

## Howard Egan, the Elkhorn Skirmish, and Mormon Trail Emigration in 1848

*William G. Hartley*

During the Mormon Trail's twenty-three-year history, the relations between Mormon wagon-train travelers and Native Americans were good, overall.<sup>1</sup> Typically, when there was contact, it involved Indians visiting, trading, begging, and helping. Not infrequently, Mormon livestock disappeared when the wagon trains were in Indian country. Mormons posted guards for their cattle and traveled in wagon companies large enough to discourage threats from Indians. One of the rare shooting episodes between the two groups took place in June 1848 at the Elkhorn River, a few days west of Winter Quarters. On the Mormon side, the prime participant was Howard Egan, a captain in the Heber C. Kimball wagon train, who, along with Thomas Ricks, was seriously wounded in the exchange of gunfire.<sup>2</sup> At least two and possibly four Indians were killed. Because no full account exists of the shootout, one will be provided here.

The skirmish took place at the beginning of the Saints' 1848 emigration year, the year when Winter Quarters closed down and three large companies with some two thousand Saints moved many of those Winter Quarter Saints to Utah. A member of the First Presidency led each of those companies, marking the permanent move of Church headquarters to Great Salt Lake City. As important as the 1848 year is for the Mormon migration story, historians have not yet explored or explained it well. In the discussion that follows, the Egan family's experiences in the large Heber C. Kimball wagon train provide a segment of that important, missing history.<sup>3</sup>

---

WILLIAM G. HARTLEY is an Associate Professor of History and Research Historian for the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for L.D.S. History at Brigham Young University, and President-elect of the Mormon History Association.

### In Kimball's Second Division

In June 1848, Howard Egan began his third, but not his final, journey across the Mormon Trail between the Missouri River and the Great Salt Lake. Howard, born in 1815, was from Ireland and Montreal. A former seaman, he married Tamson Parshley in Salem, Massachusetts. Through Elder Erastus Snow's missionary labors, the Egans converted to Mormonism in Salem in 1842. They moved to Nauvoo where Howard was a rope maker by trade, served with the Nauvoo police, and became a major in the Nauvoo Legion. (In Church history, he is often referred to as Major Howard Egan.)

Egan became an adopted son<sup>4</sup> of Heber C. Kimball, senior Apostle Brigham Young's right-hand man. During the exodus from Nauvoo, the Egans traveled across Iowa with the Kimbells. The Egans spent the winter of 1846–47 at Winter Quarters, although Howard had to make several difficult trips down to Missouri to bring back supplies for the Saints. Then, traveling once again with Elder Kimball, Egan was one of the now-famous band of 1847 pioneers who first entered Great Salt Lake Valley in July 1847. He spent three weeks there, getting a home and farm ready for his family, and then returned with Presidents Kimball and Young and others to Winter Quarters for another winter.

As spring approached in 1848, facing government orders to vacate, the Winter Quarters occupants prepared to close the settlement down. Those Saints with adequate wagons and teams prepared to head west, while others lacking decent outfits made plans to move back across the Missouri River to Iowa and set up temporary homes and farms. Elder Kimball directed his families' preparations for the trek west, with Howard's assistance. Like others, the Egans cleaned out their cabin and loaded up a covered wagon. On 9 May, the Missouri River steamer *Mandan* arrived with many immigrants and a large amount of freight that westbound travelers were waiting for. The next day "the town was all hurry and bustle" as men unloaded the boat. "The town is now full of goods," Hosea Stout noted on 12 May.<sup>5</sup> Probably the *Mandan* was the boat that so impressed little Howard R., who had turned eight years old just a month before:

How well I remember the excitement of us boys when we saw the smoke of a steam-boat rising over the trees that were on a point of land just where the river made a great bend below the town. The boat was coming up stream and made a great cloud of smoke. It came on and passed between our shore and the island that lay opposite the town, then stopped at the next point above for wood. It was about a mile away. Some of the boys went up there to get a closer view, but I was afraid I would get my jacket dusted if I went, so refused to go with them.<sup>6</sup>

On 24 May, according to John D. Lee, "Every effort is Making by the

Saints for their removal west & such as cannot go West are crossing to the east side of the river.”<sup>7</sup> During the next week, wagon after wagon rolled out from Winter Quarters to rendezvous at the Elkhorn River ferry, almost thirty miles west. Near there, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball created two great wagon companies, one for each of them to lead. Willard Richards would lead a third large train a month later. Brigham Young’s clerk, Thomas Bullock, looked at the vast concourse of people, wagons, animals, and belongings and observed:

If any person inquire, “Is Mormonism down?” he ought to have been here in the neighborhood of the Elkhorn this day, and he would have seen such a host of wagons that would have satisfied him in an instant that it lives, and flourishes like a tree by a fountain of waters; he would have seen merry faces, and heard the song of rejoicing, that the day of deliverance had surely come.<sup>8</sup>

Apparently, Howard helped his family load up; and then he rode off to help Elder Kimball, leaving Tamson to drive the wagon to the outfitting spot at the Elkhorn River. The Egan children were Howard Ransom, eight, Richard Erastus, six, and Horace Adelbert, almost nine months. “I recollect getting in the covered wagon that took us away from winter Quarters,” son Howard R. recalled, “but don’t remember of seeing Father till later.”<sup>9</sup>

On 2 June, the Kimball wagons crossed the Elkhorn River, positioning the big company to move on to the Platte River.<sup>10</sup> Possibly Howard’s second wife, Nancy Redding, traveled in that company, too.<sup>11</sup> One tally of the Kimball Company said there were 662 people using 226 wagons, 737 oxen,



Major Howard Egan  
Photo courtesy of Robert and Janet Sloan

56 horses, and 25 mules and herding along or transporting 150 loose cattle, 243 sheep, 96 pigs (including the Egans' pig), 299 chickens, 17 cats, 52 dogs, 5 hives of bees, and even 3 doves, 5 ducks, and 1 squirrel!<sup>12</sup>

Inside their souls, many Saints lamented the fact that Church founder Joseph Smith's wife Emma stayed behind in Illinois. So they transferred some of their regard for her to Mary Fielding Smith, the widow of Joseph's brother Hyrum Smith. Mary stayed with the Saints and chose to go west with them. By the time the Kimball wagon train was organized, Howard and Tamson knew that Mary would be part of that company. Mary traveled with her brother, Joseph Fielding, and with her young son who one day would become president of the Church, Joseph F. Smith.

For Howard, the 1848 wagon trains were unlike the one he had traveled in the year before. Instead of being selected men with good wagons and horse teams, his company included hundreds of women and children, wagons pulled primarily by oxen, many worn-out wagons, some wagons hitched to family cows that had never been harnessed before and that provided but poor pulling power, and a number of wagons driven by inexperienced drivers, including women and children used to having men do that task. "Our teams are weak and our loads are heavy," Elder Kimball would admit in mid June.<sup>13</sup> Accidents, spilled loads, stuck wagons, and broken wagon parts would mar their trek. Egan, being trail seasoned, ended up helping many of the amateur travelers in the Kimball train. Tamson, because Howard had to help so many others, became a good driver before the journey ended.

