

Winter Quarters & Its Survival Projects, Gail Holmes

I'm breaking my own rule by identifying this report geographically with Winter Quarters, Nebraska. We need a larger canvas to adequately demonstrate the planning and hard work that fed, clothed, and transported more than 30,000 Mormon refugees 1846 to 1853 from the Mississippi and Missouri Valleys to Great Salt Lake Valley. Some came up the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers by steamboat before going west by covered wagon or hand cart from the Missouri.

Winter Quarters was one of several temporary headquarters of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in those years. It was only one of about 90 short-term Mormon communities established in southwestern Iowa and eastern Nebraska. Each community had its own name, its own branch of the Church, and its own economy. The success or failure of each community fell largely on the shoulders of its residents. But not entirely...Winter Quarters was the most celebrated of Church headquarters on either side of the Missouri River. Thus, perhaps, we may symbolically justify use of the name Winter Quarters to characterize this study.

Let's immediately break the geographic restraint of our study title by noting a covenant entered into in the Nauvoo, Illinois, Temple by many of those same refugees who later worked so hard to survive in the Middle Missouri Valley. The covenant was a promise to share resources in such a way that everyone who wished to flee western Illinois and southeastern Iowa to the Salt Lake Valley might do so, regardless of means.

A measure of how inclusive this was is a little story about Brigham Young, Acting President of the Church. As Mormons began crossing the Mississippi River in early February 1846, Brigham's coat buttoned very smartly in front. By the time his and two other wagon trains reached the Missouri River in mid-June 1846, Brigham could wrap that same coat half-way round again from the front. He and many others had, as covenanted, handed out of their wagons food and grain to other less well-prepared refugees.

Sharing was not the only drain on family resources, limited by the size of their covered wagon. The Quorum of the Twelve, of whom Brigham Young was senior and presiding member, decided to establish in south-central Iowa two recovery and resupply farms. About 700 acres of crops each were planted at Garden Grove, now in Decatur County, and Mount Pisgah, now in Union County. There refugees who were ill or had broken down teams or wagons could pull in, rest, recover, and watch over the growing crops. Surplus from those farms could be carried forward to share with those who had taken out of their meager supplies of grain to make the plantings. The crops were protected by building cabins around the perimeter of each farm where lingering migrants could recuperate and watch over parts of the farms.

The wagon train of George Miller was sent ahead of the following and very sporadic groups of covered wagons. Scouts, axmen, spademen, and builders selected the road, moved rocks, occasionally cut through groves of trees, graded approaches to and exits from rivers and creeks. They built bridges and ferries. Following wagon trains would finish the basic bridges, ferries, and roadways. That so-called Mormon Trail through southern Iowa followed an old Indian trail or trails. It is quite possible that was the trail Oto Indians in eastern Nebraska used in the 1790s to trade with British boatmen coming down the Mississippi with trade goods from Canada. Later Mormon improvements were so solid, the trail was heavily used by California, Colorado, and Montana Gold Rushers, Oregon migrants, and early sod-busters coming into western Iowa and into Nebraska before Iowa's railroads were built.

We have mentioned that Mormon families, fleeing mob killings and burnings in Illinois, were responsible for their own survival - - almost... Another provident decision of the Quorum of the Twelve, before leaving Nauvoo was hard for members to swallow, but proved to be a blessing in disguise. Jesse C. Little, president of the Eastern States Mission, was asked to go to Washington, D.C. seeking government help or work assignment to help finance the Mormon migration to the Salt Lake Valley.

It had been an American government plan since 1839 to build a string of blockhouses or forts from the Missouri River, at the Platte, to the Pacific Northwest. That was to strengthen American claims to the Pacific Northwest, then jointly occupied by England and the United States. The Twelve suggested Jesse Little try to get a paying contract by which the Mormon refugees might build that string of forts as they moved west. The government had not gotten around, yet, to building the contemplated forts.

War had just broken out, May 12, 1846 between the United States and Mexico. Fearing that England might side with Mexico against the United States, the American government gave up its 54-40-or-fight stance about Oregon and quickly agreed to split the territory along the 49th parallel. That boundary settlement between Canada and the United States was approved by the Senate June 15, one day after the Mormon vanguard of refugees reached the Missouri River.

