains, on the route to Oregon; and plant potatoes, corn and other vegetables to supply the emigrants who will reach that point in the summer. It is said that one thousand Mormon riflemen have offered their services to the American Government.

Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register, Volume XI, No. 9, Whole No. 532, 4 March 1846, p. 2.

back to Illinois. Their leaders knew that Nauvoo was only a temporary resting place, and they foresaw the necessity of moving well outside the frontiers of civilization to gain a more permanent refuge. To this end, they had spent years proactively researching potential sites in Texas, Oregon, and Upper California. Even after selecting the Great Basin area, they continued to refine their plans with the latest information available. **Historical facts confirm that, while the general Church membership knew only they were going beyond the Rocky Mountains, the Mormon leaders not only carefully planned their westward exodus from Nauvoo but also refined the locations of both their headquarters and its satellite settlements with greater and greater precision as the move approached!**²⁷

Between 1832 and 1844, Joseph Smith Jr., founder and first prophet of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, made at least twenty statements preparing his people for an exodus to the Rocky Mountains on the westernmost fringes of the United States.²⁸ After arriving in Nauvoo in 1840, the prophet's father reportedly made the following comment: "We will stay here just seven years. The Lord has told Joseph so—just seven years! And where do you think we'll go after we leave here? . . . The Lord has told Joseph that when we leave here we will go to the Rocky Mountains; right into the midst of the Lamanites [Mormon term for Native Americans]."²⁹ Although the authenticity of this secondary, delayed report may be questioned, there is no question that Thomas Bullock recorded the following prophecy by Joseph Smith on 6 August 1842 in Montrose, Iowa:

I had a conversation with a number of brethren . . . on the subject of our persecutions in Missouri and the constant annoyance which had followed us since we were driven from that state.³⁰ I prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains, many would apostatize, others would be put to death by our persecutors or lose their lives in consequence of exposure or disease, and some of you will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains.³¹

Contrary to the anticipations of their enemies, the Mormon leaders had no intention of their people disintegrating into a disorganized rabble of refugees wandering off across the "Great American Desert" into oblivion among the snow-capped western mountains. In July 1843, Joseph sent Jonathan Dunham to explore the route westward from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the Missouri River.³² On 20 and 23 February 1844, the Prophet proposed sending a twenty-five-man exploring party to investigate possible locations for settlement in California and Oregon.³³ On 11 March 1844, Joseph organized a General Council whose "immediate responsibilities included the task of planning for and carrying out the Exodus of the Saints, and of establishing them in the West under a government subject to the United States Constitution."³⁴ That month, he requested authorization from Congress to raise an army of a hundred thou-

sand volunteer police “for the protection of citizens in the United States emigrating to the territories.”^{35, 36} On 26 April 1844, Orson Hyde wrote to the Prophet from Washington, D.C.:

We were last evening introduced to the President [James K. Polk] at the White House . . . , where we spent an hour very agreeably. The President is a very plain, homespun, familiar, farmer-like man. He spoke of our troubles in Missouri, and regretted that we had met with such treatment. He asked us how we were getting along in Illinois. I told him that we were contending with the difficulties of a new country, and laboring under disadvantageous consequences of being driven from our property and homes in Missouri.

We have this day had a long conversation with Judge [Stephen A.] Douglas [their Illinois Congressman.] *He is ripe for Oregon and the California. He said he would resign his seat in Congress if he could command the force that Mr. [Joseph] Smith could, and would be on the march to the country in a month.*

I learn that the eyes of many aspiring politicians in this place are upon that country, and that there is so much jealousy between them that they will probably pass no bill in relation to it. Now all these politicians rely upon the arm of the government to protect them there; and if government were to pass an act establishing a Territorial Government west of the Rocky Mountains there would be at once a tremendous rush of emigration; but if government pass no act in relation to it, these men have not stamina or sufficient confidence in themselves and their own resources to hazard the enterprise.

The Northern Whig members are almost to a man against [admitting] Texas and Oregon [to the Union]; but should the present administration succeed in annexing Texas, then all the Whigs would turn around in favor of Oregon; for if Texas be admitted slavery is extended to the South; then free states must be added to the West to keep up a balance of power between the slave and the free states.

Should Texas be admitted, war with Mexico is looked upon as inevitable. The Senate have been in secret session on the ratification of the treaty of annexation; but what they did we cannot say. . . .

There are many powerful checks upon our government, preventing her from moving in any of these important matters; and for aught *I know these checks are permitted to prevent our government from extending her jurisdiction over the territory which God designs to give to His Saints.* Judge Douglas says he would equally as soon go to that country without an act of Congress as with; *“and that in five years a noble state might be formed; and then if they would not receive us into the Union, we would have a government of our own.”* He is decidedly of the opinion that Congress will pass no act in favor of any *particular* man going there; but he says if any man will go and desires that privilege, and has confidence in his own ability to perform it, he *already* has the right, and the sooner he is off the better for his scheme.

It is the opinion here among politicians that it will be extremely difficult to have any bill pass in relation to the encouragement of emigration to Oregon; but much more difficult to get a bill passed designating any *particular* man to go. *But all concur in the opinion that we are authorized already.*

In case of a removal to that country, Nauvoo is the place of general rendezvous. Our course from thence would be westward through Iowa bearing a little north until we came to the Missouri River, leaving the state of Missouri on the left, thence onward, until we came to the Platte, thence up the north fork of the Platte to the mouth of the Sweetwater river in longitude 107 degree, 45 W.; and thence up said Sweetwater river to the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, about eleven hundred

miles from Nauvoo; and from said South Pass, in latitude 42 degrees 28 north, to the Umpqua and Klamet valleys in Oregon, bordering on California, is about six hundred miles, making the distance from Nauvoo to the best portions of Oregon one thousand seven hundred miles.

There is no government established there; and it is so near California that when a government shall be established there, it may readily embrace that country likewise. There is much barren country, rocks and mountains in Oregon; but the valleys are very fertile. . . .

Judge Douglas has given me a map of Oregon [Charles Wilkes' 1845 Map of Oregon Territory], and also a[n 1845] report on an exploration of the country lying between the Missouri river and the Rocky Mountains on the line of the Kansas and great Platte rivers, by Lieut. J. C. Frémont, of the corps of Topographical Engineers. On receiving it I expressed a wish that Mr. Smith could see it. Judge Douglas says "It is a public document, and I will frank it to him." I accepted his offer, and the book will be forthcoming to you. . . . The book is a most valuable document to any one contemplating a journey to Oregon. The directions which I have given may not be exactly correct, but the book will tell correctly. Judge Douglas says he can direct Mr. Smith to several gentlemen in California who will be able to give him any information on the state of affairs in that country: and when he returns to Illinois, he will visit Mr. Smith.

Brother Pratt and myself drafted a bill this morning, and handed it into the committee on the judiciary from the Senate, asking an appropriation of two million dollars for the relief of the sufferers among our people in Missouri in 1836-9, to be deposited in the hands of the City Council of Nauvoo, and by them dealt out to the sufferers in proportion to their loss. . . .

I shall write again soon, and let you know what restrictions, if any, are laid upon our citizens in relation to passing through the Indian Territories.³⁷

Three different witnesses reported that sometime between mid May and late June 1844, the Prophet "mapped out on the floor [of the Masonic Hall in Nauvoo] with a piece of chalk the Great Basin of western America, indicating the course they would follow across the continent."³⁸ One of those witnesses, Levi W. Hancock, "either made this map as Joseph Smith pointed out the way or drew a copy of one made by the Prophet, from which other copies were made. Brigham Young kept one copy, and 'one was carried by the Mormon Battalion by which they knew where to find the Church, or, Salt Lake Valley."³⁹ Levi's son, Mosiah Hancock, reported that the Prophet stopped to review that map en route to the Carthage Jail where he expected to be killed: "The Prophet came to our home and stopped in our carpenter shop and stood by the turning lathe [while] I went and got my map for him. 'Now,' said he, 'I will show you the travels of this people.' He then showed our travels thru Iowa, and said, 'Here you will make a place for the winter; and here you will travel west until you come to the valley of the Great Salt Lake! You will build cities to the North and to the South, and to the East and to the West; and you will become a great and wealthy people in that land."⁴⁰

Preparations for colonization of the West accelerated after the 27 June 1844 martyrdom of the Prophet. Throughout 1844 and 1845, the *Times and Seasons*, the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, and Samuel Brannan's *New York Messenger* published var-

ious descriptions of the Rocky Mountains, the Oregon Trail, and the western Indians. On 9 September 1845, the General Council previously organized by Joseph Smith “resolved that a company of 1500 men [3,000 men, women, and children] be selected to go to Great Salt Lake Valley and that a committee of five be appointed to gather information relative to migration, and report the same to the council. Here is further evidence that before the Saints left Nauvoo they knew where they were to settle in the West . . . as outlined by Joseph Smith several years before.”⁴¹ Then, in an October 1845 general conference, after many years of careful research, the Church leaders finally officially announced the exodus to begin in the spring of 1846.⁴² They planned to cross Iowa during the spring, with an advance guard arriving in the Great Basin in the fall of 1846.⁴³

Researching Maps and Journals in the Nauvoo Temple

On 20, 25, 27, 29, and 30 December 1845, Brigham Young, Franklin D. Richards, Parley P. Pratt, Amasa Lyman, Heber C. Kimball, and other members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles spent much time reviewing the western exploration journals of John C. Frémont and Lansford W. Hastings, plus several maps of the West.⁴⁴ On 31 December 1845, Brigham Young recorded: “Elder Heber C. Kimball and I superintended the operation of the [Nauvoo] Temple, *examined maps*, with reference to selecting a location for the saints west of the Rocky Mountains, and reading various works, written by travelers in those regions.”⁴⁵

The suggestion that Mitchell’s map might have been one of those hanging on the walls of the Nauvoo Temple during the winter of 1845–46 is unfounded. Mitchell’s 1846 map had not even been **printed** when the Mormons began departing there in February 1846!⁴⁶ In fact, Brigham Young did not order his six copies of the map until 18 February 1847—one year later, when he was in Winter Quarters, Indian Territory. Current research suggests that four maps of western North America hung on the walls of the celestial room of the Nauvoo Temple for study by Church leaders during the winter of 1845–46: (1) Major Stephen H. Long’s 1823 *Map of the Country Drained by the Mississippi*; (2) an 1833 map by Benjamin Louis Eulalie de Bonneville; (3) the 1843 Frémont-Preuss strip map; and (4) Charles Wilkes’ 1845 *Map of Oregon Territory*.⁴⁷

By 1846, the Mormon Leaders had as extensive a knowledge of the land beyond the Rocky Mountains as was available in the maps and books of the period. Their trek to that region was neither a mere accident nor a sudden inspiration; rather, they had learned all they could about the West prior to their exodus [from Nauvoo] in February 1846.⁴⁸

Refining Plans While Crossing Iowa and at Winter Quarters-Council Bluffs

While crossing Iowa during the spring and summer of 1846, and while at Winter Quarters-Council Bluffs during the fall and winter of 1846–47, the

Quorum of the Twelve worked through three subtly distinguishable stages of development before the vanguard company departed westward in April 1847:

Church authorities analyzed and reanalyzed their plans. In question was the spring departure of a pioneer company of yet unknown size and makeup, along some still-to-be-finalized overland trail, to some obscure resting place at the [eastern] foot of the mountains, and eventually to “Zion” in some undetermined valley over the Rockies. The planning councils in which these issues were discussed were essentially extensions of earlier Nauvoo deliberations, for the leaders had always intended to reestablish the Church in the West. But their stay at the Missouri provided time and opportunity to restock their supplies, rethink their plans; confer with gentile traders, trappers, and missionaries who knew the West firsthand; obtain the best, most reliable maps, and formulate a deliberate, foolproof plan of action. Yet despite these advantages, until the eve of their exodus they did not agree on many details of their impending march and eventual destination. And if Brigham Young knew precisely where [in the Great Basin or Bear River Country] he was going when he and the advance party left in April 1847, it was the best-kept secret in camp.

The pioneers’ destination remained the same as a year before – some secluded valley in either the Great Basin or Bear River country. In all the official correspondence coming out of Winter Quarters between August 1846 and April 1847, references to an ultimate destination were consistent but guarded. In August 1846 Brigham told Colonel Thomas L. Kane “they were intending to settle in the Great Basin or Bear River valley.” John D. Lee, who participated in the confidential conversation with Colonel Kane at Cutler’s Park, elaborated on Brigham’s comments:

“With reference to our Settlements in the California’s—we do not intend going and [settling] the Majority of our People on the [coast] or near the Bay of Francisco—but intend Settling the grater part of our People in the great Basin Between the Mountains near the Bear River valley.”

In correspondence to President James K. Polk, “*the Great Salt Lake or Bear River Valley*” was plainly specified. In September, Brigham again spoke of Bear River, the Great Basin, or some other favorable valley. A Willard Richards letter to Colonel Kane in mid-February 1847 proves winter discussions did not affect the ultimate destination. “*We have not changed our views relative to a location,*” wrote the camp historian. “*It must be somewhere in the Great Basin, we have no doubt.*”

But if their target remained consistent, the complex plans for getting there evolved through at least three subtly distinguishable stages of development. Such matters as the time of departure, the number of men, the route, the need for another farm or way station, the regulation of authority, camp organization, and other related concerns were in constant debate. *How, not where, was the divisive issue.*⁴⁹

Mitchell’s 1846 Map One of Three Maps Received in Winter Quarters

We do not know how Brigham Young became aware of Mitchell’s high-quality 1846 map, but he apparently felt it likely that none of the more than seventy-eight maps of the West published between 1840 and 1846⁵⁰ were better, more current, and more useful to the Saints when he requested six copies in an 18 February 1847 letter from Winter Quarters to Joseph Albert Stratton,⁵¹ the recently released branch president of the St. Louis Branch of the Church coming to Winter Quarters:⁵²

I want you to bring me one half dozen of Mitchell's new map of Texas, Oregon & California and the regions adjoining, or his accompaniment for the same for 1846, or rather the latest edition and best map of all the Indian countries in North America; the pocket maps are the best for our use. If there is anything later or better than Mitchell's, I want the best.⁵³

Stratton was apparently unable to find "anything later or better," and it was not until 27 March 1847 that Brigham received Frémont's larger 1845 map from Senator/ General David R. Atchison,^{54, 55} and then on 4 April 1847 received a third Frémont map (likely the updated 1846 map) from Col. Thomas L. Kane.⁵⁶ In fact, only these three "latest and best" maps, plus a sketch penciled by Justin Grosclaude (a mountain man employed by the American Fur Company who passed through Winter Quarters on 24 November 1846), are mentioned in the writings of members of the vanguard 1847 party.⁵⁷ Using the most current maps and data available, Brigham Young became a modern-day Moses carefully leading his followers to the promised land. But we must remember that "*Brigham Young's pioneer company of 1847 was neither an exploring nor a trailblazing expedition. The route to the Great Basin was already well known, and at times the pioneers even saw signboards telling them how far they were from Fort Laramie.*"⁵⁸

Recruiting the Mormon Battalion

By 1846, President James K. Polk and the United States Congress and government officials were suspicious that their active policy of "Manifest Destiny" to expand their borders from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts by annexing independent Texas, Mexican Upper California, and jointly held British-American Oregon/Columbia might be preempted by the impending trek of the Mormons over the crest of the Rocky Mountains into the Mexican Territory of Upper California. These politicians had not forgotten that not many years earlier, the Mormons had been able to raise only a meager force of two hundred volunteers (Zion's Camp) in an unsuccessful effort to defend their members from rape, plunder, imprisonment, extermination, and/or expulsion by officially sanctioned Missouri citizens and state militia. This terrible scene had been repeated in Nauvoo, Illinois, resulting in the assassination of their leaders Joseph and Hyrum Smith without recrimination and in their midwinter expulsion into the wilds of Iowa Territory by a thinly disguised mob of maraud-

SANTA FE. — Advices have been received at St. Louis from Santa Fe as late as the 26th Dec. The American citizens in Santa Fe speak with confidence that Santa Fe will soon be annexed to the United States. The people of the Province consider that this event is certain, and they are determined to take it quietly. It is believed that they would acknowledge the authority and laws of the United States the moment that an efficient force should be sent to that point.

Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register, Volume XI, No. 9, Whole No. 532, 4 March 1846, p. 3.

ing Illinois vigilante “Regulators” and state militia. These politicians were also aware that they had repeatedly refused to send federal troops or aid to contravene “states’ rights” in behalf of the nearly helpless and politically cloutless Mormon outcasts.

The Mormons had just cause to rebel against the United States because of the genocidal “ethnic cleansing” they had suffered at the hands of Missouri and Illinois citizens and state militia. Revitalized by a wave of European converts, they had assembled and trained their own force of four thousand Nauvoo militia and were gathering both momentum and organization as they began their

SANTA FE. — . . . Col. Kearney with his forces was met at the Pawnee Fork on the road to Bent's Fort. He expected to rendezvous at Fort William on the 1st inst. Five hundred Mormons had been enlisted by Capt. Allen for the expedition, and were expected at Fort Leavenworth on the 21st. These troops and the regiment of Missouri volunteers were to march from Fort Leavenworth for Santa Fe in a few days.

Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register, Volume XI, No. 34, Whole No. 557, 26 August 1846, p. 2.

exodus westward. Would they remain loyal to the American government? If war began with Mexico or Britain after the Mormons arrived at their western refuge, would they find reason to fight against—or for—the United States because of—or in spite of—the abuse they had suffered while its citizens? Would the rumored Mormon mountaintop kingdom become part of Mexico, British Oregon/Columbia, or the United States; or would the kingdom declare its independence? If the latter, would the Mormon kingdom

remain aloof or prey upon the warring parties? Government officials wanted no “wild cards” or second fronts in their war with Mexico!⁵⁹ Recruiting of the Mormon Battalion would provide a dual benefit to the United States: it would contribute recruits prepositioned and “ready to go” on the western frontier, and it would vouchsafe the loyalty of the main body of Mormons emigrating from their western borders into enemy territory.

Sam Brannan, the *Brooklyn* Saints, the Mormon Battalion, and Gold in California

Samuel Brannan departed New York City bound for California with several hundred Saints on board the ship *Brooklyn* on 4 February 1846, several months prior to publication of Mitchell’s map. It is extremely doubtful that a copy of the map would have yet been available during an emergency 4–9 May 1846 provisioning stopover on the remote prison colony on Juan Fernandez (Robinson Crusoe) Island in the South Pacific Ocean or during the scheduled 20 June–1 July 1846 stop at Honolulu in the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands in the North Pacific Ocean prior to Brannan’s arrival at Yerba Buena (San Francisco) on 31 July 1846. It is noteworthy that they met the Pacific naval squadron in Honolulu. There, Commodore Stockton informed them that the

United States was at war with Mexico and that he was en route to Monterey to seize California.⁶⁰

It must be remembered that Brannan and two companions/guides had left California on 4 April 1847, traveling *eastward* through the spring snow of the Sierra Nevada and across the Great Basin in time to meet the still *westbound* Mormon pioneer party at the Green River in present south-central Wyoming on 30 June 1847. There, he unsuccessfully attempted to persuade Church leaders to continue onward to California.⁶¹ Although Brannan's exact eastward route is unknown, it is logical to assume that he sought the advice of settlers and—more likely—Frémont's men who had previously crisscrossed the Great Basin en route to and from California.

While some members of the battalion accompanied General Kearny back to Fort Leavenworth and eighty-one reenlisted under Captain Daniel C. Davis as Company A of the Mormon Volunteers for an additional eight months in California, most were mustered out of service on 16 July 1847.⁶² Of those mustered out, 223 organized themselves under Levi W. Hancock (the same man who had reported a May-June 1844 prophecy and map by Joseph Smith about the Mormon Battalion) to travel eastward to meet their families just arriving in the Salt Lake Valley. They met Samuel Brannan somewhere between Donner's Summit and Lake Tahoe in the Sierra Nevada, who (as noted above) was returning from his own eastward journey through the Great Basin three and one-half months earlier. Brannan was able to give exact directions to the settlement in the Salt Lake Valley, as he had accompanied the Mormon pioneers until sixteen days after their arrival in the Salt Lake Valley.⁶³

CALIFORNIA. — Advices have been received at Washington from California, conveying the intelligence that Commodore Sloat took possession of Monterey on the 6th July, and on the 9th, Commodore John B. Montgomery of the Portsmouth, took possession of the port of Yerba Buena. About the 1st of July, a detachment of Col. Frémont's force, advancing from the frontiers of Oregon took possession of the small town of Sonora on the northern frontier of California. Gen. Castro attempted to dislodge them, but after a slight skirmish he retreated, leaving Col. Frémont in command of the country north of San Francisco.

Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register, Volume XI, No. 39, Whole No. 582, 30 September 1846, p. 2.

Brannan was accompanied by Captain James Brown, leader of the three Mormon Battalion sick detachments that had wintered in Pueblo and then traveled to the Salt Lake Valley by 29 July 1847. Sent to California to collect separation pay for the detachments, Brown also carried a letter from the Mormon leadership advising members of the Battalion to turn back and work a season in California because of limited provisions in the Salt Lake Valley. About half the Battalion pressed on anyway, arriving in the Salt Lake Valley on 16 October 1847.⁶⁴ The other half returned westward across the Sierra Nevada to winter at

Sutter's Fort.⁶⁵ As noted earlier, it was members of this delayed group, working under the direction of James W. Marshall, who made the first discovery of gold in California on 24 January 1848. In 1848, members of Captain Davis's Company A opened the first wagon road over the southern route from California to Utah.⁶⁶

General Description of Map

The 21-inch wide by 22¾-inch high map, beautifully hand-tinted in pastel yellow, pink, blue, and brown, folded downward twice from the top, upward twice from the bottom, and then accordion folded eight times to fit into a small handy pocket-sized green leather booklet labeled *Texas, Oregon and California*, complete with a forty-six-page "Accompaniement" describing the areas mapped, followed by eight pages of Mitchell advertisements. It clearly showed the political boundaries of the Iowa Territory extending northward from the state of Missouri to the Canadian border, the Nebraska or Platte River separating the southern Indian Territory from the northern Missouri (Indian) Territory, the overlapping British and American territorial claims in Oregon/Columbia, and a separately colored Upper or New California (including the "Great Interior Basin of California"). The map also plotted the Old Spanish Trail, the 1804–6 Lewis and Clark expedition, the Oregon Trail, the Santa Fe Trail, and Frémont's 1843–44 second expedition.

Close examination shows that Mitchell originally inked the border between Texas (newly annexed by the United States in 1845) and the Mexican province of New Mexico east of Fra Cristobal, Quiviri, Tabira, Tajique, Totillas, S. Pedro, S. Miguel, Santa Fe, Santa Cruz, and the Spanish Peaks to intersect the Arkansas River between Bent's Fort and Pueblo. As originally drawn, New Mexico was a long, narrow Mexican buffer province extending northward beyond the headwaters of the Arkansas River to the 42nd parallel between Upper California and the United States' possessions of Texas and the Indian Territory. But with the stroke of a tinting brush, Mitchell amended his own map to legitimize a Texan claim to more than half of buffering New Mexico—including all land east of the Rio Grande River plus the long panhandle between Upper California and the Indian Territory!⁶⁷

Francis Moore Jr.'s Chronicle of Map Additions and Annotations

What sort of well-traveled explorer could have been in Texas, California, and Nebraska at nearly the same time? *How could this be?* While deciphering and researching the 169 annotations and drawings on or accompanying this particular map, the author read and reread the memoirs and histories of explorers John C. Frémont and Josiah Gregg and of cartographic historian Carl I. Wheat. Numerous annotations on the Santa Fe Trail were validated, events of the Mexican War were researched, the path of the Mormon Battalion was retraced,

and numerous experts were consulted.

Long after the 1837 invention of the telegraph machine and the gradual westward expansion of telegraph lines, the word “telegraph” simply referred to any device used for long-distance communication—particularly newspapers.⁶⁸ In this sense, frontier newspaper editors of the 1840s “telegraphed” national and international newspapers and reports via Mississippi River steamboats, coastal and international packet ships, stage and freight lines, and other travelers. It was in this atmosphere that Francis Moore Jr. acquired part ownership of the *Columbia, Texas Telegraph and Texas Register*, moved it to Houston in 1837, and renamed it the *Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register*. There, for the next seventeen years, he received westbound news within days and intercepted eastbound news before it ever reached the East.⁶⁹

NAUVOO. — The Mormon war has ended. . . . on the 17th [September 1846], the city was surrendered to the anti-Mormons. The captors agreed to respect private property, but required the Mormons and all who had acted with them to abandon the city. Large numbers of the Mormons have already abandoned the place, and are retiring westward to join their associates who are emigrating to California.

Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register, Volume XI, No. 42, Whole No. 565, 21 October 1846, p. 2.

The annotations on *this* copy of Mitchell’s map appear to be Moore’s personal notes locating and chronicling numerous western news events between 1846 and 1848, particularly the exploits of western heroic explorers John Charles Frémont and Josiah Gregg. (See numerous sidebars.) As a seasoned Texas newspaper editor, Francis Moore Jr. was uniquely qualified to make the annotations on this particular copy of Mitchell’s 1846 Map:

1. All annotations were in the handwriting of a single individual. Dean Jessee, an expert on early Mormon handwriting, has carefully examined the 156 annotations on this map and has stated that—while all of the annotations were the work of **one** author—the handwriting does not match that of any known early Mormon, particularly pioneer scribes Thomas Bullock and William Clayton.⁷⁰

2. Mitchell was an experienced traveler, map reader, and quite possibly an experienced cartographer. Many new maps of the West were published in 1849 after word reached the east coast in September 1848 of the discovery of gold in California the previous January. Mitchell hurriedly responded to the gold rush by producing a revision of his 1846 map. Perhaps he used this particular copy to transcribe data from Frémont’s 1848 map and memoir in preparation for his own revised 1849 map. Mitchell’s 1849 map does include much data that appear to have come from Frémont, most notably a large colored California Gold Region. Initial issues of the 1849 map were even overprints of remaining stocks of the

The St. Louis New Era of the 23d ult, mentions the arrival of about thirty Mormon families from Nauvoo. — All the Mormons have abandoned this ill-fated city, and many are wending their way westward to join their friends who are temporarily settled in the Platte country. The anti-Mormons have faithfully redeemed their pledge to preserve the Mormon Temple, and other property at Nauvoo, uninjured. A committee has been left by the Mormons, to dispose of their property, and the proceeds of the sales will probably be expended in purchasing provisions and clothing for the thousands of destitute women and children who have been driven from their homes to the dreary wilds of the West. The St. Louis Republican referring to these deluded people, asks, "In the mean time, what is to become of the infatuated but most unjustly treated Mormons? During the Spring and Summer, they have been so harassed by their persecutors that they have been unable to make provision against the coming winter, and now that an inclement season is at hand, they are sent forth to seek a place of refuge in the wilderness. Truly their condition is a deplorable one, and one which appeals strongly to the sympathies of the humane, of whatever religious belief they may be. We hope, for humanity's sake, that the hand of Government may be stretched forth for their relief."

About five hundred Mormon soldiers are in the army of Gen. Kearney, at Santa Fe, and it is not improbable that a large number of their friends and relatives who have just been driven from Nauvoo, will settle at Santa Fe, now that the country has quietly passed under the jurisdiction of the United States.

Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register, Volume XI, No. 42, Whole No. 566, 26 October 1846, p. 2.

1846 edition.⁷¹

3. Mitchell was intimately familiar with Josiah Gregg's 1844–45 *Commerce on the Prairies*. The extensive travels and interests of the multi-talented Josiah Gregg (1806–1850) were barely recognized for over 160 years after his death. Gregg was intimately familiar with the western frontier all of his life. Gregg was a surveyor, school teacher, law student, overland trader, merchant, explorer, naturalist, author, map maker, government advisor, war correspondent, interpreter, doctor, trail guide, and gold prospector. After four round trips down the Santa Fe Trail (once into the interior of Mexico) between 1831 and 1840, Gregg combined his detailed journals into the prairie traveler's standard reference *Commerce on the Prairies*, published from Philadelphia in 1844 and 1845. Of particular interest are his trading trip across Texas from Arkansas in 1841, his service as a guide-correspondent under Generals Wool and Doniphan in the Mexican War at Buena Vista, Saltillo, and in Chihuahua in 1846, his visits to his publisher in Philadelphia and then to President Polk and friendly congressmen (likely including expansionist Missouri Senator Benton, father-in-law of Frémont) in 1846–47, his travels through old Mexico in 1847–48, his July⁷² or September 1849⁷³ arrival in San Francisco to prospect in the Trinity River gold fields, and his final November 1849-February 1850 expedition across the Coastal Mountains in search of the supposed mouth of the

Trinity River at Trinidad [Humboldt] Bay.