### **Elkhorn Encampment**

William Clayton's *Emigrants' Guide* notes that the Elkhorn was twenty-seven miles from Winter Quarters. It had a "rather swift current" and was about 150 feet wide and 3 feet deep, "not very pleasant to ferry," with plenty of timber on its banks.<sup>14</sup> The 1848 pioneers probably crossed just west of today's Elk City, about six miles north of where the Howard and the other 1847 pioneers crossed.<sup>15</sup> They would need to travel another twelve to reach the Platte River.

Because water in the Elkhorn was so high, the Mormons built a raft to ferry the wagons across. "Boys" swam the cattle across long before the last wagons could be ferried over. On Friday, 2 June, the wagons assigned to be part of Heber C. Kimball's Second Division crossed the Elkhorn. By 2 p.m., all had "safely landed" on the west bank and were merging together to form a large encampment just below the ferry crossing. This was a Friday. That afternoon, Elder Kimball dispatched Egan back to Winter Quarters to urge Mary Fielding Smith "to come on as speedily as possible" and to attend to other business for the wagon train. Egan arranged for two yoke of cattle to

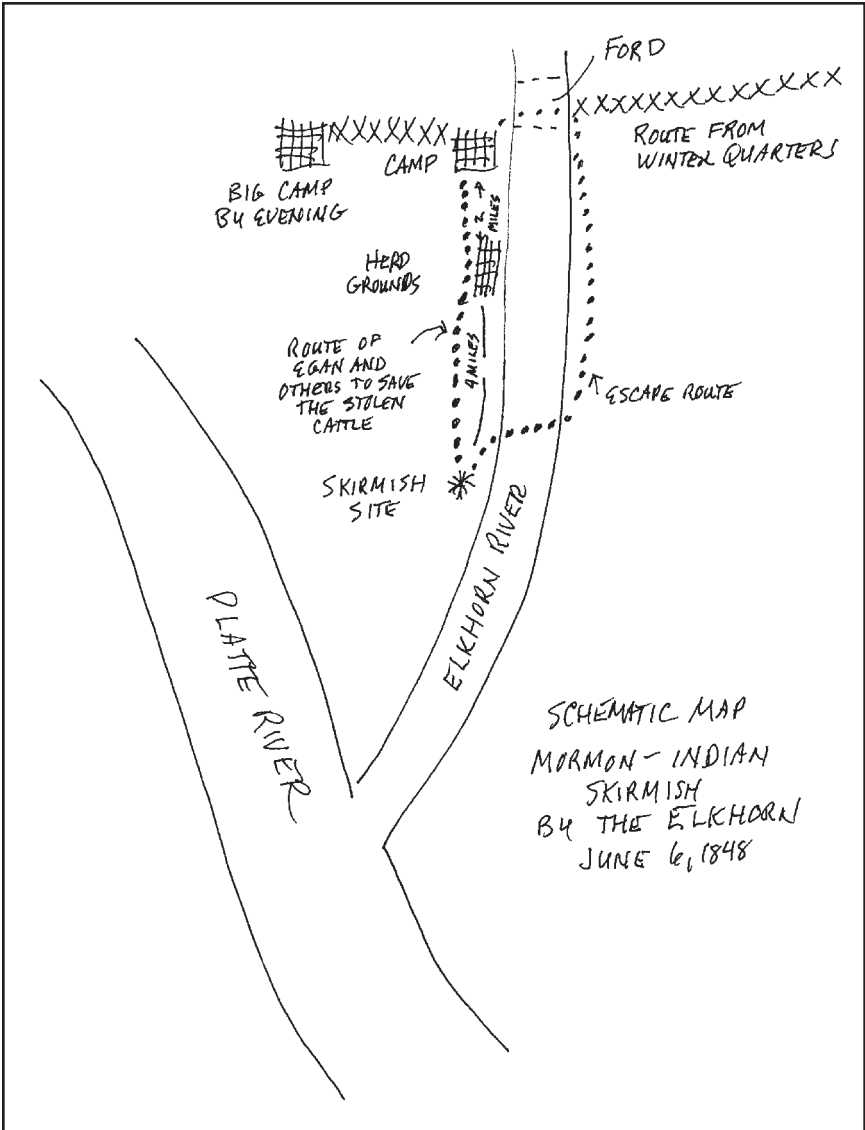
be driven to Mary by Cornelius P. Lott.<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile, herdsmen on the west side of the Elkhorn collected cattle and drove them downriver two miles to graze beside the river. Peter Conover said some three hundred lodges were several miles down river. Kimball's camp journal says the Indians probably were of the Omaha and Otoe tribes.<sup>17</sup> On Sunday, 4 June, many Saints assembled for a preaching and prayer service near Elder Kimball's wagon. Monday, instead of starting the journey as planned, the people hid under wagon covers and tents, riding out thunderstorms.

### **The Raid and Skirmish**

Only by drawing details from several separate stories about the episode and carefully fitting them together can anyone describe the skirmish properly. What follows here is a composite history, woven together from accounts for 6 June written by or about Egan, William Burton, Heber C. Kimball, Thomas Bullock, Norton Jacob, Thomas E. Ricks, Peter Wilson Conover, John D. Lee, and Egan's son, Howard Ransom Egan.<sup>18</sup>

On Tuesday morning, 6 June, before the cattle could be brought up to camp and hitched to the wagons, Indians raided the Saints' herd about 8 a.m. and stole several. A herdsman rushed to camp with the news. Elder Kimball dispatched his son, William H. Kimball, and Howard Egan on horseback and more than ten footmen to try to rescue the cattle. Two more horsemen, Tom Ricks and Willis Bartholomew, joined Egan and William.<sup>19</sup> The four riders "proceeded at a rapid pace" about six miles down the river. Hearing a number of shots fired, they feared for themselves and for the safety of the footmen following them. Apparently, Peter Conover was in charge of the footmen.<sup>20</sup>

Egan and the other riders rode past and missed the Indians and then turned back and suddenly came upon them. The Indians had killed John Pack's ox, butchered it, and were hauling it away. Both sides surprised each other. Indians pointed rifles at the horsemen. According to the Kimball Camp Journal, "The Indians not stopping when desired and appearing rather hostile, we fired upon them. The Indians returned the fire." Apparently, the Mormons fired first, and Egan may have been the first one to pull the trigger. He spotted an Indian twenty or twenty-five feet away leveling his rifle at Egan's good friend Kimball. To save Kimball's life, Egan fired his six-shooter at the Indian. "The shot took effect. The Indian reeled & fell, which lowered his hand so as to cause the [Indian's] ball to take effect in the Horse's hip on which Wm. sat." Both sides fired shots at each other. "A Ball & 2 Buckshot" tore into Thomas Ricks' lower back, knocking him to the ground, almost lifeless. That left three in the saddle, badly outnumbered. "Egan with the other shot from his 6-shooter brought an other Indian to the ground."