Thus the United States no longer needed forts from Council Bluffs to the Pacific Northwest. Instead, President James K. Polk tabled the Mormon fort-building proposal and asked for volunteer soldiers. He wanted 1,000 volunteers from the Mormons. It was not a figure pulled out of the air. Polk knew - - most Americans knew - - the Nauvoo Legion had been more than 3,000 strong in the Illinois militia. That was before Illinois Governor Ford had stripped the Nauvoo Legion of its state militia arms, allowing mobs to burn out Mormon farmers, way lay Mormon travelers, and set fire to at least one Mormon village.

Jesse Little told President Polk he needed to think a few days before accepting the proposal to raise a Mormon Battalion for service in the War with Mexico. During that interim, Missouri politicians got wind of the proposal and objected to the large number of Mormons who might be marching to war through the State of Missouri. When Little came back to see the President, the government request had been scaled back to four or five companies of 68 to 109 men each. That would put a great strain on the refu-gee families in scattered wagon trains tending large herds of livestock, but it was achievable. Jesse Little accepted.

Orders for call-up of the Mormon Battalion were hand-carried from the War Department in Washington to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas territory by a new and soon to be instrumental friend of the Mormons. Thomas L. Kane, son of a Federal District Judge in Philadelphia, was recuperating from a career-ending respiratory illness contracted while serving in the American Consulate in Paris, France. While exercising by walking in Philadelphia, Kane had come upon and stopped to listen to Jesse Little preach while on his way to Washington to seek government help.

Kane was so intrigued by what Little had said that he invited him to the Kane home and questioned him for two hours. Then Thomas Kane, through his father, who was a friend of Vice Pres. George M. Dallas and members of President Polk's cabinet, arranged the introduction of Jesse Little to President Polk. That proved to be just the beginning of Thomas L. Kane's great services to the Church and fleeing refugees.

Having delivered War Department orders to Fort Leavenworth for the call-up of the Mormon Battalion, Kane wisely spent some time there getting to know the officers of that military complex and its medical staff. Then he rode horseback alone up along the Missouri River and arrived at Point aux poules or Traders Point July 6th.

Meanwhile, Captain James Allen and five men of the United States Dragoons (mounted infantry) had been directed from Mount Pisgah to Grand Encampment, with its covered wagons drawn up on hills just east of present-day Iowa School for the Deaf. The military men arrived at Grand Encampment June 30th with orders authorizing enlistment of four or five companies of Mormon volunteers.

Because neither state or federal governments had done anything to protect church members during mob attacks on them in Ohio, Missouri, or Illinois, no one wanted to enlist. Brigham Young asked Captain Allen if he could give the Mormons permission to camp on the west side of the Missouri River. The Missouri was the western border of the United States. Beyond that was what Congress had designated as Indian Country. No whites were allowed to linger there without permission from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in St. Louis. Captain Allen answered that as an agent of the President of the United States he could give permission for the Mormons to camp west of the river. The President later could rescind that permission if he chose.

President Young counseled with members of the Quorum of the Twelve. They agreed it would prove Mormon loyalty to the flag of the United States and Mormon service in the battalion would provide funds to help the migration west. Men were called together July 13 and advised to volunteer if their circumstances permitted it. Brigham declared:

"We want to conform to the requisition made upon us...If we want the privilege of going where we can worship God according to the dictates of our consciences, we must raise the battalion." (David R. Crockett 1997 Saints in the Wilderness vol. 2 LDS-Gems Press, Tucson AZ p. 25)

Though too sick to speak, Thomas L. Kane stood and commended the words of President Young. Orson Hyde was more emphatic. He said:

"Arise, the standard is raised, the call is made. Shall it be in vain? No! Let us rally to the standard and our children will reverence our names; it will inspire in them gratitude which will last for ever and ever!" (Ibid p. 25)

Three and a half companies of men were raised that day. The next day the fourth company was completed. Muster rolls were begun. The men were sworn in July 16 and Captain Allen became, according to military orders cut at Fort Leavenworth, Col. James Allen, commander of the Mormon Battalion. All other officers of the Battalion were chosen from among the Mormon volunteers, except the doctor, who would be added when the battalion members would draw their weapons and equipment at Fort Leavenworth.