He was aware of the general vicinity—but not the exact location—of the Trinity River in northern California. The annotations on this map seem to imply awareness of Gregg’s extensive, presumably lost diaries and memoranda collected before his departure from San Francisco into the Trinity River gold-mining country.⁷⁴ This could explain the *Trinity R.?* annotation off the coast of Northern California.⁷⁵

4. He was so familiar with the second and third expeditions of Captain John C. Frémont across the Great Basin and in California that he provided details not published in Frémont’s memoirs or the writings of his wife, Jesse Benton Frémont. His newspaper contained two front-page abstracts from John C. Frémont’s “Report on His Second (1843–44) Expedition to the West,” one concluding with his exploration of the Bear River and Great Salt Lake⁷⁶ and the other describing “A Desperate Adventure” on 24 April 1843 after the ambush and murder of Mexican horse traders by marauding Indians along the old Spanish Trail.⁷⁷

Captain Frémont’s third western exploration party left Westport, Missouri, for California in the spring of 1845, over one year before Mitchell’s 1846 Map was published. But there are three annotations on this map referring to Frémont in California and his routes to and from there during his 1845–47 adventures. Frémont and his topographer, Charles Preuss, may have gathered and transferred to their 1848 *Map of Oregon and Upper California from the Surveys of John Charles Frémont and other authorities* and accompanying “Geographical Memoir upon Upper California in Illustration of His Map of Oregon and California” details of Frémont’s 1845–47 expedition from Bent’s Fort through Utah to California. Whereas his previous maps were only strip maps illustrating narrow corridors of direct observation, this map combined information from Frémont’s travels with “the best authorities” to create a traditional general map. The map was reprinted in 1849, and an enlargement of Upper California and the Great Basin was produced in 1850.⁷⁸ All three editions of Frémont’s map include references to “Mormon Settlements” east of the Great Salt Lake and place a fictitious “Mormon Fort” east of Utah Lake in

NAUVOO. — This ill-fated city is still the scene of riot and disorder. Many of the anti-Mormons who agreed to respect private property have, in many instances, broken into private houses, since the city has been in their possession, and as is reported committed several robberies. They have also ill-treated many of the citizens, and have ducked several in the river, as a punishment for aiding the Mormons in their late struggle. Others have been driven from the city and are not permitted to return. Many of the respectable citizens of the adjoining counties, who aided in expelling the Mormons, have been so disgusted with the disgraceful conduct of these men, that they denounce them in strong terms.

Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register, Volume XI, No. 45, Whole No. 68, 9 November 1846, p. 2.

approximately the same location as the *Mormons X* annotation on this copy of Mitchell's 1846 map.

5. He was familiar with Texan political boundaries and was apparently preparing to reprint a May 1848 newspaper clipping that listed Texan counties and county seats. The newspaper clipping glued to the inside back flyleaf came from his newspaper. Microfilm research has isolated the newspaper clipping to an issue of the weekly *Houston Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register* between 4 May and 1 June 1848.⁷⁹

6. He had sketched the Alamo after the right front corner of the chapel had collapsed (or had been disassembled) in 1848–49 and before it was rebuilt/reassembled by the U.S. Army in 1850.

7. He was aware of the 1848 establishment of Fort Kearny where the Oregon Trail crossed the lower Platte River but was either not aware of its name or deliberately avoided listing that name.

8. There is no evidence that he was present during any of the eastern battles of the Mexican War. He did not cite a single battle location, but he had intimate knowledge of pre-war northeastern Mexico, plotting many locations, roads, and distances between the Rio Grande River and Monterrey, Mexico. But his newspaper contained many detailed reports of the war.

9. He had an active interest in the Mormons. He recorded the presence of Mormons in Utah before any published maps did so, but he was only aware of the general—not exact—location of the initial 1847 Mormon settlement. Three articles from 21 October,⁸⁰ 26 October,⁸¹ and November 1846⁸² described the scene at Nauvoo as the last Mormons were expelled during the “Mormon War.” He reprinted several articles from the nonpartisan *St. Louis Reveille*⁸³ and from the avowedly anti-Mormon *Warsaw, Illinois Signal*.

The newspaper contained a 26 August 1846 report that General Kearny had arrived at Santa Fe and would shortly be followed by “five hundred Mormons . . . enlisted by Capt. Allen for the expedition” and a regiment of Missouri Volunteers from Fort Leavenworth.⁸⁴ This was followed by a 30 November 1846 report that the general had started for California with three hundred dragoons on 26 September “and was to be followed by the Mormon battalion, under Col. Cook[e], and the company of Capt. Hudson.” Colonel Price’s regiment had arrived to garrison Santa Fe, and Colonel Doniphan’s Missouri regiment had received orders to invade Chihuahua.⁸⁵

10. He recorded the presence of gold in California on this map before any published maps did so.

Nine Groups of Mysterious Additions and Handwritten Annotations

Including five additions to the printed “Accompaniments” and five ubiquitous longitude markings on the map margins, the 169 handwritten annotations and drawings (some of which are listed in this paper in *italics* versus printed map text in **bold**) have been divided into nine distinct chronological and

geographical groupings tracing the American exploration and conquest of the west:

1. *Marginal Longitude Markings*—Five timeless annotations.
2. *1844: Santa Fe Trail*—Twenty-nine annotations extracted from Gregg's 1844 writings (including four on the outside of the map).
3. *1845–46: Trans-Rio Grande Area Surrounding Monterey, Mexico*—Sixteen annotations describing prewar Northern Mexico in 1845–46.
4. *1846: Newly Annexed State of Texas*—Twenty-nine annotations reporting new Texan subdivisions through 1846.
5. *1843 and 1847: Great Basin*—Eighteen annotations from the 1843 outbound westward portion of Frémont's second expedition, with some references to early 1847.
6. *1846–48: California*—Forty-one annotations describing Frémont's fateful 1846–48 third expedition and conquest, plus a nebulous reference to gold (discovered on 24 January 1848).
7. *1848?: Old Spanish Trail in the Southwestern Desert*—Fourteen unique annotations not descriptive of the 1844 eastward return of Frémont's second expedition (these may chronicle Frémont's forced eastward return to Fort Leavenworth with Kearny and Emory in 1848 for his own court marshal and expulsion from the Army).
8. *1848?: Eastern End of the Oregon Trail*—Four annotations likely dating to early 1848.
9. *May 1848: Additions to the Printed "Accompagnement"*—Three annotated drawings and a newspaper clipping on the final flyleaf before the map, upon which were added five lines and five annotations—including the date "May 1848."

1. Marginal Longitude Markings

Throughout the 1800s, many map makers referenced longitude east and west from regional landmarks such as national capitals. This practice was eventually standardized on a single international prime meridian centered on the Royal Greenwich Observatory north of London, England. Mitchell's maps compromised, listing the global **LONGITUDE WEST FROM GREENWICH** along the top border, and the regional **LONGITUDE WEST FROM WASHINGTON** along the bottom border. Moore apparently preferred the international standard over the regional one and had copied five Greenwich longitudes from the top of the map above their Washington equivalents in the border at the bottom of the map. The fact that editor Moore copied only five meridian numbers suggests a preoccupation with the border between Texas and Mexico.

2. 1844: Santa Fe Trail

Moore carefully annotated the route of the Santa Fe Trail, meticulously

drawing in creeks and copying names of camping sites and intermediate distances from a table in Josiah Gregg's 1844 *Commerce of the Prairies*⁸⁶ (see table below). There are no annotations westward along the final 250 miles of the Santa Fe Trail in present northeastern New Mexico from *McNee's* Creek to Santa Fe. Southward down *McNee's* Creek and along the **North Canadian River** is an area of penciled hatch marks suggesting a canyon. These marks are accompanied by two annotations: *Carñisn* and *Caon*—Pencil annotations with tildes (~) above the initial *n* of *Carnisn* and below the *n* of *Canon*. The only other annotation in the area is a notation south of **Tabira, New Mexico: Quiviri?**—Pencil annotation approximating the location of Gran Quivira, an early Spanish mission and Indian pueblo south of Santa Fe. The ruins of this site are in present Salinas National Monument, New Mexico.

3. 1845–46: Trans-Rio Grande Area Surrounding Monterrey, Mexico

The pencil annotations south of the Rio Grande are larger, coarser, and more blurred than found elsewhere on the map. The lack of post mortem battle site annotations such as Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Buena Vista indicates that the information shown is prewar data—suggesting possible military intelligence data on routes for Generals Taylor and Wool to take across the rugged Sierra Madre to **Monterrey**. The eastern annotations mark a suggested route from Matamoros to Monterrey for General Taylor.⁸⁷ The central annotations mark a suggested route southwestward from **S. W Bautista Presidio Rio Grande** (present Piedras Negras) on the Rio Grande through **Monclova or Cohahuila** to **Monterrey** for General Wool. The western road lists a penciled distance 25 to **Gigedo** and then continues an unknown distance. Only two annotations are shown south of **Monterrey**. A lone pencil annotation west of **Monclova or Cohahuila** marks the approximate location *Parras?* on the route General Doniphan's troops took as they swung eastward from Chihuahua to reinforce the armies of Generals Taylor and Wool.

4. 1846: Newly Annexed State of Texas

It would appear that Moore was interested in the newborn state of Texas. But his annotation accuracy diminished significantly from eastern to western Texas. He faithfully added new eastern counties created in 1846, plus a few new cities and geographical features, but failed to correct misplaced **Hamilton** County, misspelled Lavaca (Labaca), placed conjectural **Menard** and **Waco** Counties in central Texas, and then completely overlooked adding the western Limestone, Navarro, Nueces, Van Zandt, and Webb Counties omitted from the original map by Mitchell.

Camping Sites Listed in Gregg's 1844-45 <i>Commerce on the Prairies</i>	Intermediate Distances	Camping Sites Annotated on Mitchell's 1846 Map	Intermediate Distances
Independence		Independence	
Round Grove	35	<i>Round grove</i>	35
Narrows	30	<i>Narrows</i>	30
110-mile Creek	35	<i>110 m. Ck.</i>	35
Bridge Cr.	8	<i>Bridge Ck.</i>	8
Big John Spring (crossing sev'l Crs.)	40	<i>Big John Sp.</i>	40
Council Grove	2	Council Grove	2
Diamond Spring	15	<i>Diamd Spring</i>	15
Lost Spring	15	<i>Lost Sp.</i>	15
Cottonwood Cr.	12	<i>Cottonwood Ck.</i>	12
Turkey Cr.	25	<i>Turkey C.</i>	25
Little Arkansas	17	<i>Little Ark.</i>	17
Cow Creek	20	<i>Cow Ck.</i>	20
Walnut Cr. (up Ark. r.)	8	<i>Walnut C.</i>	8
Ash Creek	19	<i>Ash Ck.</i>	19
Pawnee Fork	6	<i>Pawnee R.</i>	6
Coon Creek	33	<i>Coon C.</i>	25
		De Muns C.	
Caches	36	<i>Caches</i>	36
Ford of Arkansas	20	Arkansas R. ford	20
Sand Cr. (leav. Ark. r.)	50	<i>Sand C.</i>	50
Cimarron r. (Lower sp.)	8	Cimarone R.	
		Lower Spring	8
Middle Spr.	36	Mid Spring	36
Willow Bar	26	<i>Willow Br.</i>	26
Upper Spring	18	Upper Spring	18
Cold spr. (leav. Cim. r.)	5	<i>Cold Spr.</i>	5
M'Nees's Cr.	25	<i>McNee's C.</i>	25

5. 1843 and 1847: Great Basin

Two printed descriptions along the northern and southern borders of the Great Basin are amended as follows:

From the Great Salt Lake westward, there is a succession of Rivers and Lakes which have no outlet to the sea, nor any connection with the Columbia

river, nor with the Colorado river of the Gulf of California. Utah lake is fresh & about 100 ft. above the Salt Lake & has fish abundant. No animals in S. L.⁸⁸ 5 gal gives 14 pts salt.⁸⁹

Highest peaks in the basin apher 10 or 11,000 ft above sea. The unexplored Region enclosed on the W. by the Sierra Nevada, and on the E. by the Bear R. and Wahsatch M^{ts} has been called the GREAT INTERIOR BASIN of CALIFORNIA. Its circuit is about 1800 miles, some portions of its surface are arid and sandy and destitute of water and grass, while in other quarters, rivers and lakes are known to abound. It is above the sea about [space left for future data insertion] feet.

Two east-west lines are penciled above and below these two descriptions approximately where Frémont erroneously placed two fictitious “dividing range[s] between the waters of the Pacific and the waters of the great basin” in his 1848 map.⁹⁰

Two annotations appear in the mountains east of the Great Salt Lake: (1) *wood water & grass*—Ink annotation in the **Bear River Mts.** (Monte Cristo Range) and (2) *Timpanogos Mts.*—Ink annotation referring to Uinta Mountains.

Two annotations are in the **Great Salt Lake**: (1) *70 m. long*—Ink annotation and (2) *4200 ft. above sea*—Ink annotation.⁹¹

Mormons X—This enigmatic ink annotation north of the **Timpan-ogo**⁹² (Rock River, currently known as Provo River) between the **Great Salt Lake** and **Utah L.** is of particular interest to Mormons, even though it imprecisely places the Mormons on the northeast bench of Utah Valley vice Salt Lake Valley. If the annotations on this 1846 Mitchell map **predate** Charles Frémont’s 1848 map (which makes a nearly identical mistake),⁹³ then **they are the oldest known map entries still extant placing Mormons in the Great Basin!**⁹⁴

One annotation is in **Utah L.**: *35 m.*—Ink annotation referring to its length.⁹⁵

Further west, crossing the **Boundary of 1819, 42** line dividing **Oregon** from **Upper California**, is an annotation below **Ogden’s R.:** *or Humbolt R or Mary’s R*—Ink annotation [with Humboldt misspelled]. The map places the river too far north. Frémont apparently succeeded in renaming Ogden’s River (discovered by fur trader Peter Skeen Ogden in 1828–29) in honor of Baron Alexander von Humboldt, one of the fathers of modern geographical field observation.⁹⁶ The name Mary’s River is retained only on a tributary of the Humboldt River in northeastern Nevada.