He fired again and “brought another Indian to the ground, when a large Ball struck Egan on the right arm, Just above the wrist, which mangled the Leaders [tendons] So as to render it useless from further Service.” He dropped his six-shooter (he would learn the history of his “lost” gun later). At the same time, another ball hit Egan’s horse in the neck, causing the mount to turn toward camp, almost throwing Egan toward the ground.<sup>21</sup>

Egan, wounded and unarmed, along with Kimball and Bartholomew, decided to retreat, leaving motionless Tom Ricks on the ground. But the Indians also fled. When the Mormons looked back, they saw an Indian moving toward Ricks and feared a scalping, but the Indian only picked up a pistol—possibly Egan's—and followed the others downriver.

Apparently Egan, Kimball, and Bartholomew met up with the footmen, so they all headed for the battle site to retrieve Ricks. Kimball wrapped a handkerchief around Egan's wound to try to stop the bleeding.

They put Ricks on a buffalo robe stretcher and started out quickly for camp. Conover said about three hundred Indians appeared on a bluff, yelling like demons. Both sides shouted and threatened each other. Men moved Ricks into the timber for protection. Then, Conover sent two men to find a place to cross the river, for safety. They forded the Elkhorn, on foot. Conover held one end of the buffalo robe with one hand, his gun in the other, and his ammunition on his head. The water was chin deep. According to Conover, Egan, though wounded, helped carry Ricks across.

Once the horsemen and footmen reached the east shore, Kimball helped Egan stay on his horse. Both their horses had been wounded. They rode up to "several brethren" and requested them to go and help the footmen bring Ricks back. Egan and Kimball took a circuitous route toward the bluff to avoid riding in timber and hence to let Howard ride more smoothly. Howard became "very faint with loss of blood," so Kimball could not take him across the river again on horseback or on foot. Meeting up with wagons belonging to Martin H. Peck and others heading for the camp, Howard climbed into one of the wagons, which conveyed him to the ferry. Someone sent for Dr. John Bernhisel, who crossed the river to the east side and worked on Egan's wounds. They ferried Egan across and helped walk him to his family.

Son Howard had not seen his father all morning. Younger Howard recalled that earlier that morning "the campers heard that men had saved the stock but that a couple of the men had been wounded." The Egan's did not know Howard was one of them:

Before noon, as I was sitting in the front of the wagon, I saw two men holding Father up and leading him towards our wagon from the ferry. His arms were hanging down and his chin was on his breast. I heard the men say that the Indians had shot him through the wrist. He had swam the Horn River that way, and had lost so much blood he could not do it again, so they had to bring him around by the ferry.

Egan's wound was serious. "Father had been shot in the wrist of his right hand, and the bullet cut every cord of the thumb and fingers in the course, but broke no bones," younger Howard recalled.<sup>22</sup>

The men Egan and Kimball sent to help retrieve Tom Ricks found the footmen carrying him in a buffalo robe. They assisted until a carriage reached them. Ricks was returned to camp by carriage, arriving at his father's covered wagon about 2 p.m.

But, in the meantime, his father, Joel Ricks, had left to go find him. When Egan brought news to camp of Tom's being shot, Joel Ricks drove off in a light spring wagon with Thomas Whittle and a boy, George Body or Bailey.<sup>23</sup> Driving down the east side of the Elkhorn, they somehow missed the route being taken by the light wagon carrying Tom and did not find him. Foolish to be there without guards, they were surrounded by twenty to thirty Indians, who threatened them, ransacked their wagon, stole some items, and then turned them loose. Indians made signs to Brother Ricks informing him that in the skirmish, four Indians had been killed and three wounded.

Meanwhile, at the Elkhorn camp, Tom Ricks was gasping for life. Elder Kimball and others blessed him, and he seemed to rally. He survived. Camp leaders feared that Indians might attack the camp, so, as a precaution, they decided to move away from the timber in which Indians could sneak up on them. By 3 p.m., all the wagons, which had been hitched up and loaded in a hurry, started moving two miles to the west to a new campsite.

Leaders felt concern for the safety of a small company from Winter Quarters, including Mary Fielding Smith, which had not reached the Elkhorn by noon as expected. A group of Mississippi Saints, traveling ahead of her, had arrived in camp by noon. Those in the Mary Fielding Smith party included herself, daughter Jerusha, Joseph Fielding and wife Anna, Joel Terry (a driver), John Smith, Cornelius P. Lott, William Thompson, and others. So, as soon as the new encampment was forming, Elder Kimball sent ten footmen, well armed, to find the overdue group. Meanwhile, on the east side of the Elkhorn, Indians found Dr. Jesse Brailey and chased him. One aimed a rifle at him, and the doctor aimed his umbrella at the Indian, causing the Indian to turn and flee into a strip of timber near the river. Three miles east of the Elkhorn, the well-armed footmen found Mary Fielding Smith's group and escorted them and their fifteen wagons to the ferry and on to the new Big Camp by about 5 p.m.<sup>24</sup>

That evening, the Kimball Company's 220 wagons formed into a tight corral. Extra guards were posted. Apparently, searchers found and brought back some of the stolen cattle. One or two of the Peter Conover's footmen did not return until toward evening, causing fears until then that they had been harmed. Possibly they were the ones who brought back some of the missing cattle.

For Tamson Egan and the children, then, their trek west started out in a frightening manner. But, in one way, the wound was a blessing for young



son Howard R., who had not seen much of his father thus far in the journey. "I now could see him every day," the boy recalled, "and watch Dr. Bernhisel dress the wound and trim the ends of the cords with a pair of scissors where they stuck out of the flesh."<sup>25</sup> Obviously, the doctor and probably Tamson had to change Howard's bandages and dress his wound during the next week or so. Unable to fully use his right hand for weeks, Howard's usefulness to the camp and to his family was limited.

On 8 June, Heber C. Kimball called for a reformation in conduct among the people in his company. "He wanted the men to keep their women and children in subjection and not suffer them to use profane language, nor to suffer their women to ramble away from camp, not go visiting from wagon to wagon, but to stay at home and keep themselves clean and their children and wagons clean." Kimball advised brethren to not swear, use profanity, abuse cattle, murmur, or have angry feelings. He wanted men to not sit up late at night but to go to bed early and to see that their families observed "good hours." He wanted men to make certain they held family prayers. Kimball's encampment voted unanimously to follow those instructions.<sup>26</sup>

Three days after the shooting, on 9 June, Elder Kimball organized his train into subgroups. Egan, with captain experience twice the year before, was not picked to be a Captain of Ten, probably because of his wounded right hand. For a while, the Egan's apparently traveled in Heber C. Kimball's Fifty, whose acting captain was Egan's friend, Jackson Redding. Other Fifties were led by Captains Higbee, Billings, and Pack. On 13 June, after a time-consuming crossing of the Beaver River, the entire Kimball Company of about 220 wagons encamped in one large corral.<sup>27</sup> Egan was still nursing his wound when he turned thirty-three on 15 June. John D. Lee, writing in his diary on 16 June, noted that both Thomas Ricks and Howard Egan, the wounded men, were "all doing well."<sup>28</sup> President Young, after learning about the Indian fight, sent word to Elder Kimball to bring his division up to stay close by Brigham Young's First Division.