Colonel Allen sent a letter to Jesse Little in answer to a query of what he thought of the Mormons. Allen wrote:

"I have found them civil, polite and honest as a people. There appears to be much intelligence among them, and particularly with their principal men or

leaders, to whom I feel much indebted for their active and zealous exertions to raise the volunteer force that I was authorized to ask for....Brigham Young is entitled to my particular thanks. All of this people are entirely patriotic, and they have come not only with cheerfulness, but under circumstances of great difficulty to them..." (Ibid p. 42)

July 20th the four companies marched nine miles southwest down along Mosquito Creek to Point aux poules to draw blankets and rations. July 22 the fifth and last company of the Mormon Battalion was filled and sent off to catch up with the first four companies marching on their way to Fort Leavenworth. The count as best I could determine was 489 men, about a ten or eleven boys as aides to officers, and about 20 wives as laundresses. That rounded out to about 520 men, boys, and women. Following behind the Battalion at a respectful distance were a number of wagon loads of some 60 to 100 wives and children of the volunteers. The latter did not go all the way to California. They were diverted, along the way later with sick members of the Battalion to winter at La Junta, Colorado before going on to Utah in 1847.

Eighty eight men were called and set apart in Mormon camps by the Missouri to serve as bishops and helpers to the families left behind by Battalion volunteers. An agent went to Fort Leavenworth to return whatever money the volunteers wanted to send back from their first pay to their families or to donate to the Church. The total approached \$5,000 -- not bad for men whose pay started around \$7 a month.

Let's look back now to June of 1846 and consider how leaders of the Church dealt with Native Americans and United States Indian Agents in the area. There were about 2,250 Algonkian-speaking Pottawattamie/Ottawa/Chippewa Indians, federated as one tribe, living in at least five widely separated villages in southwestern Iowa. There were about 1,300 Dhegiha Sioux-speaking Omaha Indians living about three miles west of the American Fur Company trade post, where downtown Bellevue, Nebraska is today. And there were about 930 Chiwere Sioux-speaking Oto and Missouri Indians living in one village about eight miles southwest of the American Fur Company Post. There also were three more tiny villages of Oto/Missouri just south of the Platte River at five-mile intervals west of the Missouri River.

Representing the American government, with great discretionary powers, to the Oto-Missouri, Omaha, and Pawnee Indians of east central Nebraska, and representing those same tribes to the American government was United States Indian Agent John Miller, living in Bellevue. With nearly the same powers and representative assignment for and with the Pottawattamie/Ottawa/Chippewa Indians was United States Indian Sub-Agent Robert B. Mitchell, living in the French and Indian village of Point aux poules, which most Americans called Traders Point. That was eight or nine miles south, south-west of Grand Encampment. Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders followed the Indian Agency directives very carefully.

In a meeting between the Mormons and the Pottawattamie/Ottawa/Chippewa, Pied Riche, tribal spokesman, declared:

"My Mormon Brethren, The Pottawattamie came sad and tired into this unhealthy Missouri Bottom, not many years back, when he was taken [by the American government] from his beautiful country beyond the Mississippi, which had abundant game and timber and clear water everywhere. Now you are driven away, the same, from your lodges & lands there, and the graves of your people. So we have both suffered. We must help one another, and the Great Spirit will help us both. You are now free to cut and use all the wood you may wish. You can make all your improvements,

and live on any part of our actual land not occupied by us. Because one suffers, and does not deserve it, is no reason he shall suffer always: I say. We may live to see all right yet. However, if we do not, our children will. Bon Jour. (Albert L. Zobell, Jr 1965 Sentinel in the East, Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr Salt Lake City Appendix C The Mormons p. 59)

What is not recited here is that nine days before the arrival of the Mormons June 14, chiefs and interpreters of the Pottawattamie had met with tribal members at the partial ruins of old Fort Croghan, what we today call Council Point. Fort Croghan had been built in 1842 by United States Dragoons from Fort Leavenworth to stop whisky runners coming up the Missouri River from the State of Missouri. There the chiefs explained their very recent negotiations in Washington, D.C. and agreement to sell southwestern Iowa to the government and remove in 1847 to northeastern Kansas territory. At the site of old Fort Croghan, partially destroyed in 1843 by a Missouri River flood, the local portion of the tribe had approved of the sale and move to Kansas.