It will be remembered that Frémont divided his 1845 exploratory team to cross present Nevada. Frémont had detailed the main body under Lt. Theodore Talbot, cartographer Edward M. Kern, and mountain men Joseph Walker and Dick Owens to chart the course of the westbound Humboldt River, while himself leading a smaller detachment cross country. They rejoined on the shores of Walker’s Lake and then split up again. Frémont took a small group over the more difficult route due west across the Sierra Nevada to New Helvetica (Sutter’s Fort), while sending the main party along the easier route (previously explored

by Walker) southward down the eastern slopes of the “California Mountain” (Sierra Nevada) until they could easily turn westward into the southern end of the “California Valley” (San Joaquin), where they rejoined. If Frémont’s writings are the source of these notes, it is not surprising that there are only two imprecise annotations in the southwestern corner of the Great Basin (just above the aforementioned east-west pencil line denoting Frémont’s southern edge of the Great Basin) referring to the lakes and rivers after which he named them.⁹⁷

A pencil annotation *Rt Diggers* or precedes the printed PAH UTAH INDIANS notation. The disparaging term “Root Digger” was used by Frémont in his memoirs to describe the subsistence-level, hunter-gatherer, desert-dwelling natives of the Great Basin.⁹⁸

6. 1848?: California

The greatest portion of annotations on the map are west of the SIERRA NEVADA in Upper California. Many of the annotations are cryptic shorthand references easily understood only by their author. Of the forty-one California annotations, twenty-seven correlate directly with Frémont’s 1848 *Geographical Memoir upon Upper California* and notes incorporated into his incomplete 1887 *Memoirs of My Life*.⁹⁹ Thirteen of the remaining fourteen California annotations (marked with an ‡ in this paper) have no known counterparts in either Frémont’s published memoirs or any other known histories. Since two of the fourteen remaining annotations include Frémont’s name (*March 25.47. Frémonts ride to Monterey Bay 400 miles in less t 4. d. and Battle of L. on Frémonts return to S.*), it is likely that Moore had special access to Frémont, news releases, or his unpublished writings!

Four annotations appear outboard of the others crowded along the Pacific coastline, as if added at the last moment:

1. *Gold M.*—Pencil annotation. This is of particular interest in dating the final annotations in California, as gold was not discovered there until 24 January 1848. Former members of the Mormon Battalion, working under the direction of James W. Marshall, discovered it while building a sawmill for John Sutter on

SANTA FE. — We learn from the *St. Louis New Era*, that Capt. Murphy arrived at that city, from Santa Fé, on the 8th inst., and brought advices from Santa Fé to the 9th Oct. Gen. Kearney started for California, on the 26th Sept., with 300 dragoons, and was to be followed by the Mormon battallion, under Col. Cook, and the company of Capt. Hudson, as soon as transportation could be furnished. Col. Price’s regiment arrived at Santa Fé on the 16th Oct., and remains to garrison the place. Col. Doniphan’s regiment, had received orders to march to Chihuahua. Provisions were very scarce at Santa Fé. The Pawnees were hostile to the Americans, and had robbed several wagoners who were on their way from Santa Fé to Missouri.

Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register, Volume XI, No. 48, Whole No. 571, 30 November 1846, p. 2.

the American River (forty miles upriver from **Nueva Helvetia** or Sutter's Fort) to earn money for his eastward trip across Nevada to join the new Mormon settlements in Utah. Not much interest was paid to the discovery until another Mormon, Samuel Brannan, showed the gold to the people of San Francisco on 12 May.¹⁰⁰ Word of the discovery of gold in California reached the eastern United States in late summer or fall, and President Polk officially announced the discovery in his state of the union address to Congress in December 1848.¹⁰¹‡

2. *Copper*—Pencil annotation.‡

3. *Silver*—Pencil annotation with line leading to **Santa Clara**.‡

4. *Quicksilver*—Pencil annotation in Pacific Ocean to the southern end of **San Francisco B**. It is noteworthy that this archaic term for mercury was used by Frémont in reference to a visit to the newly discovered mercury mines of New Almaden and San Jose in his *Memoirs*.¹⁰² Mercury was an essential ingredient of the amalgamation process of refining gold commonly used in the 1840s.

Several annotations refer to Frémont's conquest of California:

Jesus Pico, of San Luis Obispo, with 35, captured by Frémont—Very light pencil annotation in Pacific Ocean. Pico, one of Flores' lieutenants in the insurrection, was captured at San Luis Obispo and condemned to death by Frémont for breaking parole but was spared at the pleading of his wife and children. Thereafter, Pico became an ardent supporter of Frémont.¹⁰³

March 25.47. Frémonts ride to Monterey Bay—Ink annotation in Pacific Ocean, followed by pencil annotation: *400 miles in less t 4. d. ‡*¹⁰⁴

Battle of L. on Frémonts return to S.—Pencil annotation in Pacific Ocean surrounding above ink annotation. If *L.* refers to *La Natividad*, then *S.* most likely means South (southern California).‡

Battle of White Bears—Faint pencil annotation in Pacific Ocean with line to upper **Rio San Buenaventura**. This annotation likely refers to the brief Bear Flag Revolt of Frémont and his Anglo-Saxon emigrant associates leading to the annexation of California by the United States.‡

Frémont's Christmas storm at mountain of Sta Barbara and 100 horses finished—Pencil annotation in Pacific Ocean.¹⁰⁵

Engen Russell & Breckurg. Florez. In Sept. or Battle of the ten & 150 in [indecipherable]—Pencil annotation in Pacific Ocean.¹⁰⁶

Jan 47. Fremt B. D. passing the Maritime pass of the Rincon corner or Punto Gorad, big point, defile 15. m.—Pencil annotation in Pacific Ocean.¹⁰⁷

Camp of the Willows onto pass Santern area—Pencil annotation in Pacific Ocean.¹⁰⁸

Couenga—Pencil annotation in Pacific Ocean with faint line to area of San Fernando. This was the site of the 12 January 1847 Capitulation of Couenga, where the Californian insurgents signed a peace treaty with Frémont.¹⁰⁹

Ist Conquest Aug 46—Pencil annotation in Pacific Ocean with line to Pueblo de Los Angeles. Frémont and Stockton occupied Los Angeles without

opposition on 13 August 1846. Stockton proclaimed Upper California a possession of the United States on 17 August.¹¹⁰

Off the northern coast of California near where **Smith R.** empties into Pacific Ocean at P^t. St. George is the annotation *Trinity R?* As late as November 1849, local residents mistakenly believed that the Trinity River flowed westward through the Coast Range to empty into the long-lost Trinidad Bay. The Trinity River actually flows westward from Mount Shasta and then northward into the Klamath River, which empties into the Pacific Ocean 20 miles south of P^t. St. George at Klamath.^{111‡}

7. 1848?: Old Spanish Trail in the Southwestern Desert

The original source of the annotations in the southwestern desert is presently unknown. While they generally follow Frémont's 1844 eastbound return from his second expedition along the **Great Spanish Trail from P. Angelos to Santa Fe**, they do not directly correlate with his memoirs. Nor do they equate to Frémont's 1847 return from his third expedition to Fort Leavenworth with Gen. Kearny via the northern route through Donner's Pass, Fort Hall, and South Pass.¹¹²

After following the trail along the **Rio Virgin** and **SaClara R.** to **Vegas de Sa. Clara**, the annotations end at the **Sevier R.** [English corruption of Spanish Río Severo]:

Nicollet or—Ink annotation inserted before **Sevier R.** No annotation of this sort was on Frémont's 1844 map; but on his 1848 map, Frémont unsuccessfully attempted to rename this river and **Sevier Lake**, into which it flows, the *Nicollet River* and *Nicollet Lake*, after Jean N. Nicollet, his mentor at the U.S. Coast Survey prior to joining the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers.¹¹³

8. 1848?: Eastern End of the Oregon Trail

Almost as a postscript, Francis Moore added four references associated with the eastern end of the Oregon Trail between the **Nebraska or Platte River** and **Ft. Leavenworth**:

Fort—Pencil annotation referring to—but not naming—Fort Stephen Kearny where the Oregon Trail met the Platte River. This unusually nondescript annotation about a fort **not established until 1848** may suggest the newspaper editor's animosity toward the general who quarreled with and overruled Frémont's appointment as first military governor of California by Commodore Stockton and then forced Frémont to return to his own headquarters at Fort Leavenworth **in 1848** for court marshaling and expulsion from the Army for supposed insubordination.

9. May 1848: Additions to the Printed "Accompniement"

The printed instructions bound with the map include pencil drawings of an unidentified church near Goliad, Texas, the Alamo, and Sam Houston, plus a



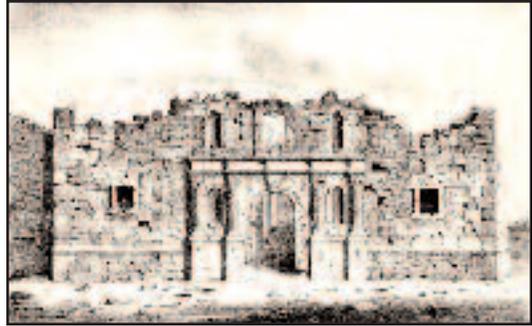
May 1848 Texas newspaper clipping glued to the inside backing. Analysis of the three annotated drawings on the inside of the final flyleaf following the forty-six-page printed “Accompniement” can help ascertain when they were drawn:

Msn Refuge near Goliad (Mission Refuge near Goliad)—Annotated pencil drawing of a church with a spired central dome flanked by two spired square towers (the right one is apparently a bell tower with two tall, narrow openings in its sides) and an attached building to the right with three arched doorways. The face of the church contains an unusual arrangement of five windows framing the doorway in a pyramid shape, with a sixth larger window above and to the left, but in line with the slope of the window pyramid to its right. Although the exact identity of this church is not known, like many missions of the era and vicinity, it strongly resembles the 1731 Concepcion Mission still standing in San Antonio, Texas.

Citdl San Antonio (Citadel San Antonio)—Annotated pencil drawing of the Alamo in extremely bad repair but with a flag flying on a pole above. One of several Franciscan Catholic missions built in Northern New Spain, and originally intended to look very similar to the Concepcion Mission

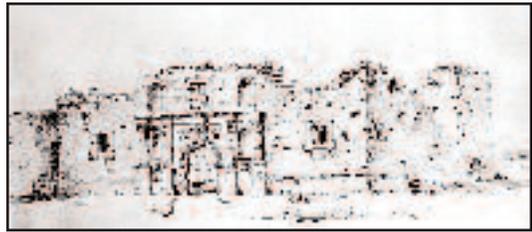
(see below), the Mission San Antonio de Valero was only partially completed when abandoned in 1793. This abandoned mission eventually became the barracks of a company of frontier Spanish and Mexican soldiers known as Las Comañía de Alamo de Parras (originally from El Alamo near Parras in Nueva Vizcaya) during the periods January 1803 through August 1813, fall 1817 through 1830, and September 1832 through December 1835—hence its name.¹¹⁴ The presence of a flag flying from a flagpole on the drawing accompa-

nying our annotated 1846 map suggests formal reoccupation of the chapel by a military unit. While the U.S. Army occupied the complex in 1846, they did not gain undisputed title to the chapel until January 1850.¹¹⁵ Our drawing shows a small courtyard between the chapel and the convento or long barrack and two arched or half round objects (artillery wheels?)



1846 Edward Everett Lithograph

embedded in a pile of rubble in the foreground. This may be either the interior twin artillery position or the remains of the west outer wall. The adobe face of the chapel appears to be crumbling badly, with jagged edges across the top, and the right corner completely broken down to the ground, exposing broken side and rear walls behind. We can deduce that our drawing of the Alamo was authentic if done after the 1848 Seth Eastman lithograph, but before reconstruction began in 1850.



1848 Seth Eastman Lithograph

Perhaps it was done at about the same time our May 1848 newspaper clipping was obtained. The drawing of the Alamo showed the chapel in very bad condition, with the southwest corner completely broken down. There was no record of this event, and all known lithographs and drawings showed it in normal condition. Careful enhancement and analysis of an 1849 daguerreotype discovered in 1978 show the face of the chapel to be even more heavily eroded than in the drawing added to Mitchell's map. *This brackets the annotations on this Mitchell map between 1846 and the commencement of U. S. Army reconstruction in 1850.*



1849 Daguerreotype

S. *Houston*—Annotated pencil portrait of Sam Houston, showing him with a receding hairline, wearing a dark jacket and open collar without tie.

Glued to the back of the same flyleaf is a folded newspaper clipping of a table of **COUNTIES AND COUNTY SEATS OF TEXAS** taken from a mid 1848 Texas newspaper. On this table are a date and four mathematical listings, plus five lines. *May 1848*—Pencil annotation apparently stating either the effective date of the tabular information or the newspaper clipping’s publication date. The four mathematical annotations, the accompanying pencil line, and four “tick marks” along the right side of the printed table. When taking their relative placement with the annotations into consideration, it becomes obvious that Moore made a “cell” count of the filled rows and columns in the table, most likely in preparation for his own reprinting of the table elsewhere.

The four complete and two partial advertisements on the backside of the newspaper clipping are of only incidental relevance to the handwritten annotations on the front, except to validate the source newspaper and its date of publication and to infer Moore’s approximate location at that time. One of the notices is from a book bindery **Opposite the Episcopal Church, Houston**. Another is an estate notice from the **hon. probate [cour]t of Brazos county**. The other four notices comprise a legal notice dated **Feb’y 1st, 1848**, a pharmacy sale item dated **nov 13**, an iron and steel warehouse sales listing, and a law book sales listing.

Unresolved Questions

There are many questions demanding further research:

1. Exactly when was Mitchell’s 1846 map published in Philadelphia? How many copies were printed, how were they distributed, and when did they become generally available to western travelers?

2. Why were the annotations along the Santa Fe Trail copied from Josiah Gregg’s 1844 *Commerce on the Prairies*? Why did the annotations cease at McNee’s Creek? Does the addition of the canyon drawn in along the North Canadian River and annotated as *Carñisn* and *Caon* suggest that the correspondent turned downstream at McNee’s Creek?

3. Are the marginal longitude markings along the bottom of the map simply a convenient transfer of information from the top of the map, or does the lack of markings west of 109 degrees signify a preoccupation with the Texas-Mexico border?

4. Why were only excerpts from Frémont’s published second and third expeditions entered in the Great Basin? Why was no elevation inserted in the blank space reserved in the annotation description of the Great Basin?

5. Why was the 1847 location of the Mormons in the Great Basin incorrect? Was this copied from Frémont’s erroneous 1848 map? Who could have possessed such a unique and intimate combination of knowledge of the Santa Fe Trail, Sam Houston, the Alamo, the political divisions of Texas through 1846, the

potential invasion routes to Monterrey, Mexico, Frémont's 1843–44 and 1845–47 western expeditions, numerous details about California through about 1848, and the physical geography of the pre-Mormon Great Basin—and yet still be ignorant of the exact location of the initial 1847 Mormon settlement along the Wasatch Front?