### **Along the Platte's North Shore**

On 17 June, the Kimball train passengers faced the challenge of crossing the Loup Fork River. They were pleased to see the river "covered with oxen coming from Brother B. Young's camp to help us all [cross] over the Loop Fork." One said that "it was a beautiful sight to see; 6 yoke of cattle to each wagon. The brethren kept crossing back and forward till all our teams was over."<sup>29</sup> Two days later, the Kimball train camped early on the banks of the broad, sluggish Platte River "in order to give the females a chance to do their washing, etc, which was attended to with alacrity."<sup>30</sup> One woman thought that this Platte River country "was beautiful" and noted that "the

women, in small companies, were often seen walking on its banks by moonlight, or bathing in its waters.”<sup>31</sup>

On 23 June, John D. Lee, in the Brigham Young Company a day ahead of the Kimball train, was passing prairie dogs. “Abundance of Prairie Dogs are on the Deserts & Plains,” he said, “many of which were killed & eat by the Brethren.”<sup>32</sup> Son Howard R. remembered the first colony of prairie dogs they passed through. “The whole earth seemed to be covered with little mounds,” he said, atop which they could see dogs sitting and standing. The dog colonies covered acres but were miles apart. “We could see dozens of the dogs at a time all sitting upright and watching our train, and if a person started towards them there would be a general barking chorus and instantly every dog would disappear and not appear again till the intruder had left to a safe distance.” Children were told that if someone shot a prairie dog and the body fell into the hole, they should not reach into the hole for it because rattlesnakes lived in the same holes as the dogs did.<sup>33</sup>

For the next month, the Kimball and Young trains traveled close together, often camping but a few miles apart at night. Each Fifty in the Kimball Company rotated turns for leading the train. Slowly, the wagon caravans moved along the north side of the Platte River, often traveling “double file,” or two wagons abreast, and sometimes on four tracks or roads.<sup>34</sup> Taking advantage or rare, extended stops of a half day or more, women, including no doubt Tamson Egan, “were busily engaged washing & baking.”<sup>35</sup>

The Egans saw no buffalo until 29 June.<sup>36</sup> On 1 July, in high plains country, John D. Lee noted that the people were seeing great herds of buffalo continually through the day. Perhaps this was the buffalo country and time period where Captain Egan’s company got caught in a buffalo stampede, something young Howard R. remembered vividly all his life:

I was playing near the end of the wagon tongue. Our wagon was the first on that wing of the corral. Mother caught her boys, and before I knew anything more we landed in the wagon, and she followed, and just in time, for a stampeded herd of buffalos was coming straight for the camp. They divided just a little way from the camp, some passing the back, some the front of the corral. Some of them passed over the end of our wagon tongue, doing no damage, but the part that passed the back end struck and broke a hind wheel of the last wagon in our wing. We staid there to repair damages till next day.<sup>37</sup>

Howard R. recalled one day when he was riding in the front end of the wagon—possibly in the section of Nebraska where antelope were found. Father Howard was driving. Suddenly, Howard ran to the side of the wagon. “Mother, quick, my gun.” Tamson grabbed the gun, but by the time she passed it to Howard, he complained it was “too late.” Howard had seen an

antelope running between the wagon train and the river, five or six rods away. Howard said if he could have shot it, "we could have had some nice meat." Tamson, however, said it was a shame to kill such a pretty animal as that.<sup>38</sup>

While the wagon trains were passing through buffalo ranges early in July, each Fifty assigned several men to be hunters. On 4 July the Egans were about 320 miles west of Winter Quarters. A camp report that evening said that "the health of the camp was good; plenty of buflo, plenty of grass & water, no wood." By then, Tamson was learning to cook on fires fueled by dry buffalo chips. Son Howard R. remembered helping Tamson gather buffalo chips for fires. "When we camped where there was plenty of them we could collect a couple sacks full and carry them to the next camp, for sometimes they would be very scarce," he said.<sup>39</sup>

With some eighteen hundred people in the valley<sup>40</sup> and with that number and more heading there, it was vital that Salt Lake Valley farmers produce a good 1848 harvest. Saints in the Young and Kimball trains, including no doubt the Egans, eagerly looked for news from the Valley about the farms. In mid July, the camps received a 9 June letter from Valley leaders containing this preharvest report:

There has been a large amount of spring crops put in, and they were doing well till within a few days. The crickets have done considerable damage to both the wheat and corn, which had discouraged some, but there is plenty left if we can save it for a few days. The sea gulls have come in large flocks from the lake and sweep the crickets as they go; it seems the hand of the Lord in our favor.<sup>41</sup>

On 14 July, the Kimball Camp Journal noted that during their journey thus far, their train had experienced eight births and two deaths—a six-year-old girl who was run over by a wagon and a twenty-eight-year-old woman who died of "consumption." Perhaps during this mid-July part of the trek is when little Howard R. was walking and did not keep up with the wagon train:

One day our wagon was the last in the train and Mother who was driving the team, let me get out and walk behind the wagon. I took my time and gradually fell back till I could hardly see the wagon, when I noticed this it scared me so I ran at my fastest speed, but soon was out of wind and went very slow again to gain my breath, and took another run, but I was getting farther behind all the time. As the train was nearing a rolling country, where I couldn't be seen, Mother got George Redding to come back and get me.<sup>42</sup>

### **Captain of Mississippi Saints**

On 16 July, a Sunday, the Kimball and Young trains were camped close

together in sight of Chimney Rock. They held a Sabbath meeting midway between their two encampments. There, President Young requested that both trains travel in smaller companies “so that our cattle can have more time to feed.” In response, each train restructured itself into four companies. President Kimball’s four camp leaders continued to be the Captains of Fifty: Titus Billings, Isaac Higbee, John Pack, and himself assisted by Henry Herriman rather than Jackson Redding. But the group of Saints from Mississippi asked to be a camp of their own; so, with President Kimball’s approval, they chose Howard Egan to be their captain. Apparently, his wrist had healed well enough by then for him to handle normal travel demands. So Tamson and the children traveled west with these southern-speaking families.<sup>43</sup>

A Mississippi company had reached Winter Quarters by the end of May. It included fifty-six white persons, thirty-four blacks, and twenty-eight wagons from Mississippi and other southern states. About half of the company moved ahead and joined the Kimball Company the same day that Mary Fielding Smith’s group did, while the rest of the Mississippi company waited to travel in the Willard Richards train, which did not leave the Elkhorn until 7 July.