This explains why the Mormons, who later built a support town at this site for the nearby Middle Mormon Ferry, called it Council Point. Behind Grand Encampment, Kaneshville, and Winter Quarters, Council Point was almost surely the fourth largest of 90 temporary staging communities they developed in the Middle Missouri Valley.

Indian Sub-Agent R.B. Mitchell sent a letter June 29, 1846 to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in St. Louis saying in part:

"I am gratified to say that since their arrival (Mormons) , I have seen nothing to which exception could be taken. The principal men seem determined to hold themselves aloof from the Indians. They admit no intercourse after night particularly with the Indians. They complain that they have been badly treated, but declare their intentions to bear the American Flag to whatever country they cast their lot." (David R. Crockett 1996 Saints in Exile, LDS-Gems Press, Tucson, AZ, p.404)

Without reciting all the dealings between these religious refugees and their Native American hosts, it probably would best serve us now to consider an August 28-29, 1846 Mormon-Indian meeting on the other side of the Missouri River. There on a bright day two delegations, about 80 Omaha and about 80 Oto Indians, walked into Cutler's Park (now either side of Mormon Bridge Road at the northwest edge of Forest Lawn Cemetery in northeast Omaha). Both delegations asked for rent from the Mormons for use of the land. Mormon leaders quickly agreed to talk on the morrow.

Both delegations were invited to sleep overnight on the east rise overlooking present-day Forest Lawn Cemetery Office. The Omaha accepted and moved up. The Oto said they were afraid the Omaha would kill them in the night. They asked and received permission to camp overnight amongst the Mormons.

The next day a large double tent was erected on the hill to the east. The Omaha and the Oto were invited to come in and talk. The Oto refused, saying they would wait until the Omaha were finished. The double tent was so filled that the Mormon recorder of the meeting had to stand outside, behind the speakers. Brigham Young explained the Mormons were on their way to the Rocky Mountains and that it might take them two years to vacate Cutler's Park. He offered gun repair, help with farming, to hire some young Indians to help herd Mormon livestock, and schooling for their youth. Finally, the church leader offered to build a blockhouse

on a high hill where the Omaha could see their enemies (primarily Dakota Sioux) coming from afar off.

Omaha Chief Big Elk, in his upper 70s, bowed and nearly blind, encouraged members of his delegation to respond. Finally, Big Elk himself stood and spoke with the same eloquence which had won him fame as far away as Washington, D.C. He said: I have to call you all my sons. Big Elk said he would like to know what the Oto would say. As for him, he was willing the Mormons should stay there two years or as long as needed. He cautioned: Don't cut down all the tall trees or I will be the last tree left standing. His concluding comment was: I like what you have said; it could have been said no better by anyone.

Then or shortly thereafter, a document was drawn up and signed, with Logan Fontanelle as interpreter for the Omaha Tribe, granting the Mormons the right to cut trees and stay in the area for two years, or more if needed.

The Omaha delegation left and the Oto group filed into the double tent. Brigham Young repeated his explanation of why the Mormons were there and their expectations to need that site for about two years. He made the same offers to the Oto Indians. After President Young spoke, the Oto chief stood and asked: But what have you offered the Omaha Indians?

When the Mormon leader said the very same offer was made to the Omaha Tribe, the Oto chief and some of his delegation exploded. They threatened war -- against the Omaha. The Oto had crossed the Missouri River into eastern Nebraska about 1700 A.D. This area had been a part of their hunting grounds since that time. The Omaha had been driven from place to place over the decades by Dakota Sioux of what now is South Dakota. Only in 1845, one year before the Mormons arrived, had the Omaha fled here at the suggestion of the United States Indian Agent at Bellevue.

The Oto left, refusing to talk or make any agreement. They were going to prepare for war. Church leaders later sent two men to the lone Oto village north of the Platte to try to placate the Oto and arrange for peace between them and the Omaha. Again the Oto refused to talk.

When that word was brought back to church leaders, they decided to leave the area rather than be responsible for war between the two tribes. After scouting in different directions for a new location, they ultimately settled on the high ground overlooking the Missouri River where the Omaha Waterworks are today.

Suddenly, without explanation, the talk of war ended. Nothing disturbed that new calm. My only plausible explanation is that Native Americans considered the Missouri River and its overlooking areas a right-of-way for all travelers. The Oto considered the Mormons as travelers who would be moving on -- they had every traditional right to stay by the river. That was back in the days when rivers were highways, and the Missouri was one of the greatest highways of pioneer times.