6. Why are the most current annotations apparently in California? How do the entries *Gold M.*, *Copper*, and *Silver* relate to the gold rush of 1949?

7. What is the source of the fourteen California annotations not found in either of Frémont's memoirs? Were they intended to be included in Frémont's never-published Volume 2 of *Memoirs of My Life*? To what events do the annotations *Battle of White Bears* and *Battle of L. on Frémonts return to S.* refer? What is the rest of the annotation *Engen Russell & Breurg. Florez. In Sept. Or Battle of the ten & 150 in in[indecipherable]*?

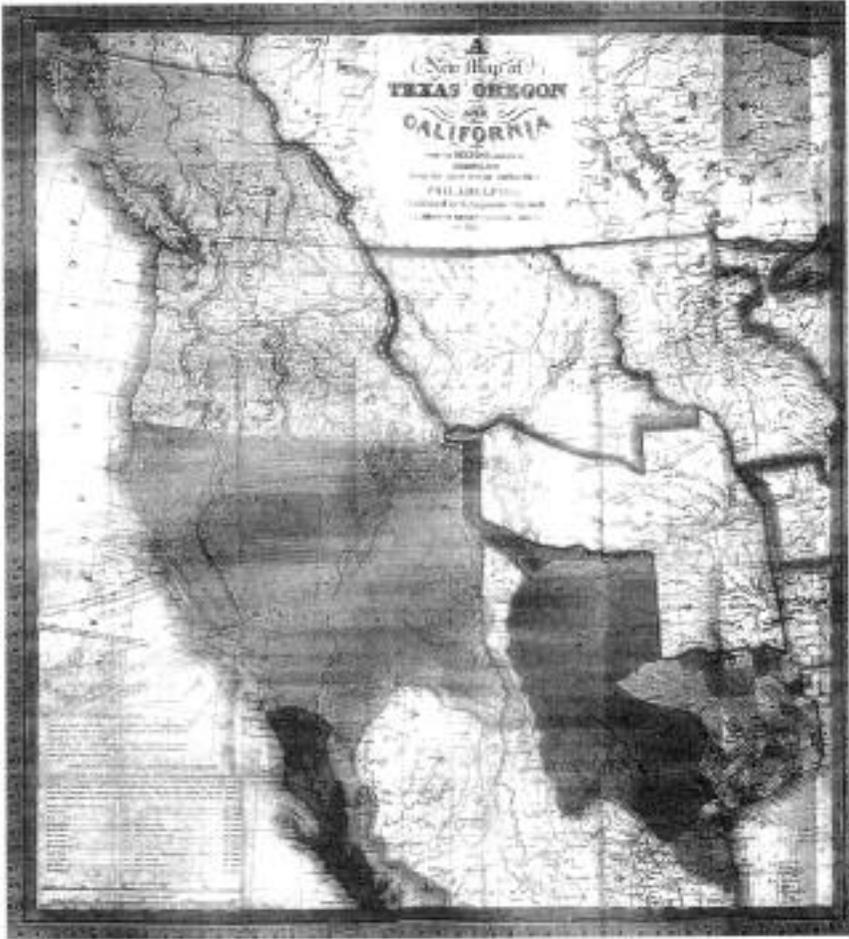
8. How and why might the entry *Trinity R?* have led to Josiah Gregg's final 1849–50 expedition in California?

9. Can a record of provenance be reconstructed for this map? What is the map's history since its printing and annotation? How did it come into the hands of the Brigham Young University Special Collections Library? What relationship does this particular map bear to the Mormons?

Summary

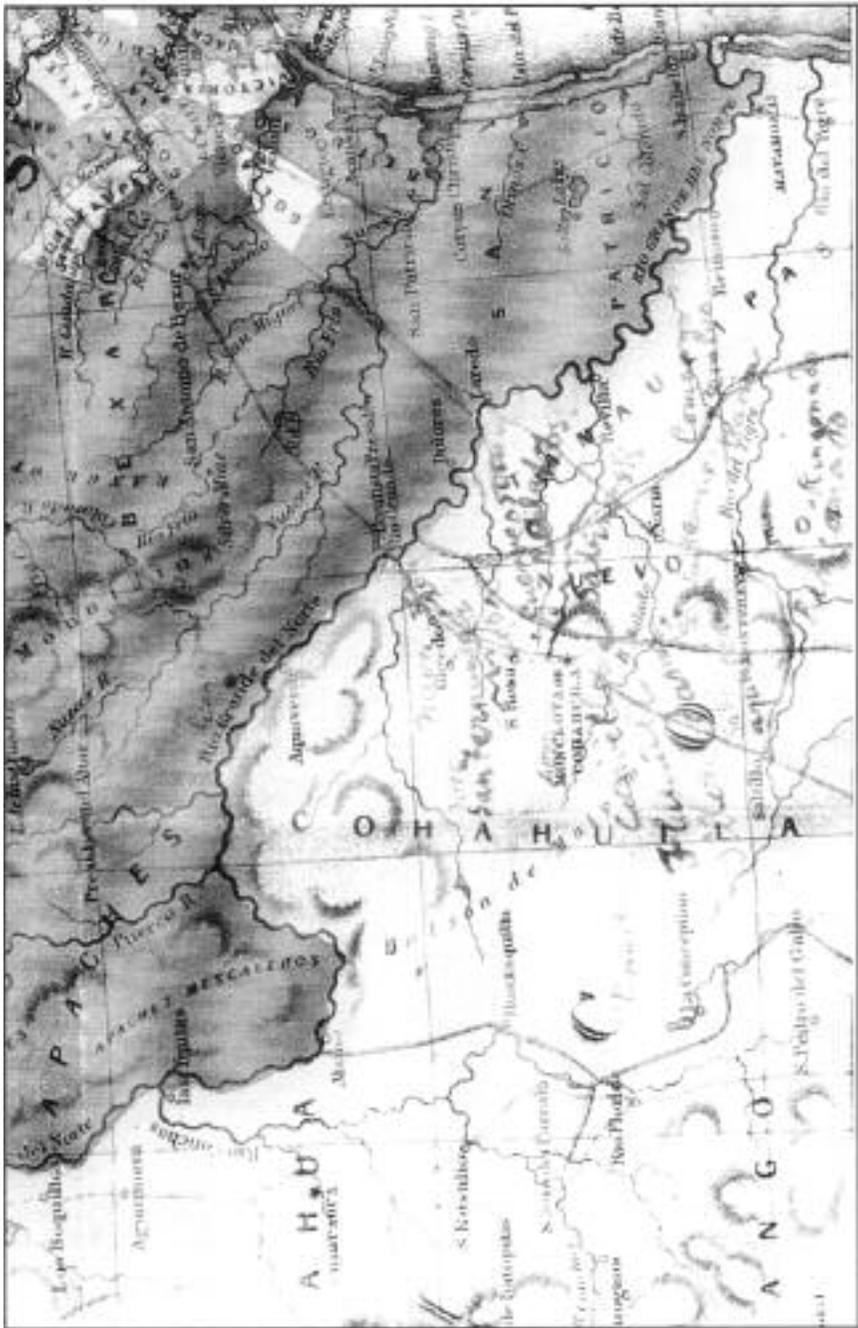
The 169 annotations and drawings added to this map and booklet suggest preparations for some publication, map, or personal journal. As the information collected on this 1846 map was later published in Frémont's 1848 map and memoir, it is of extraordinary value on two counts: **It is the earliest known map still extant (1) placing Mormons in Utah and (2) placing gold in California!** These annotations clearly warrant further analysis as an illustration of American history at a crucial juncture—when the Mormon exodus, the Mexican War, and the gold rush crossed paths in the west. This **particular** copy of Mitchell's 1846 Map is a national treasure!

Sincere appreciation is expressed for the generous support and assistance from Gail G. Holmes, Winter Quarters/Kanesville area historian; Stanley B. Kimball, editor of *The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide* and Professor of History at Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, Illinois; Marjorie Conder, researcher at the Museum of Church History, Salt Lake City, Utah; Michael Landon, Chad Orton, and Chad Foulger, archivists in the LDS Church Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah; the late Dennis Rowley, special collections librarian, and Thomas Wells, photo archivist, in the Harold B. Lee Library, William G. Hartley, Professor of History, and Dean C. Jessee, early Mormon handwriting forensics expert, of the Joseph F. Smith Institute of History, all at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Norma B. Ricketts, author of *The Mormon Battalion: United States Army of the West, 1846–1848*; Warren Stricker, Archivist at the Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library, San Antonio, Texas; Carol Verble, librarian at the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri; and many others behind the scenes. ©1999 Douglas-Sarpy Counties Mormon Trails Association.



1846 Map by S. Augustus Mitchell
courtesy of Harold B. Lee Library, Photographic Archives
Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
The following pages feature isolated sections of the map.





Notes

1. Carl I. Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West; Volume Three: From the Mexican War to the Boundary Surveys; 1846–1854* (San Francisco, The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1959), 1–2.

2. Henry Steele Commager (Editor in Chief), *The American Destiny: Manifest Destiny*, 1976, 5: “The [American] desire for more territory . . . came to a head in the 1840s. . . . It owed something to the notion, fostered by many early explorers, that the region between Missouri and the Rockies, already under American jurisdiction, was too arid for agriculture. Map makers labeled the area the ‘Great American Desert’ and until after the Civil War there was a general disposition to leave it to the Indians. Hence land-hungry pioneers came to look longingly at the empty or sparsely-settled tracts lying beyond the nation’s borders [in Texas, California, and Oregon].”

3. The illustrations for this article include a reduced copy and six enlargements from a special lithographic copy of an original map residing in the BYU Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. The Harold B. Lee Library has granted special permission to the nonprofit Douglas-Sarpy Counties Mormon Trails Association to reproduce and sell full-color, frameable, lithographic copies of this map for the sole purpose of funding the erection and beautification of historical Mormon Trails markers in the metropolitan Omaha, Nebraska, area. No other photographic copies or facsimiles of the map or the enlargements in this paper may be reproduced without express written consent from Photographic Archives, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

4. The fact that the curators of the BYU Special Collections hold no Record of Provenance (document pedigree) for this map suggests that it was donated sometime prior to initiation of stringent provenance requirements in 1972. Incidentally, none of the known Mark Hofmann forgeries are maps, and he did not begin producing document forgeries until 1978. See “Book Reviews,” *BYU Studies*, vol. 29, no. 1, p. 81, “June 1978: Hofmann gives a photocopy of an account of a second anointing ceremony in LDS temple (supposedly dated 1920) to Sandra Tanner, a professional anti-Mormon in Salt Lake City,” 25. “Second Anointing blessing (*earliest known forgery*) (c. 1912),” p. 122.

5. *The American Destiny*, 70: “On December 29, 1845, the same day that [President] Polk signed the Texas Admission Act and proclaimed Texas part of the Union, [General] Mariano Paredes entered Mexico City and assumed the presidency without firing a shot [in a military coup]. The Centralists had assumed power and strengthened their position largely by vehement denunciation of the United States and their announced intention of recapturing Texas. Paredes and his junta . . . declared their intent to make war on the United States to recover Texas.”

6. Justin A. Smith, *The War With Mexico*, 1919, 1:104–16; quoted in Leslie E. Decker and Robert Seager II, eds., *America’s Major Wars: Crusaders, Critics, and Scholars; Volume 1 (1775–1865)*, 1973, 216: “‘America, as an aggressive power is one of the weakest in the world . . . fit for nothing but to fight Indians,’ declared *Britannia*, an important English weekly. . . . The Mexicans, on the other hand, were deemed by many observers decidedly formidable. ‘There are no better troops in the world, nor better drilled and armed, than the Mexicans,’ asserted Calderón de la Barca, the Spanish minister at Washington. . . . The soldiers of the tri-color ‘are superior to those of the United States,’ declared the Mexico correspondent of the *London Times* flatly in 1845.”

7. *The American Destiny*, 24: “The sixty members of Frémont’s party had been carefully selected. . . . They regularly held exercises in marksmanship, which led skeptics to wonder if the expedition had more than scientific mapping in mind. The skeptics were right. This expedition did document the best routes for future migrations westward, but

it was also a military scheme to get a fighting force into California, ready to act should war break out with Mexico. The groundwork for Frémont's role in the conquest of California was thus laid." Page 69: ". . . by 1846 all impartial observers agreed that California already was lost to Mexico. The only question to be resolved was who would get it: England, the United States, or (possibly) France. . . . Many Californians openly voiced their desire to be annexed to the United States. Others favored English sovereignty. And there was virtually a civil war going on in the province, as Governor Pío Pico contended with Colonel José Castro for domination. [President] Polk was well aware of these currents of intrigue and naturally tried to offset British and French influence in the region. Thus he had the Pacific Squadron of the United States Navy standing by to intervene, just as he had sent Captain Frémont and a detachment of American soldiers to California waiting for the right moment to advance American interests."

8. John C. Frémont, *Memoirs of My Life* (Chicago & New York: Belford, Clarke & Company, 1886), 1:420, 422–23, 488–90.

9. After defeating the Mexican forces at Monterey, General Taylor began establishing a defensive line running through Parras, Saltillo, Monterey, and Victoria. After the decisive battle of Buena Vista, just north of Saltillo, most of General Taylor's forces were detached to General Winfield Scott's new fourth southern front in an amphibious invasion from Vera Cruz inland to Mexico City.

10. Knowledge of the January 1847 arrival of the Mormon Battalion in California reached the eastern United States not later than May. See "California, Chihuahua, New Mexico, &c.," *The [St. Louis] Daily Reveille*, Vol. 4, No. 936, 18 May 1847, p. 2: "These gentlemen [Lt. Theodore Talbut and Kit Carson] report that at the time of their departure [from California], (25th February,) Col. Frémont was in the City of the Angels, and that Commodore Stockton had sailed from that part of the coast. Gen. Kearny had been joined, at San Diego, by Lt. Col. Cook[e] and the Mormons, in January, and was at Monterey at last dates."

11. *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, 34–35.

12. In 1998, the author contacted the U.S. Library of Congress requesting publication data on this map, but no one there was able to provide any details beyond the location of S. Augustus Mitchell's publishing house in Philadelphia. Although the map was available to knowledgeable citizens on the East Coast by mid 1846, the initial date of publication and quantity are unknown.