Not counting his own family, Captain Egan’s company included twenty-four whites and thirteen blacks, using ten wagons pulled by oxen, horses, and mules. The southerners, well equipped for the trek, brought along fourteen milk cows. John H. Bankhead and Nancy Crosby had three children with them as well as John’s brother, George Bankhead. Before leaving home, the Bankheads had given their slaves a choice of freedom in Tennessee or of going west with them, and eleven came west with them. The Bankhead slaves in Howard’s company included Nathan and wife Susan, Dan (a blacksmith), George, Alex, Sam, Lewis, Ike, John Priestly and Nancy, and possibly Rose, the mother of Ike and John. The Bankheads joined the Kimball train on 29 May. John and Margaret Towery Lockhart, Mississippians, brought along five children. Francis McKnown had ten whites and two blacks in his group.<sup>44</sup>

### **Crossing to the Oregon Trail**

Unlike the 1847 pioneers’ route, the Kimball wagons left the Mormon Trail about six miles west of Chimney Rock and crossed the Platte River to the south side to travel on the Oregon Trail. Their crossing took place on 17 July. The ford was judged to be a mile across and required some triple teaming to pull the wagons through the river floor’s gravel and sand. Starting about 5 p.m., 180 Kimball Company wagons crossed by nightfall. All forded safely, the company clerk noted, “except one wagon of Brother Howard Egan

tipt partially over on the side; nothing injured, a few things wet." Captain Herriman's Fifty stayed on the north side. During the crossing, the company's cattle became mixed together, so the next morning men from the different camps "were busy selecting their cattle." Herriman's Fifty crossed the river and rejoined the train that day. "The roads were good on this side of the Platte," a diarist noted. "We saved about ten miles travel, and the road is much the best," clerk Thompson wrote.<sup>45</sup> Francis Parkman, who wrote the classic *Oregon Trail*, rode on this route two years before, in 1846.<sup>46</sup>

A dry season produced a scarcity of feed, causing scouts to look in new places for campsites. They passed Scott's Bluff, which abuts the Platte from the south, by swinging a bit southward and going up "the ridge"—over Robidoux Pass. They passed Horse Creek on the 19th. By now, children like Howard R. would be keeping their eyes open to avoid stepping on prickly pears, a thorny ground cacti common to that region.<sup>47</sup>

On 20 July, Brigham Young's big train crossed the Platte, too, to travel on the Oregon Trail. Hearing of this, Elder Kimball and Howard rode ahead that day to find the Young camps, but eight miles later turned back without making contact—two miles too soon.

At a good camping place on the Platte bottom, with plenty of feed, wood, and water, the Kimball Company declared Friday, 21 July, a nontravel day to rest the cattle "and give our wives a chance to wash." That evening, Porter Rockwell rode into camp from the Valley. Again, of paramount concern was news about the Valley crops. Rockwell said people there were well and the wheat crops looked fine. He delivered a letter from the Valley presidency dated 21 June in which the presidency reported that frost and crickets had seriously damaged wheat, beans, and peas, but the corn looked first rate.<sup>48</sup>

During travels the next few days, the different Mormon camps bunched and leap frogged each other. Camp clerk Thompson filed this busy traffic report on 22 July, one day before reaching the environs of Fort Laramie:

Camps started at 8, Brother Kimball and Pack's companies taking the lead, Brother Egan's, Higbee's & Billings followed. We left Brother Henry Herriman's camp in corall not coming on to-day. Stopt at noon to watter & feed, the feed being so poor. President Kimball & Packs companies moved on, followed by Brother Egan's, camp over the Bluffs; camped on the Platt Bottom near Laramie Creek. Brother George Billings went on from Father Billings camp & got back; stated that Brother Kimball, Pack & Egan was camped three miles ahead & they wanted us to come forward. We hitched up our teams & put ahead; got into camp about 6 p.m. after coming about 10 or 12 miles to-day. Plenty wood & water; tolerable feed. H.C.K. called the brethren of the different camps together after sundown to know their minds about traveling on the morrow [Sunday]. The brethren concluded that it was better to go on as the feed was poor here.<sup>49</sup>

Sunday morning, then, Father Billings' camp led out, followed by the Egan, Kimball, and Pack camps. When thunder, lightning, and rain showers struck from the west that afternoon, travel stopped a half mile west of Laramie Fork. "The companies of Billings, Kimball & Pack & Egan formed one large correll," clerk Thompson said.<sup>50</sup> They were close to Fort Laramie but apparently made little contact with it. That day, clerk Thompson wrote in a letter that in the Kimball companies, "there are no murmurings or complainings, no finding fault, in our camp. Every day appears like the Sabbath, when we are in camp. All is still except where the brethren and sisters meet together to sing and pray, or, where the father is calling upon the Lord by the side of the wagon, with his family around him."<sup>51</sup>

Clerk Thompson's description misleads, however. He knew, but did not write, that to listen to the Egan wagon train was to hear an interesting mixture of sounds. Wagon wheels squeaked and crunched. Leather harnesses slapped sweaty sides of lumbering oxen. At least one Egan baby cried, and others younger and older cried, sometimes in the middle of the night. Bake kettle lids clanked. Two or three trumpet blasts each morning awakened campers and announced yoke-up time and departure time. Streams of warm milk from cows' teats struck tin bucket bottoms. Axe blades split wood. Mothers' voices yelled for their children to come to supper and sang soft lullabies to hush little ones to sleep. Blacksmith hammers rang on wheel rims or red-hot steel they pounded on their anvils. Hunters in the distance fired rifles at elusive game. Men's and women's voices sang church hymns on Sundays. Children shrieked and laughed during games of chase. Oxen belled, dogs barked, horses snorted, sheep baaed, pigs grunted, and roosters crowed at dawn. Campers' ears heard coughing, snoring, a profanity or two almost out of earshot of women or wagon captains, rain ratatat-tatting on wagon and tent canvas, and men's animated voices swapping tall tales around a cracking campfire—possibly even Howard's voice telling about some adventure he had on the high seas or of his shootout with Omahas at the Elkhorn River. At times, a listener might hear stern words between irritated spouses, soft talk between teenage lovers, squealing fiddles, stomping feet during evening dances, and Mississippians with southern drawls and Captain Egan with a Canadian/New England accent chatting about wagon repairs. Farther along, the Egans and the rest would hear "wolves very noisy through the night."<sup>52</sup> Camp life was far from being as quiet as clerk Thompson claimed.

### **Drought and Dust**

On 24 July, the one-year anniversary of Brigham Young's (and Howard's)

entering the Great Salt Lake Valley, Titus Billings' camp rolled out first, followed by Howard's Mississippi camp and the Kimball and Pack groups. They took the ridge road, apparently helping to wear ruts that today are an important landmark on the Oregon Trail—the Guernsey ruts near Guernsey, Wyoming. Many camped that night near the warm spring, twelve miles beyond Fort Laramie, but Howard encamped his people a mile south. They were five miles ahead of Heber C. Kimball's camp that night.

Because the cattle had “scarcely any feed” since Sunday, the Kimball train moved out early on Tuesday, 25 July, but was slowed by the Young train ahead of it. Kimball clerk Thompson noted: “This morning Howard Egan went some 10 miles on the river road to ascertain about feed. Come back and reported that there was no feed as far as he went.”<sup>53</sup>

With Wyoming's Black Hills in sight and sometimes Laramie Peak, the Saints moved slowly northwesterly along the Upper Platte. Feed continued to be scarce because of drought conditions. Livestock suffered. Tamson turned twenty-four on 27 July. The next day, clerk Thompson reported that in one Ten “several cattle” gave out—“staggered and fell”—and added that “there was several cattle give out in the different camps today,” afflicted with “the blind staggers.”