13. This identical advertisement was run at least twelve times between 26 October 1846 and 21 October 1847. See *Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register*: Vol. 11, No. 42, Whole No. 566, 26 October 1846, p. 4; No. 48, Whole No. 571, 30 November 1846, p. 3; Vol. 12: No. 7, Whole No. 582, 15 February 1847, p. 3; No. 8, Whole No. 583, 22 February 1847, p. 3; No. 26, Whole No. 601, 28 June 1847, p. 4; No. 30, Whole No. 605, 26 July 1847, p. 4; No. 34, Whole No. 608, 23 August 1847, p. 4; No. 37, Whole No. 611, 13 September 1847, p. 3; No. 38, Whole No. 612, 23 September 1847, p. 4; No. 39, Whole No. 613, 30 September 1847, p. 4; No. 40, Whole No. 614, 7 October 1847, p. 4; and No. 42, Whole No. 616, 21 October 1847, p. 4. The advertisement suggests that the maps were being sold by Moore's longtime friends and business associates, Jacob W. and/or James F. Cruger.

14. Josiah Gregg's 1844 and 1845 editions of *The Commerce of the Prairies*, Max L. Moorhead, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), map insert between pp. 58–59.

15. *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, 34–35: "The esteem in which his [Mitchell's] maps were held is shown by Brigham Young's letter, quoted above, and by the fact—evidenced by a receipt in the [William Hemsley] Emory Papers in the [William Robertson] Coe Collection [aka the Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University]—that *his map was one of only three that Lieutenant*

Emory thought it worthwhile to carry along on leaving Washington in June, 1846, for service with the Army of the West. (The other two were Gregg's and Abert's.)"

16. *Ibid.*, 4–5: "With the column of his Army of the West, [General] Stephen W. Kearny advanced upon New Mexico from Fort Leavenworth in June, 1846. On the 5th of that month, Lieutenant William H. Emory of the Corps of Topographical Engineers was ordered from Washington to join Kearny and accompany him West. . . . 'Anticipating that the route of Colonel [soon General] Kearny's command would be through unexplored regions,' Emory afterward wrote to Col. J. J. Abert, Chief of his Corps, 'your suggestions required, that in all cases where it did not interfere with other and more immediate military demands of the service, the attention of myself, and the [three] officers [and one civilian] assigned to duty with me, should be employed in collecting data which would give the government some idea of the regions traversed.' Emory had but 24 hours in Washington to get started, and he trailed the 'Army of the West' as far as Bent's Fort. The route that far was reasonably well known, and continued fairly well known on to Santa Fe. Beyond that point it was through virtually unexplored country, for though Spanish missionaries and an occasional military force had traversed most, or all, of the trail from Santa Fe to the central Gila and on to the California settlements, their accounts were scattered and their maps unavailable in Santa Fe or Washington. To the Topographical Engineers, therefore, this was virgin territory. Far to the north Frémont had mapped the Oregon Trail and much of the Spanish Trail, but no officer of the Corps had ever been south of the Colorado River. It was the task of Emory and his companions to map this southern route to the Pacific."

17. On 1 October 1998, Dean C. Jessee carefully compared the handwritten annotations on this map and booklet with 1846 samples of Lieutenant Emory's handwriting from the Emory Papers at Yale University in my presence and assured me that they were by different authors.

18. Norma B. Ricketts has assured me that, while researching all known Mormon Battalion diaries for her book cited in the note below, she has found absolutely no reference to Mitchell's 1846 map.

19. Phillip St. George Cooke, *The Conquest of New Mexico and California*, 1878 (reprinted in 1976 by Arno Press, a New York Times Company), p. 158; quoted in Norma B. Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion: United States Army of the West, 1846–1848* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1996), 103: "From the point where General Kearny left the Rio Grande, about two hundred and twenty eight miles below Santa Fe, and where our routes diverged, to their camp, near the Pico [*sic* Pima] village [just east of the Colorado River], I made a map and sketch of my road; I had the aid of no instrument but a compass. Captain [William H.] Emory of the Topographical Engineers, on the General's [Kearny's] staff, had the duty of making a map with the aid, of course, of the best instruments, for determining latitude, longitude, etc. My rude map covered four hundred and seventy-four miles, and it chanced to get into Captain Emory's hands while [but not before] he was finishing his own [1848] map in Washington [after returning from California]. The tests which he was able to apply to it, proved its singular accuracy, and he incorporated it with his own. It appears in atlases as 'Colonel Cooke's wagon route.'" See also p. 328: footnote 1.

20. "A Doctor Comes to California: The Diary of John S. Griffin, Assistant Surgeon with Kearny's Dragoons, 1846–47," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. 22, no. 1, March 1943, 52: "14 March— . . . the second arrival[s]—these were Mr. [Lewis] Dent, clerk to Paymaster [James H.] Cloud and Paymaster Redding [Reading] of the California battalion."

21. The editorial comment preceding the letter is apparently true: "We have not yet had a detailed account of the march of Col. Cook and his command, to California." If the referenced first letter from Lewis Dent to his brother George W. Dent was mailed from near Fra Cristobal in New Mexico as indicated, it would most likely have been posted via the third returning sick detachment which departed on 10 November 1846. A

careful search of *The Daily Reveille* and *The Weekly Reveille* from 24 June 1846 through 16 July 1847 revealed no prior printing of a Lewis Dent letter. See *The Mormon Battalion*, p. 79.

22. *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin*, vol. 5, no. 4, July 1949, 325, footnote 80: "Lewis Dent, son of Frederick Dent, and brother-in-law of U. S. Grant, was in California as early as February, 1847; he was among the delegates to the convention of 1849 and in that list is described as a native of Missouri, 26 years old, and representative of Monterey. A number of his letters were printed in the *Reveille*. At the time Robb was at the mines, Dent was Judge of the Superior Tribunal at Stockton in the San Joaquin District." See also their Oregon-California Envelope which contains "Copies of letters appearing in *St. Louis Weekly Reveille* from 8 January 1849 to 28 January 1850. Includes letters written by [correspondents] Louis Dent, Charles Sackett and Solitaire—John S. Robb. Describe experiences on the various routes to California and conditions in California." The Envelope includes an "ABSTRACT OF LETTERS FROM (alta) CALIFORNIA" covering Lewis Dent letters written during the period 22 December 1848 to 13 April 1849.

23. *The Daily Reveille*, vol. 4, no. 958, 12 June 1847, 1–2; and *The Weekly Reveille*, vol. 3, no. 49, 14 June 1847, 1311. (Copy on microfilm at the Missouri Historical Society Library and Research Center, P.O. Box 11940, St. Louis, Missouri.)

24. See note 46.

25. In "The Mormon Migration to Utah," *Great Epochs in American History*, 1960, 7:61, William A. Linn suggests: "Two things may be accepted as facts with regard to the migration of the Mormons westward from Illinois; first, that they would not have moved had they not been compelled to; and second, that they did not know definitely where they were going when they started."

26. The Mormons had worked out an agreement with their persecutors to begin leaving Nauvoo soon after the spring thaw of 1846, but the mob reneged and forced them to begin that exodus in midwinter on 4 February 1846.

27. Detailed treatises on this topic can be found in Hyrum A. Andrus, "Joseph Smith and the West," *BYU Studies*, 1960, vol. 2, 129–47 (republished as part of *Anticipations of the Civil War in Mormon Thought and Joseph Smith and the West*, Extension Publications, Division of Continuing Education, Brigham Young University, February 1966), in Lewis Clark Christian, "Mormon Foreknowledge of the West," *BYU Studies*, vol. 21, no. 4, 404–5, in Paul Thomas Smith, *Prophetic Destiny: The Saints in the Rocky Mountains*, in Ronald K. Esplin, "A Place Prepared: Joseph, Brigham and the Quest for Promised Refuge in the West," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 9 (1982), 85–111.

28. Alexander L. Baugh, "John C. Frémont's Expeditions into Utah: An Historical Analysis of the Explorer's Contributions and Significance to the Region," master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1986, which references Lewis Clark Christian, "A Study of Mormon Knowledge of the American Far West Prior to the Exodus," master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972, pp. 65–75, and his "A Study of the Mormon Westward Migration Between February 1846 and July 1847 with Emphasis on and Evaluation of the Factors That Led to the Mormons' Choice of Salt Lake Valley as the Site of Their Initial Colony," Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1976, 22–30.

29. *The Young Women's Journal*, Salt Lake City, 1889–1929, vol. 2, pp. 314–15; quoted in Ivan J. Barrett, *Joseph Smith and the Restoration* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press 1967), 367, and in "Mormon Foreknowledge," 405.

30. The midwinter evacuation of seven thousand to eight thousand Mormon refugees from western Missouri to Nauvoo resulted from a 27 October 1838 executive order to the state militia by Governor Lilburn W. Boggs. This order directed the confiscation of properties and genocidal "extermination" of any Mormons remaining in the state after 1838. See William G. Hartley, "Almost Too Intolerable a Burden: The Winter Exodus from Missouri, 1838–1839," *Journal of Mormon History*, 18 (Fall 1992), 6–40.

31. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, Brigham H. Roberts, ed. Salt Lake City, 1950, 5:85. (See footnote also.)

32. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Church History and Modern Revelation*, 4:131: "In this very same manner in 1842, Elder Jonathan Dunham was sent out on an exploration journey to the west and among the Indians. He left Nauvoo on the 14th of July and returned August 26, 1842. He lived among the Indian tribes, having an Indian guide both going and coming. His travels took him as far west of Montrose as the Missouri River, a distance of some 300 miles from Nauvoo."

33. *Ibid.*, 6:222–25.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *History of the Church*, 6:274–77, 281–82, 369; William Clayton, *The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide: Being a Table of Distances, Showing all the Springs, Creeks, Rivers, Hills, Mountains, Camping Places, and All Other Notable Places, from Council Bluffs to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake*, reprint of original 1848 book edited by Stanley Kimball (St. Louis: The Patrice Press, 1983), 17–18.

36. Father McBride in "Mormon Foreknowledge," 406.

37. *History of the Church*, 6:373–76.

38. "Mormon Foreknowledge," 406.

39. *Diary of Oliver B. Huntington*, 2:425; "Joseph Smith and the West," 140; and *Anticipations of the Civil War in Mormon Thought and Joseph Smith and the West*, 4. Levi Hancock later became one of the leaders of the Mormon Battalion and was eventually elected to lead 223 members back to Utah after their discharge in California.

40. *The Life Story of Mosiah Lyman Hancock*, typewritten copy in Brigham Young University Library, pp. 27–29; quoted in "Mormon Foreknowledge," 406.

41. "Joseph Smith and the West," 143.

42. *Emigrants' Guide*, 18–19; quoted in "Mormon Foreknowledge," 411–12.

43. "Winter Quarters," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, vol. 4: "Brigham Young's original plan for the LDS exodus from Nauvoo, Illinois, envisioned a quick journey across Iowa in the spring of 1846 and, at least for some, a journey 'over the mountains' by fall. That plan called for small winter camps in Iowa, at the Missouri River, and at Grand Island, whence later encampments could depart in the spring of 1847 for their mountain home."

44. *Emigrants' Guide*, 19; also quoted in "Mormon Foreknowledge," 413.

45. *History of the Church*, 7:548–58.

46. In his 1983 edition of *Emigrant's Guide*, Stanley Kimball reported on p. 19 that the map had been ordered on 6 January 1847, but then states on p. 27 that it was ordered "during January 1846, as cited previously." He then makes the following observation: "It would seem then that the maps which hung on the walls of the temple [during the winter of 1845–46], besides Frémont's [three maps], were surely Mitchell's, Wilkes', Bonneville's, and most likely Long's. Unfortunately none of the copies used by the pioneers has survived. Their discovery, especially if they showed Clayton's jottings, would be an invaluable find." In a personal communication of 8 August 1996, Dr. Kimball states: "I no longer think Mitchell's map hung on the Nauvoo temple wall. It now seems quite impossible for Young to have ordered this map during Jan. 1846. In fact, [Carl I.] Wheat says [in *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, 31] it was [not ordered until] Feb. 18, 1847, but gives no source for this."

47. James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, Salt Lake City, 1976, 214; and *Emigrants' Guide*, 20, 27, with black and white reduced copies of Long's 1823 map, the 1843 Frémont-Preuss Map, and Mitchell's 1846 Map on pp. 94–99.

48. "Mormon Foreknowledge," 403.

49. Richard E. Bennett, "Finalizing Plans for the Trek West: Deliberations at Winter Quarters, 1846–1847," *BYU Studies*, vol. 24, no. 3, 301–5.

50. Stanley Kimball, in editing Clayton's *Emigrants' Guide*, states on pp. 25–26: "A

survey of the maps available to the Pioneers and to Clayton will help determine what several maps might have been hanging on the walls of the temple and what maps might have been taken west by the Pioneers. There were many available—a plethora in fact. Since at least 1722 dozens of Spanish, French and American maps had been published showing, in varying degrees of accuracy and fullness, the Platte River area. *Over fifty maps of the trans-Mississippi West appeared during the first five years of the 1840s, and in the critical year of 1846 another twenty-eight were published.*”

51. Sheri Eardley Slaughter, “Meet Me in St. Louie’: An Index of Early Latter-day Saints Associated with St. Louis, Missouri,” *Nauvoo Journal*, vol. 10, no. 2, p. 100, which references *LDS Collectors Library 97: Early LDS Membership*, “Stratton, Joseph Albert (Male)”: born 11 September 1821 at Bedford, Bedford, Tennessee, died [28] October 1850 [in Salt Lake City]. “Joseph filled a mission to the Eastern States. He later filled a mission to England in 1844–46. [From October 1846 through January 1847,] Joseph served as branch president while in St. Louis, Missouri (ref. *Mormon Manuscripts to 1846*, Hyrum Andrus, 1977). Joseph presided over a large branch of the Church in St. Louis, MO. Joseph was among the 1st ten in the Sheets Company which came to Utah in 1847.”

52. Stanley B. Kimball, *BYU Studies*, vol. 13, no. 4, 506–7: “In October [1846] Brigham Young sent word to Joseph A. Stratton, who had succeeded Riley as branch president, to send as many men west as possible with the understanding that they could bring their families later. . . . [At the 31 January 1847 Conference] the branch also got a new president. . . . President Stratton left for Winter Quarters in February [1847]. . . . In Winter Quarters Elder Stratton reported . . . to President Young.”

53. Letter discovered by Dale L. Morgan referenced in *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, 31; Richard H. Jackson, “Myth and Reality: Environmental Perception of the Mormons, 1840–65, An Historical Geosophy,” unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Clark University, 1970, 106; and *Emigrants’ Guide*, 19–20.

54. B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 3:161: “In his journal entry for 27th of March, 1847, Brigham Young says: ‘We heard the news read, and examined a map (Fremont’s [1845] map undoubtedly) received from General Atchison’ (*History of Brigham Young*, Ms., bk. 3, p. 76). Atchison it will be remembered, was the friend of the saints in Missouri, and their counselor at law during their later troubles in that state. He was now—1847—United States senator from Missouri (See ante this History, chapter xxxiv, passim). In his journal entry for April 4th, President Young says: ‘Thomas Bullock made a sketch of Captain Fremont’s topographical map of road to Oregon for the use of the Pioneers’ (*History of Brigham Young*, Ms., 1847, p. 80).”

55. *John C. Frémont’s Expeditions*, 75: “Although the Mormons had obtained a copy of the map and narrative of Frémont’s 1842 expedition by 1844 (according to Orson Hyde’s 26 April 1844 letter to the Council), and the published *Report* [of the 1843–44 expedition] sometime probably in September 1845 [in Nauvoo], they apparently did not obtain Frémont’s 1845 map until 1847. From Brigham Young we learn that on 27 March 1847, just a few days prior to leaving Winter Quarters for the trek west, a map was received from General Atchison who was currently serving as a U.S. Senator from Missouri. Upon the completion of the second expedition, Frémont and Preuss combined to produce a rather large lithographic map of both the 1842 and the 1843–44 expeditions. Like the *Report*, the map was also completed in 1845, but it was published independent of the *Report*. This explains how the Saints could have obtained a copy of the *Report* in 1845, but not the map. There can be little doubt that the map given by Atchison to the Saints was Frémont’s 1845 map since eight days after receiving the map Brigham Young recorded that ‘T. [Thomas] Bullock made a sketch of Capt. Frémont’s topographical map of [the] road to Oregon for the use of the Pioneers.’”

56. Kimball states, in *Emigrants’ Guide*, 19: “Even after quitting Nauvoo during

February 1846, the advance group of Mormons continued to gather information about the West. That July [1846], shortly after the Pioneers had reached the Missouri River [Council Bluffs], Col. T. L. Kane, a young Philadelphian friend and self-appointed guardian of the Saints, was in their midst and later [4 April 1847] sent them presents and Capt. Frémont's topographical map of the road to Oregon for the use of the pioneers. (Footnote: Eldon Jay Watson, ed., *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1846–1847*, Salt Lake City, 1971, entry of April 4, 1847.)"

57. *Emigrants' Guide*, 26, 30, 58; and *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, 30–31.

58. James B. Allen in "A Biographical Introduction: The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide: How and Why It Came to Be," *Emigrants' Guide*, 3.

59. *The Mormon Battalion*, 1–2.

60. David R. Crockett, "The Voyage of the Brooklyn," 1996, 5. "They soon learned from Commodore Stockton that the United States was at war with Mexico and would likely seize California and that he was about to set sail for Monterey, California. Stockton expressed the possibility that they might have to help with the fight against Mexico when they arrived. At his suggestion, Samuel Brannan [Brannon] purchased and brought on board a hundred and fifty out-dated military arms for \$3-\$4 a piece. He also brought on board some blue denim to be made into uniforms. Commodore Stockton advised Brannan to sail to Yerba Buena [San Francisco] Bay to help secure that area in the name of the United States."

61. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1969), 366. It is fortuitous that Brannon failed to convince the Church leaders to settle in California, as history would have been quite different had the main body of the Mormons been forced to compete with the influx of the 1849 Gold Rush immigrants.

62. Susan Easton Black, "Mormon Battalion," <http://eddy.media.utah.edu/medsol/UCME/m/MORMONBATTALION.html>, p. 1.

63. *Essentials in Church History*, 377: "After some deliberation [by Church leaders] it was decided . . . that Captain James Brown with a small company [of the Pueblo detachment soldiers] should go to California and report to the army officers there, and with a power of attorney from each of the men, draw their pay. Capt. Brown, with several members of the battalion, departed [Salt Lake City] for San Francisco, August 9, piloted by Samuel Brannan." See also *History of the Church*, 3:284–25, 292.

64. *Ibid.*, 355: "On the 20th of July most of the members of the battalion, who did not [re]enlist, organized preparatory to going to the Rocky Mountains to the gathering place of the Saints. They went by way of Sutter's Fort and the Sacramento River, intending to follow Frémont's trail across the Sierras. Near Lake Tahoe, they met Samuel Brannon [Brannan] and Captain Brown of the Pueblo detachment [of the Mormon Battalion] who were on their way to California, and learned that the pioneers had entered the Salt Lake Valley. Captain Brown carried with him an epistle from the apostles advising all members of the battalion who had no means, to remain in California for the winter, and journey to the Salt Lake Valley in the spring [1848]. Acting on this advice about one half of the members obtained employment at Sutter's Fort, where they were at the time of the [ir] discovery of gold. The others pushed on to the Salt Lake Valley where they arrived October 16, 1847."

65. Norma B. Ricketts, "The Forgotten Pioneers," *Crossroads, Newsletter of the Utah Crossroads Chapter, Oregon-California Trails Association*, vol. 8, no. 4 (<http://www.metrogourmet.com/crossroads.news8n4.html>).

66. "Mormon Battalion," 2.

67. *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, 35.

68. The Morse telegraph was invented in 1837, but public transmissions did not begin until 1844; and although most of the eastern and southern were gradually connected, westward expansion did not reach California until the advent of the Civil War

in 1861. There were only twelve hundred miles of long-distance telegraph lines in the eastern and southern United States by 1846.

69. Priscilla Myers Benham, "Moore, Francis, Jr." *The Handbook of Texas Online*, <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/MM/fmo26.html> [accessed 28 May 1999]:

"MOORE, FRANCIS, JR. (1805–1864). Francis Moore, Jr., newspaper editor, Houston mayor, and amateur geologist, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, on April 20, 1808, the son of Dr. Francis Moore. In his youth he lost an arm in an accident. In 1828 his family moved to Livingston County, New York; he studied medicine like his father, who was a graduate of Harvard. When Moore moved to Bath, New York, around 1834, he also studied law and taught school. With his friends Jacob W. and James F. Cruger, he left New York in 1836 to help Texas win independence from Mexico. He arrived in June and served as a volunteer and assistant surgeon with the Buckeye Rangers. On March 9, 1837, Moore bought an interest in the *Telegraph and Texas Register* from Thomas H. Borden, and in May the paper was moved from Columbia to Houston. Gail Borden, who also owned interest in the newspaper, sold his share on June 2 to Jacob Cruger. Cruger remained Moore's partner until April 1, 1851, when Moore bought him out. Moore edited the *Telegraph and Texas Register* for seventeen years. In it he published government documents, excerpted popular fiction, and addressed such issues as dueling, which he argued against. He also wrote a series of articles on the natural resources of Texas, later collected and published in two editions, *Map and Description of Texas* (1840) and *Description of Texas* (1844).

"Moore was thrice mayor of Houston. He was elected the city's second mayor in 1838 and served until the summer of 1839, when he resigned and temporarily returned to New York. During his term the city approved construction of a market house, hired its first police officers, passed a city charter, and purchased a town lot and fire engine for the first fire department. In 1843 Moore won another term as mayor, and the city built the first bridge over Buffalo Bayou. Finally, during his successive terms as mayor from 1840 to 1852, Moore worked to improve the city roads, which were often flooded. He was also involved in the early business development of Houston. He was director of the Harrisburg Town Company in 1839-40. In June 1839 he was elected to the board of directors of the Harrisburg Rail Road and Trading Company, the fourth oldest railroad company in Texas, and on October 26, 1842 he was elected treasurer of the newly chartered city of Harrisburg. In 1850 he helped organize the Houston Plank Road Company, and in 1851-52 he promoted the Houston and Texas Central Railway. From November 1839 to February 1842 Moore served in the Texas Senate's fourth, fifth, and sixth congresses as the representative from Harris, Liberty, and Galveston counties. As chairman of the committee on education, he urged the chartering of Rutgersville College and proposed that geology, a particular interest of his, be included in the school's curriculum. Moore was in favor of the annexation of Texas by the United States, and he represented Harris County at the Convention of 1845.

"During his 1839 visit to New York, between his terms as mayor and senator, Moore renewed his friendship with Elizabeth Mofat Wood, a native of Bath; he married her the next year. They had nine children. In Houston, the family attended Christ Church (Episcopal), and from 1850 to 1853 Moore represented the church at the diocesan convention. In 1854 he sold his newspaper to Edward H. Cushing and moved his family to New York. In 1857 he studied geology and paleontology at the New York Geological Survey in Albany. Over the next two years he frequently returned to Texas to gather fossils and shells for the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences. Friends recommended Moore to head the Texas state geological survey in 1858, but Governor Hardin R. Runnels appointed Benjamin Franklin Shumard instead. Moore returned to Texas to

practice law in March 1859 but spent much of his subsequent time lobbying for the position of state geologist. When Sam Houston won the 1860 gubernatorial race, Moore finally received the appointment. In the winter of 1860-61 he traveled through various counties to make observations. Based on superficial sampling of ores taken during an exploration of the Trans-Pecos region, from March through mid-June 1861, Moore came to believe the area was endowed with great mineral riches. When he returned to Austin he discovered that the legislature had abolished his office, and the state had joined the Confederacy. An ardent Unionist, Moore went north to Brooklyn. He had moved Minnesota in August 1863 to explore the copper mining potential of Lake Superior, when he died, probably of appendicitis, in Duluth, Minnesota, on September 1, 1864. He was buried in Green-Wood Cemetery, Brooklyn."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ed Bartholomew, *The Houston Story* (Houston: Frontier Press, 1951). James E. Buchanan, comp. and ed., *Houston: A Chronological and Documentary History, 1519-1970* (Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana, 1975). Daughters of the Republic of Texas, *Muster Rolls of the Texas Revolution* (Austin:1986). S. W. Geiser, "Note on Dr. Francis Moore (1808-1864)," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 47 (April 1944). Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker, eds., *The Writings of Sam Houston, 1813-1863*, 8 vols. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1938-43; rpt., Austin and New York: Pemberton Press, 1970).

70. Personal communication from Dean Jessee on 18 June 1997: "The handwriting on the Mitchell map doesn't match any of the early Mormon writing that I am familiar with. It isn't the handwriting of Thomas Bullock or William Clayton, who were scribes for the 1846-47 Mormon pioneer company. . . . It's too bad the provenance of the map is unknown. It could possibly give a hint that would help identify the writer." Mr. Jessee reaffirmed this opinion when he reexamined the map in my presence on 1 October 1998. (See note 104 also.)

71. *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, 81-82: "We find S. Augustus Mitchell in Philadelphia publishing, in 1849 a revised version of his [1846] Texas, Oregon and California map, *taking advantage of Frémont's later [1848] work* and displaying a large, colored Gold Region. Many routes are shown by hand-colored lines. (Footnote: A variant of this map at the Huntington [California] Library omits a table of distances and adds in its place a 'Map of the Maritime and Overland Routes to California,' with a sub-insert 'Map of the Gold and Quicksilver District of California.' The Humbolt River has been added in the Great Basin.) Apparently a remainder of the 1846 edition were first used up, with a crudely printed legend in California reading 'Gold found in the localities marked thus,' and with red, hand-colored lines around several California areas. Mitchell also published a tremendous 'Reference and distance map of the United States,' by J. H. Young, in which the Texas, Oregon and California map is an insert, with the 1846 date omitted." Carl Wheat's misspelling of Humboldt in his footnote has been preserved.)

72. John T. Lee, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, vol. 41, p. 403, quoting 16 March 1851 letter from Dr. George W. Bayless to Professor Charles W. Short regarding his procurement of information from Susannah Gregg, Josiah's seventy-seven-year-old mother: "I suppose that he must have arrived at San Francisco *in the month of July (1849)*; and was probably about there for a couple of months."

73. Maurice Garland Fulton, editor, *Diary & Letters of Josiah Gregg: [Volume 2] Excursions in Mexico & California, 1847-1850* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944), 358 quoting 24 December 1850 letter from John Gregg to Dr. George Engelmann: "At the time of his reaching San Francisco, *about the 1st of Sept.* '49, gold had recently been discovered in great abundance on the Trinity River some three or four hundred miles north of that place and much anxiety manifested to discover a bay and a good harbor, at the mouth of the above river, which was understood (by tradition

as I understand) to exist there.”

74. *Ibid.*, 351, footnote 1: “By means of the account that John Gregg prepared for Dr. George Engelmann based on the communications he received from his brother Josiah, it appears that soon after his [July-September 1849] arrival in California, Gregg found a challenge to his master-bias, adventure curiously mingling commerce and science, in the quest for the almost mythical bay the Spaniards had called *Trinidad*. *The pity of it is that his last ‘memoranda,’ as he termed his records, seem gone beyond recall. Undoubtedly he perseveringly made his entries, undeterred by inclement weather, unsympathetic companions, or physical exhaustion.*” Also, p. 357, footnote 15: “By the close of 1850 John Gregg was able to piece together . . . what was available about Josiah Gregg’s movements after reaching California. *Jesse Sutton [Josiah’s old trading partner on the Santa Fe Trail] had procured from Probst, Smith & Co. the ‘memoranda,’ only [a partial] salvage from Gregg’s unquestionably extensive records and collections [in California]. Nothing, however, had been forwarded of his effects,’ nor of the ‘geological and botanical collections’ made in Mexico [the basis for Gregg’s intended second book *Roving Abroad*], although this material must have been deposited with someone before Gregg went into the Trinity River country [in October 1849]. The ‘memoranda,’ or diary, thus preserved have formed the bulk of these two volumes.”*

75. Max L. Moorhead’s “Introduction” in Gregg’s *Commerce on the Prairies*, xvii–xxix.

76. *Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register*, vol. 11, no. 20, Whole No. 543, 20 May 1846, 1.

77. *Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register*, vol. 11, no. 22, Whole No. 545, 3 June 1846, 1.

78. *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, 55–62.

79. Facing clippings from the weekly Houston, Texas *Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register*, vol. 12, no. 19–21, Whole No. 646–48. Although the exact issue bearing this county listing is no longer available, the exact matching sequence of advertisements on the back of our clipping was found in the lower-right corner of page 4 of the preceding No. 18, 4 May 1848 issue and the succeeding No. 22, 1 June 1848 issue.

80. *Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register*, vol. 11, no. 42, Whole No. 565, 21 October 1846, 2.

81. *Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register*, vol. 11, no. 43, Whole No. 566, 26 October 1846, 2.

82. *Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register*, vol. 11, no. 45, Whole No. 568, 9 November 1846, 2.

83. *Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register*, vol. 12, no. 29, Whole No. 604, 19 June 1847, 1.

84. *Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register*, vol. 11, no. 34, Whole No. 557, 26 August 1846, 2.