That same day, in the morning, “a white mule in Brother H. Egan's camp undertook to get out. The guard turned him back; he run through among the cattle & scared them.” The cattle knocked over the blacksmith's wagon, breaking an axle and all spokes but one in a wheel, and upset a wagon with a family in it, breaking one axle.<sup>54</sup> Captain Egan's group suffered a similar problem the next day, 29 July, near Horse or Horseshoe Creek. According to clerk Thompson:

the cattle belonging to Brother H. Egan's camp got scared through the night again although they had a number of them yoked up, & chained to the waggons. They had to let them go to save the wagons from being broke. When they started three was 11 yoke of their cattle that they had not got.<sup>55</sup>

Captain Egan's camp had more cattle problems the next night, 30 July, making three nights in a row. Again citing the camp journal:

Through the night 41 of cattle belonging to Brother Howard Egan's camp got scattered, supposed to be by the Indians; they were found through the day near Laramie peak, 10 or 12 miles distant, about sundown. Brother Egan's camp moved up and camped on the west side of Horse Creek.<sup>56</sup>

On 31 July, at a steep bluff that required double teaming for three-fourths of a mile, one camp had to wait until some of “Brother Egan's com-

pany got up.” Then, over the top, the company moved ahead to a small creek where “Brother Egan’s camp was watering & bating [resting] their cattle.”<sup>57</sup> August 1 found them crossing LaBonte Creek and camping a half mile west of it. On 2 August, “Brother Egan’s camp started at 9,” encountered wind and rain that afternoon, and encamped with the Pack and Kimball companies on the LaPrele Creek for the night.

At the excellent Deer Creek campsite, several camps, including Egan’s, stopped for the night of 4 August. There was “little feed” there, but normally this was a premier campsite. When John Fremont stopped there in late July of 1843, he found an “abundance or rich grass.”<sup>58</sup> Thirteen years later, Howard would hear these place names again in connection with his Pony Express work. Pony Express stations would be built at such spots where the Eigans had been, such as Horseshoe, LeBonte, LaPrele, and Deer Creek stations. August 5 was another leap-frog day. Said clerk Thompson:

Camps started at 10 P H C K (President Heber C. Kimball) taking the lead. Brother Egan, Burgess & Billings following. Brother Billings camp stopt at the deep hollow or ravene 2 1/2 from Deer Creek. The other camps went on. Here some of the sisters washed as there was plenty of wood & water & a little feed on the north side of the river. Brother Egan went forward of Brother Kimball’s camp and found a camping place 15 miles ahead near Muddy Creek. Tolerable good feed; plenty wood & water. The road was very dusty to-day.<sup>59</sup>

Teamsters the next day sometimes could not see the teamsters ahead of them because of blowing dust. The trains reached the Upper Ferry site on the Platte (near present-day Casper) on 7 August and halted for several days to do blacksmithing to repair wagons, to shoe horses and oxen, and to hunt buffalo.

### **Cattle Death Stretch**

On 12 August, their general crossing of the Platte began, fording this time rather than ferrying, because of low water. Three days of hard travel brought them to the Sweetwater River near Independence Rock. During that stretch, they encountered sagebrush growing eight or ten feet high, with limbs six inches in diameter, “the largest I saw on the road,” Hosea Stout said.<sup>60</sup> They also passed saleratus lakes, where many families stocked up on the white soda to use for baking. Son Howard R. recalled:

One day we camped a little ways from a dry Salaratus Lake. Mother took me along with her to get some. It was very hard and smooth and we had only table knives to dig it out, but I remember we got as much as Mother could carry to the wagon. It lasted for a number of years after we arrived in the valley.<sup>61</sup>



At the Sweetwater, travelers found “the only good feed for the last 200 miles.”<sup>62</sup> Howard and Tamson’s littlest boy, Horace Adelbert, turned one year old on 17 August, near Independence Rock. West of Devil’s Gate on 18 August, the trains learned by rider from Great Salt Lake City that some three hundred yoke of cattle and a hundred wagons were being sent east to help them. The Egans and the rest worried through a period of cattle deaths during the two weeks after leaving the Platte, due no doubt to bad water pools along the route. John D. Lee said that “the roads are almost lined with dead cattle.”<sup>63</sup> John Pack’s camp lost nineteen by 25 August. In one stretch, clerk Thompson saw some ten to fifteen dead cattle on the wayside. Henry Herriman’s company lost so many cattle they had to move some wagons, unhitch them, and use the same oxen to help pull the other wagons. Probably some Saints who lost pulling animals wished that buffalo in the area could be hitched up to pull wagons. Companies sent any oxen they could spare back to help companies behind them who were short. For camps near the dead oxen, “the stench was awful, and the wolves as thick as sheep.”<sup>64</sup>

About that time, two letters from the Valley brought mixed but mostly good news about the crops. One, from Parley P. Pratt dated 8 August, reported that “many had lost their crops” to the crickets and through poor cultivation, but the wheat crop “has exceeded all expectations,” and oats and vegetables did well. They expected a surplus of ten thousand to twenty thousand bushels of corn.<sup>65</sup> In the other letter, dated 9 August, Valley leaders said the pioneers had plowed, planted, and sowed three thousand acres. Despite insect damages, the wheat harvest exceeded expectations, and “green peas have been so plentiful for a long time that we are becoming tired of them, cucumbers, squashes, beets, carrots, parsnips, and greens are upon our tables.”<sup>66</sup>

On 24 August, Elder Kimball, while camped one mile west of the seventh and last crossing of the Sweetwater, wrote to President Brigham Young, up ahead. Kimball explained why his wagons were so far behind. Then he commented that “Brother Howard Egan will start early to-morrow morning, to come to you with these lines.”<sup>67</sup>

Howard and Nancy’s little daughter, Helen Jeanette, turned one year old on 25 August. One day later, the Kimball company’s divisions were stretched out at least twenty-four miles from lead wagon to rear one, causing President Kimball to order ox teams back to assist the troubled wagons.<sup>68</sup> On 28 August, clerk Thompson heard that thirty cattle had died in the Brigham Young Company during the past couple of days. That day, Presidents Young and Kimball, writing to Saints at the Missouri River, said that cattle losses were due to “the very dry season, the scarcity of grass, the heavy dragging,

dusty roads and inhaling so much of the alkali by breathing, eating and drinking.” They admitted that some families in the Young and Kimball companies lacked wagons, cattle, and even tents. If necessary, they said, they would take these people only to the Green River and there build them huts to live in until teams from the Valley could return for them. Then, they mentioned a planned assignment for Howard: “When we are all arrived in the Valley, we shall make arrangements to send to Winter Quarters, another mail by Captain Egan, Captain Roundy and others, when we shall be able, to send letters to individual persons, in addition to another General Epistle.”<sup>69</sup>

On 29 August, Heber C. Kimball asked Howard Egan, William Kimball, and Thomas Bullock to “take an account of his teams.” They inspected and tallied from 4 p.m. until sunset.<sup>70</sup> One of the Mississippi Saints in Howard’s company died on 31 August, a Sister Cowan, of mountain fever and diarrhea.<sup>71</sup>

To open September, the Kimball train caught up with and camped by Brigham Young’s large company. Just east of South Pass, about 130 yoke of cattle and wagons brought by teamsters from the Valley reached the Young and Kimball trains. Companies inventoried their oxen to see what their needs were. When President Kimball polled the Captains of Ten, he found they needed a total of forty-three yoke of oxen. A day was spent assigning oxen to teams needing them. On 3 September, the trains moved over “the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains.” During the “cold frosty morning” the next day, Captain Egan’s camp moved off at 8:30 and passed the Herriman camp on Pacific Springs and John D. Lee’s Ten. “Sage for fuel,” Lee noted that day.<sup>72</sup> By nighttime on 5 September, President Kimball’s camp and Egan’s camp were a mile below the Little Sandy crossing. Those two groups corralled their wagons together again the next night, near the Big Sandy crossing.