85. *Democratic Telegraph & Texas Register*, vol. 11, no. 48, Whole No. 571, 30 November 1846, 2.

86. Josiah Gregg’s 1844 and 1845 editions of *Commerce of the Prairies*, Max L. Moorhead, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 217. Gregg’s table, composed after “crossing the prairies between Independence and Santa Fe six times,” differs only from the annotations on the map in calling *Pawnee R.* Pawnee Fork with a distance of 33 versus 25 between it and Coon Creek and in calling *McNee’s Cr.* M’Nees’s Creek.

87. David Nevin, *The Mexican War*, Time-Life Books, 1978, 63–64: Texas Rangers “reported to Taylor that the route he planned to take to Monterrey [directly from Camargo to Cerralvo] lacked the water to support an army. Instead, they recommended advancing by way of Mier, a town [further upstream] on the Rio Grande. . . . From Mier

the route turned upward, away from the river, to Cerralvo at the edge of the Sierra Madre.”

88. John C. Frémont, *Geographical Memoir upon Upper California*, in *Illustration of his Map of Oregon and California* (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1964), reprint of 1848 original, 7–8: “The Great Salt Lake and the Utah lake are in this [Great] basin, towards its eastern rim, and constitute its most interesting feature—one, a saturated solution of common salt—the other, fresh—the Utah about one hundred feet above the level of the Salt lake, which is itself four thousand two hundred above the level of the sea, and connected by a strait, or [Jordan] river, thirty-five miles long. . . . The [Utah] lake and its affluents afford large trout and other fish in great numbers, which constitute the food of the Utah Indians during the fishing season. . . . No fish, or animal life of any kind, is found in it [the Great Salt Lake].” *Memoirs of My Life*, 430: “We could find in it [the Great Salt Lake] no fish, or animal life of any kind. . . . On the contrary, the upper lake—the Timpanogos [Utah Lake]—which discharges into this by a stream [Jordan River] about thirty-five miles long, is fresh water, and affords large trout and other fish in great numbers.”

89. This appears to be a direct quotation of the 11 September 1843 entries in John C. Frémont’s memoirs of exploring the Great Salt Lake. *Geographical Memoir*, 8: “Five gallons of water taken from this lake [at Frémont Island] in the month of September, and roughly evaporated over a fire, gave fourteen pints of salt.” *Memoirs of My Life*, 236: “Roughly evaporated over the fire, the five gallons of water yielded fourteen pints of very fine-grained and very white salt, of which the whole lake may be regarded as a saturated solution.”

90. *Geographical Memoir*, 7: “On the north, it [the Great Basin] is separated from the waters of the Columbia by a branch of the Rocky mountains, and from the gulf of California, on the south, by a bed of mountainous ranges, of which the existence has been only recently determined.”

91. *Memoirs of My Life*, 234, 10 September 1843 entry: “From a discussion of the barometrical observations made during our stay on the shores of the [Great Salt] lake, we have adopted four thousand two hundred feet for its elevation above the Gulf of Mexico.”

92. *Ibid.*, 388.

93. *Geographical Memoir*, 7, 8, 12: “Partly arid and sparsely inhabited, the general character of the GREAT BASIN is that of desert, but with great exceptions, there being many parts of it very fit for the residence of a civilized people; and of these parts, the Mormons have lately established themselves in one of the largest and best. . . . The Mormons have established themselves on the strait [Jordan River] between these two lakes, and will find sufficient arable land for a large settlement—important from its position as intermediate between the Mississippi valley and the Pacific ocean, on the line of communication to California and Oregon. . . . There is nothing in the climate of this great interior region, elevated as it is, and surrounded and traversed by snowy mountains, to prevent civilized man from making it his home, and finding in its arable parts the means of a comfortable subsistence; and this the Mormons will probably soon prove in the parts about the Great Salt lake. The progress of their settlement is already great. On the first of April of the present year [1848], they had 3,000 acres in wheat, seven saw and grist mills, seven hundred houses in a fortified enclosure of sixty acres, stock, and other accompaniments of a flourishing settlement.”

94. *Ibid.*, introductory p. xxx. Dale L. Morgan’s introduction to the 1964 reprint of Frémont’s 1848 *Geographical Memoir*, entitled “The Map of Oregon and Upper California,” states: “While Preuss was drawing the [1848] map, the first word came east confirming the occupation of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake by the hard-pressed Mormons, a fact on which Frémont comments in the *Memoir*. It was not clear to him just

where the Mormons had established themselves; the map shows a 'Mormon Fort' near the foot of Utah Lake, incorrect as of 1848 though made a fact by the founding of Fort Utah a year later; the fort should have been located near his campsite of October, 1845, on what the itinerary calls Station Creek (now City Creek). 'Mormon settlements' very soon would extend all along the eastern shore of the Great Salt Lake, but there too the map was anticipating history. Despite these inexactitudes, the Frémont-Preuss map has the distinction of being the first *published* map to record the advent of the Mormons into the Great Basin."

95. *Ibid.*, 8: "The Utah is about thirty-five miles long."

96. *Ibid.*, 9: "The most considerable river in the interior of the Great Basin is the one called on the map Humboldt river, . . . so called as a small mark of respect to the 'Nestor of scientific travellers,' who has done so much to illustrate North American geography, without leaving his name upon any one of its remarkable features. It is a river long known to hunters, and sometimes sketched on maps under the name of Mary's, or Ogden's, but now for the first time laid down with any precision." *Memoirs of My Life*, 434: "Crane's Branch led into a larger stream that was one of the two forks forming a river to which I gave the name of Humboldt."

97. *Memoirs of My Life*, 434–35, 454–55.

98. *Memoirs of My Life*, 391: "That it [the Great Basin] is peopled we know, but miserably and sparsely. From all that I heard and saw, I should say that humanity here appeared in its lowest form and in its most elementary state. Dispersed in single families; without fire arms; eating seeds and insects; digging roots (and hence their name)—such is the condition of the greater part." *Geographical Memoir*, 11: "But few Indians are found, and those in the lowest state of human existence; living not even in communities, but in the elementary state of families, and sometimes a single individual to himself."

99. Volume 1 ended with the 12 January 1847 Capitulation of Couenga; the unwritten Volume 2 was to commence thereafter.

100. "Sam Brannan's Announcement of the Discovery of Gold," B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 3:364–66: "San Francisco . . . was indifferent [to the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill] for some time, the final conversion of that town did not take place until Samuel Brannan, the leader of the Brooklyn colony of Latter-day Saints to California, came down from Sutter's Fort—where he had a store—to San Francisco in company with a number of others who had with them specimens of collected gold in both dust and nuggets. Brannan, holding in one hand a bottle of yellow dust, and with the other swinging his hat, passed down the street shouting, 'Gold! Gold! Gold, from the American river!' This in May; and soon afterwards San Francisco was nearly deserted for the gold fields.

"Extension of the Discovery—'Mormon' Island: The spare time of the 'Mormons' at Sutter's sawmill was devoted to washing out gold in the mill race and from the deposits of the sand bars along the river. Henry Bigler on the 21st of February wrote to members of the battalion at Sutter's Fort, telling them of the discovery of gold, but cautioned them to impart the information only to those who could be relied upon to keep the secret. They entrusted it to three other members of the battalion. Six days later three of the number, Sidney Willis, Levi Fifield, and Wilford Hudson, came up to the sawmill, and frankly told Mr. Sutter they had come to search for gold, and he gave them permission to mine in the tail of the mill race. The next day they began work and were fairly successful. Hudson picked out one piece of gold worth six dollars. After a few days, however, these men felt under obligations to return to the fort as they had given it out that they were merely going to the sawmill on a visit and a few day's shooting. Returning, Willis and Hudson followed down the stream for the purpose of prospecting. Fifield, accompanied by Bigler, followed the wagon road. About half way between the sawmill and the

Fort, Hudson and Willis, on a bar opposite a little island in the river, found a small quantity of gold of not more than half a dollar in value; and while the smallness of the find filled the two prospectors with disgust, the other battalion members at the fort insisted upon being taken to the point where the gold had been found, that 'together they might examine the place.' 'It was with difficulty that they prevailed upon them to do so,' remarks Bancroft; but finally Willis and Hudson consented, 'and the so lately slighted spot,' continues the historian of California, 'presently became famous as the rich 'Mormon Diggins;' the island, 'Mormon Island,' taking its name from these battalion boys who had first found gold there.' But notwithstanding this new discovery by these members of the battalion, and notwithstanding their development of the discovery of Mr. Marshall, and the huge excitement which followed, and the fact that whenever they could get released a day from their duty to their employer they could usually obtain in gold several times over their day's wages, history has to record that they were true to their engagement to Mr. Sutter. 'They had promised Sutter,' says Bancroft, 'to stand by him and finish the sawmill, this they did, starting it running on the 11th of March. Henry Bigler was still there. On the 7th of April, Bigler, Stephens and Brown presented themselves at the fort to settle accounts with Sutter.'"

101. *Ibid.* Dale L. Morgan makes the following observation on p. xxxi: "An even more astounding priority [than Frémont's incorrect placement of the Mormons within the Great Basin] attaches to the [Frémont 1848] map in consequence of two obscure legends placed on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. Along the R. d. l. Americanos and the upper course of the Rio d. l. Plumas appear two nearly identical legends, 'El Dorado or Gold Region.' These must have been the very last details added to the map, for official information concerning the discovery of gold did not reach Washington until after Preuss's manuscript was placed in the hands of the lithographer; the additions may have been as late as September [1848]. As Carl I. Wheat has written, 'It seems almost certain that the Frémont-Preuss map was the first map of *large general circulation* to announce to the world the epochal [gold] finds in the West which would now transform the life and society of the once-distant country.'"

102. *Memoirs of My Life*, 451: "With Captain Hinckley [of the U.S. Consulate at Yerba Buena] I went to visit the quicksilver mine at New Almaden." p. 513: "One of the recently discovered quicksilver mines is on the eastern side of the [Santa Cruz] mountain[s], near the Pueblo of San José."

103. *Memoirs of My Life*, 593, 598–99: While encamped near San Luis Obispo on 14 December 1847, Frémont "sent men around the neighborhood, and in all some thirty men fell into our hands, among them an officer who had been wounded at the Encinal, and Don Jesus Pico, who was at the head of the insurrection in that quarter."

104. Norma B. Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion: United States Army of the West, 1846–1848*, 132–33, 161–62, 167: General Winfield Scott sent orders from the east directing Colonel Frémont's California Volunteers to be mustered into the regular army, and General Kearny to return east "when California appeared tranquil." In early March 1847, Kearny sent Order Number 2 to Frémont implementing those orders. "Frémont refused to obey General Kearny's orders because he considered the countryside [still] unsafe. He expected there would be more Spanish uprisings. Frémont left Los Angeles March 22 for Monterey." If our map annotation is correct, Frémont must have been very angry, for he rode the four hundred miles in less than four days, arriving on the 25th of March—an average of almost one hundred miles per day! This rate of travel would rival that of the famed pony express! (Present maps show the distance to be just over three hundred miles, but this is still over seventy-five miles per day!) "In Monterey a tense meeting was held by Frémont and Kearny. Frémont offered to resign, but Kearny refused to accept the resignation. He asked Frémont directly if he would obey his orders. After a short delibera-

tion, Frémont responded that he would." The feud apparently continued, and when Kearny made the return trip to Fort Leavenworth between 31 May and 23 August 1847, he took Frémont with him and then courtmartialled him out of the Ar

105. *Ibid.*, 599: "On Christmas eve we encamped on the ridge of Santa Ines behind Santa Barbara. The morning of Christmas broke in the darkness of a southeasterly storm with torrents of cold rain, which swept the rocky face of the precipitous mountain down which we descended to the plain. All traces of trails were washed away by the deluge of water, and pack-animals slid over the rocks and fell down the precipices, blinded by the driving rain. In the descent over a hundred horses were lost."

106. *Ibid.*, 596–97: "In September I left ten men at Santa Barbara. . . . Theodore Talbot was one of the party and in charge of it. The men with him were Thomas Breckenridge, Eugene Russell. . . . Shortly after I had left, news of the insurrection reached Santa Barbara, and the little garrison were assured they would be attacked. . . . In a few days a mounted force of about a hundred and fifty appeared, with a written summons from Flores to surrender."

107. *Ibid.*, 600: "There is a maritime defile called the *Rincon*, about fifteen miles south of Santa Barbara and fifteen miles long, A mountain ridge here skirts the sea, leaving a narrow beach floored with a hard, parti-colored bitumen. The defile was passed without opposition."

108. *Ibid.*, 600–1: "On the morning of the 9th [January 1847] Captain Hamlyn . . . came into my camp at "The Willows," below the *Rincon*."

109. *Ibid.*, 443, 600, 652–55.

110. *Ibid.*, 566.

111. In *Commerce on the Prairies*, editor Max L. Moorhead makes the following comment on pp. xxvii–xxix: "There was no further news from Josiah Gregg [after his arriving by boat in San Francisco from Mazatlán, Mexico in July–September 1849] until October of 1849, when he wrote [November 1] from a roaring mining camp on Trinity River called Rich Bar. His reputation must have preceded him, for the settlers there commissioned him to lead an expedition across the [Coast Range] mountains to the coast in search of a long-lost bay. What was needed was a direct road to the sea and a harbor that would obviate the long and devious supply road from San Francisco. A harbor of sorts was known to exist somewhere on the northern coast, for a Trinidad Bay had been discovered by a Spanish navigator, Bruno Hecata, in 1776. It was now [then] mistakenly supposed to lie at the mouth of the Trinity River." After discovering Trinidad Point, but not recognizing the adjacent Trinidad Bay in the fog, they discovered Trinity Bay (present Humboldt Bay) at the mouth of the Mad River further south. En route back to San Francisco, the naturally frail Gregg became so malnourished that he fell from his horse at Clear Lake and died on 25 February 1850.

112. *The Mormon Battalion*, 162–67.

113. In his 1964 Introduction to John C. Frémont's 1848 *Geographical Memoirs*, p. xxvii, Dale Morgan states: "Frémont unavailingly attempted to rename the Sevier River and Lake in honor of J. N. Nicollet." Frémont himself states on p. 9: "The river and lake were called by the Spaniards, *Severo*, corrupted by the hunters into *Sevier*. On the map, they are called *Nicollet*, in honor of J. N. Nicollet."

114. Randall Tarin, "The Second Flying Company of Alamo de Parras," tarin@flash.net.

115. Susan B. Schoelwer, "The Artist's Alamo: A Reappraisal of Pictorial Evidence, 1836–1850," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, April 1988, 448.