### **To Great Salt Lake Fort**

From the Big Sandy to the Green River, the wagon companies again became strung out. Friday morning, 8 September, about 8 a.m., “Capts. Herriman’s, Kimble’s, Egan’s, Billings’s & Lee’s co Roled out,” and that night all those companies except for Lee’s camped together by the Green River. Next morning, Egan’s camp led out at 7 a.m. and the companies crossed Blacks Fork and camped on the bank of Hams Fork, with “Brother Egans, Billings, Pack & Kimball forming one large corell [corrall],” according to the Kimball camp journal.

On 12 September, many of the companies reached Fort Bridger and camped nearby. Undoubtedly, Tamson and the children liked this campsite,

which had "Water pure & clear; feed first rate & wood sufficient for camping purposes."<sup>73</sup> Traders visited the camps, trying to market buckskins and antelope hides. Son Howard R. remembered Fort Bridger, where he saw "Low dirt covered houses near the bank of the river. Indians and white men all dressed in buckskin clothes, and more dogs, half-bred wolf, than you could shake a stick at." A surprise awaited Howard at the fort. While trading, he was amazed to see his very own pistol was there, for sale. According to Howard R., at the fort father Howard "traded for the same pistol he had held in his hand, and dropped, when shot, in the fight at the Horn River. It had passed from Indian to Indian and arrived at Bridger long before we did."<sup>74</sup>

Nights became colder, and on 16 September, the Egans and the others awoke to find ice a half inch thick in the camp water pails.<sup>75</sup>

By the 18th, the Kimball wagons were in Echo Canyon. According to son Howard R., "we could hear the men calling and dogs barking from one cliff to another, although the ones starting the sound was far ahead of us, it went bounding from cliff to cliff, repeating the sound perfectly." Three family stories survive that tell about their descent down the canyon. Coming down that stretch, according to son Howard R., Tamson had to drive the wagon. Father Howard was called to assist in some repairs on a Kimball wagon, so she drove until he should catch up. She had two yoke of cattle and a yoke of cows, which she drove down that canyon, and she missed more stumps and rocks than any other driver—so it was said—while crossing the stream twenty-seven times. Sometimes she would be ahead of the team, some times between the cattle and wagon, to pass brush, trees, and rocks.<sup>76</sup>

Another story is that son Erastus was in the wagon because he had been run over. He had been lifted into the wagon, but he slipped in some way and fell under the tongue and would have escaped all right, but a pig was tied under the back of the wagon, and while he was trying to get out of the way of the pig, Erastus' foot got under the wheel.

The third story, one that Tamson told over and over during her life, was that family members would walk ahead of Tamson and the lead team. Those ahead would holler out "here is another creek," and Tamson would say, liking the double meaning of the phrase, "Damn the creeks!" Hosea Stout said this stretch of trail "has many very bad crossings."<sup>77</sup>

Four days later, the Kimball companies were moving up and over Big Mountain. There, at the summit, Tamson and the children "had a view of the south part of the Valley."<sup>78</sup> The travelers descended Big Mountain's west slope on a new, "pretty good" road, locking both wheels of the wagons to slow them down. Son Howard R. remembered those steep parts of the journey. "Father said we had to climb a mountain for seven miles, and I thought

before we did get to the top we had come seven hundred miles, for he had us walk up every step of it.” Then, the son added, he had to walk “down the other side, where it was awful steep, and everything loose in the wagon was liable to attempt to pass the team.” The next day, on Little Mountain, father Howard “took us to one side of the road and pointed out the place where we would live” in the Valley.<sup>79</sup>

Passing down Emigration Canyon on 23 September, the trail-weary souls “got very cold” during a rainstorm, which muddied the trail and forced teamsters to link up from four to seven yoke of cattle to a wagon when going downhill. The next day, 24 September, a Sunday, in pleasant weather, the Kimball trains “almost all together” rumbled into Great Salt Lake City by early afternoon and corralled on City Creek.<sup>80</sup> Son Howard said that, once in the city, “Father drove the team and landed the wagon near to the door of a house, near the middle of the south side of the north fort, where we lived for a couple of years.”<sup>81</sup>

The Egan would have agreed with Hosea Stout’s reflections penned in his diary on 24 September regarding the long journey just completed:

Thus ends this long and tedious journey from the land of our enemies. . . . But there is a many a desolate & sandy plain to cross. Many a rugged sage bed to break through. Many a hil and hollow to gug over & Many a mountain & canon to pass. and many frosty nights to endure in mid-summer.<sup>82</sup>

(By way of postscript, during the next two decades, Howard Egan played a key role in mail carrying, becoming best known for his work with overland stages and the Pony Express. His diaries for 1847, 1849, and other years have become important documents for western United States history. In 1917, his family published an edited version of his diaries and other Egan records in *Pioneering the West*, now a classic in western historical literature.<sup>83</sup>)

## Notes

1. “Throughout their migrating period Mormons had little trouble with Indians.” So concluded the leading Mormon Trail expert, Dr. Stanley B. Kimball, in his *Historic Resource Study: Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, 1991), 25.

2. This article is based on part of a chapter in the author’s forthcoming biography of Howard Egan. Egan kept a good diary for his trip to Utah and back during 1847 and a diary for his trek to California in late 1849—but not one for this 1848 trip to Utah. When the family published some of his diary and other materials in 1917, for this 1848 year, they used son Howard R. Egan’s recollections about this trip; see Wm. M. Egan, ed., *Pioneering the West 1846 to 1878: Major Howard Egan’s Diary* (Richmond Utah: Howard R. Egan Estate, 1917).

3. For example, Richard Bennett's excellent study, *We'll Find the Place: The Mormon Exodus, 1846–1848* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997), in the last chapter has President Young arriving in Utah in 1848 but basically ignores that year's emigration story.

4. Regarding the "Law of Adoption" then being practiced, see Gordon Irving, "The Law of Adoption: One Phase of the Development of the Mormon Concept of Salvation, 1830–1900," *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 291–314.

5. Juanita Brooks, ed. *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844–1861* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press and Utah State Historical Society, 1964), 1:310, entry for 9 May 1848.

6. *Pioneering the West*, 138.

7. Robert G. Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee: 1848–1876* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 1:39–40, entry for 23 May 1848. Cited hereafter as *Diary of John D. Lee*.

8. Thomas Bullock to Levi Richards, *Millennial Star*, 10:314.

9. *Pioneering the West*, 140.

10. Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 1:314, entry for 2 June 1848.

11. Nancy was sister to Jackson Redding, who was in the company. One list of 1848 pioneers shows Return Jackson Redden, age 31, his wife Laura, and children Laura T., Marion, and Naomi. "They Came in 1848," *Heartthrobs of the West* 9 (1948), 189–256; "Return Jackson Redden," *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 1123.

12. *Journal History*, 16 June 1848.

13. *Kimball Camp Journal*, 18 June 1848.

14. W. Clayton, *The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide* (St. Louis, Missouri: Missouri Republican Steam Power Press, 1848), 5.

15. An Elkhorn River Crossing marker is located south of the junction of Highway 36 and 240th Street, a few miles north of present-day Waterloo. Apparently, the 1847 pioneers crossed the Elkhorn about a mile south of present-day Waterloo.

16. *Kimball Camp Journal*, 6 June 1848.

17. *Ibid.*, citing Heber C. Kimball Manuscript History, and Conover, 208–9.

18. Details of the bloody skirmish are found in the *Kimball Camp Journal*, 6 June 1848, as copied in *Journal History*, 24 September 1848; *William Burton Journal*, 6 June 1848, in *Journal History* on 24 September 1848. Manuscript History of Heber C. Kimball, 6 June 1848, copied into *Journal History* of that date; Thomas Bullock's *Journal*, May 1848 to September 1848, microfilm, LDS Archives, entry for 15 June; C. Edward Jacob and Ruth S. Jacob, eds., *The Record of Norton Jacob* (Salt Lake City: Norton Jacob Family Association, 1949); Wanda Ricks Wyler, *Thomas E. Ricks, Colonizer and Founder*, 2nd ed. (Sacramento, California: the author, 1989), 13–15; "Journal of Peter Wilson Conover (1807–1892)," in the *Daughters of the Utah Pioneers' Chronicles of Courage I* (1990), 201–30; a letter of 15 June 1848 giving an account of the 6 June battle, in *Journal History* for 15 June 1848, and *Diary of John D. Lee*, entry for 16 June 1848. Son Howard Ransom Egan's recollections are in *Pioneering the West*, 140.

19. A sketch of Noah Willis Bartholomew, born in 1808, is in Andrew Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:309.

20. *Conover Journal*.

21. *Journal History*, 6 June 1848.

22. *Pioneering the West*, 140.

23. Thomas Whittle was born in 1812 in Ontario, Canada, lived in Detroit, was baptized in 1837, and lived in Quincy and Nauvoo. He was in Zera Pulsipher's 100. His family's biography about him does not mention the Indian skirmish. See "A Biography of

Thomas Levi Whittle," typescript, Sterling Forsyth Papers, LDS Archives. A George Washington Bailey is mentioned in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 7:441, who might be the person mentioned here.

24. Kimball Camp Journal, 4–6 June 1848.
25. *Pioneering the West*, 140.
26. Manuscript History of Second Division, 1848, Church Emigration Book, 8 June 1848.
27. Heber C. Kimball Manuscript History, 13 June 1848, Journal History, that date.
28. Thomas Edwin Ricks later helped colonize the Snake River country in Idaho. He laid out the town of Rexburg, where Ricks College now bears his name. Wyler, *Thomas E. Ricks, Colonizer and Founder*.
29. William Thompson in Kimball Camp Journal, 17 June 1848.
30. Heber C. Kimball Manuscript History, 19 June 1848, cited in Journal History, that date.
31. "Journal of Louisa Barnes Pratt," *Heartthrobs of the West* 8 (1947), 244 (189–244).
32. Diary of John D. Lee, 23 June 1848.
33. *Pioneering the West*, 141.
34. Kimball Camp Journal, 18 June 1848.
35. Diary of John D. Lee, 27 June 1848.
36. William Thompson to Willard Richards and Amasa Lyman, 23 July 1848, Journal History, that date.
37. *Pioneering the West*, 141.
38. *Ibid.*, 141–42.
39. *Ibid.*, 142.
40. Great Salt Lake Valley Leaders to Brigham Young and Quorum, 9 August 1848, Journal History, 9 August 1848.
41. John Smith, Charles C. Rich, and John Young to Brigham Young and Council of the Twelve, 9 June 1848, Journal History, 9 June 1848.
42. *Pioneering the West*, 142.
43. Kimball Company Journal, 17 July 1848.
44. "The Negro Pioneer," *Our Pioneer Heritage* 8 (1965), 513–14, 516–19; "Mississippi Saints," *Our Pioneer Heritage* 2 (1959), 473–76.
45. William Thompson to Willard Richards and Amasa Lyman, 23 July 1848, Journal History, that date.
46. Francis Parkman, *The Oregon Trail* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1946 [1846]). A good travel guide for seeing the trail sites today is Aubrey L. Haines, *Historic Sites along the Oregon Trail* (Gerald, Missouri: The Patrice Press, 1983).
47. Diary of John D. Lee, 19 July 1848.
48. Kimball Camp Journal, 21 July 1848; Diary of John D. Lee, 21 July 1848.
49. *Ibid.*, 22 July 1848.
50. Kimball Camp Journal, 23 July 1848.
51. William Thompson to Willard Richards and Amasa Lyman, 23 July 1848, Journal History, that date.
52. Thomas Bullock Journal, 31 August 1848, Journal History, that date.
53. Kimball Camp Journal, 25 July 1848.
54. Kimball Camp Journal, 28 July 1848.
55. *Ibid.*, 29 July 1848.
56. *Ibid.*, 30 July 1848.
57. Kimball Camp Journal, 31 July 1848.

58. Haines, *Historic Sites along the Oregon Trail*, 175.
59. Kimball Camp Journal, 5 August 1848.
60. Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier* 1:322, entry for 9 August 1848.
61. *Pioneering the West*, 143.
62. Diary of John D. Lee Journal, 9 August 1848.
63. Diary of John D. Lee, 18 August 1848.
64. "Journal of Rachel Emma Woolley Simmons," *Hearthrobs of the West* 11 (1950), 162.
65. Parley P. Pratt to Brigham Young, 8 August 1848, *Journal History*, 8 August 1848.
66. Great Salt Lake Valley Leaders to Brigham Young and Quorum, 9 August 1848, *Journal History*, 9 August 1848.
67. Heber C. Kimball to Brigham Young, 24 August 1848, *Journal History*, that date.
68. Kimball Camp Journal, 25 August 1848.
69. Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, Epistle to the Saints at Winter Quarters, 28 August 1848, *Journal History*, that date.
70. Thomas Bullock Journal, 29 August 1848, *Journal History*, that date.
71. *Ibid.*, 31 August 1848.
72. Diary of John D. Lee, 4 September 1848.
73. *Ibid.*, 12 September 1848.
74. *Pioneering the West*, 145.
75. Kimball Camp Journal, 16 September 1848.
76. *Ibid.*
77. Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier* 1:325, entry for 16 September 1848.
78. A view all the travelers could see, but the quote is from Kimball Camp Journal, 22 September 1848.
79. *Pioneering the West*, 145.
80. William Burton Journal, in *Journal History* for 24 September 1848.
81. *Pioneering the West*, 145.
82. Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 1:327, entry for 24 September 1848.
83. See endnote 2, above.