Now, as to the localized arrangements these pioneers made for survival in the Middle Missouri Valley: they can be broken out into about six sub-headings, such as 1) church, 2) civic, 3) family, 4) social & cultural, 5) business, and 6) migration.

As each creaking covered wagon train crossing Iowa in 1846 was an informal branch of the Church, more formally so was each scattered community east and west, north and south,

another branch. That was easy because the church had no paid clergy. All worthy males from age 12 up were ordained: deacons, teachers, priests, elders, high priests, seventy, and apostles. The perks enjoyed by such ordinations will be recognized in a story about Brigham Young, Acting President and Prophet of the Church.

When Winter Quarters was platted on the high ground where the Omaha Waterworks are today, the Municipal Council decreed that a water well must be dug and rock lined where each four city lots met back to back and side by side. That was no small undertaking, for it was about 30 feet down to water on that high benchland. The rock for lining the wells was limestone, to be pulled out of the banks of the Missouri River and carried up a very steep bank to Winter Quarters. Brigham Young was out there with his sleeves rolled up with his three neighbors digging and rock-lining their common well. No special privilege there.

For lack of documentary evidence or necessary journal entries, we don't know if every Mormon community had one, but Cutler's Park, Winter Quarters, and Kaneshville each had a public square in which many church meetings were held. A goodly number of council houses and tabernacles were built for church, civic, educational, and social meetings in various communities. They also were used as polling places for state and federal elections.

Traveling elders were assigned either from the Quorum of the Twelve or from High Councils to visit, teach, and exhort residents at their scattered Mormon communities.

Missionaries were called and sent to the eastern states, to England, and to the continent of Europe from the "camps of Israel" in the Middle Missouri Valley. The result was remarkable. Thousands joined the church and crossed the ocean to face the same hardships as the pioneer missionaries preached to them.

Church courts managed quite well in dealing with anti-social behavior. But Mormon leaders were quick to establish civic governments, police and fire guards, postal services, property assessments and taxes. Mormons as well as most Americans when they crossed west over the Missouri River knew they were in Indian Country. They were beyond the law. Some felt they were a law unto themselves. When properties were assessed and tax bills presented, a few of the Mormons were incensed. They loaded up and headed for the ferry to return to Iowa. Ferry operators were notified not to transport anyone back to Iowa until they could show a receipt for having paid their taxes -- being collected to pay for a crew of police and fire guards.

To give you an idea of how home-spun were civic ordinances presented to church members and voted on with a show of hands in public squares, we will cite one passed at Grand Encampment and another at Cutler's Park.

The ordinance adopted and enforced at Grand Encampment said: Any dog found worrying sheep may be shot -- without trial.

The Cutler's Park ordinance shows the clout enjoyed by William Clayton, secretary to Brigham Young. Adopted in the public square by a show of hands under a hot August sun was an ordinance which said: Each family must build its own sod fireplace with a sod chimney, to keep smoke and sparks out their neighbors tents and wagons, before having a cooking fire. When Clayton arrived at Cutler's park, he and his family were exhausted. He wrote in his journal:

"When we arrived Heber (C. Kimball) wanted us to form on on his north line but

we could only get half of our wagons into the space left....I then moved over to the south side and formed next to D. Russell. We got our tent up but can have no fire until Monday. The cattle are so tired we will not use them. I feel about sick myself." (Andrew Jenson, Journal of Manuscripts, August 10, 1846)

Even under those circumstances, William Clayton, secretary to President Young, had to conform to the rule of building a sod fireplace before having a cooking fire.

On the east side of the river, still within the laws of the United States, these pioneers, known to favor Whig politics, petitioned long enough to overcome the reluctance of the Democrat-controlled Iowa legislature and to establish a county government. It covered all of southwestern Iowa in 1848 and was called Pottawattamie County. In 1850 they started carving it up into other counties. That included Harrison, Shelby, and Mills Counties. It may have also included Cass and had a hand in the creation of Fremont County. When I started my research in the 1970s, few, if any, of those counties knew when or how their county governments were started. Harrison County officials thought theirs had been established in 1837. Iowa didn't become a territory until 1838!

Much has been written and said about sickness and death at Winter Quarters. There some historians have trumpeted the Thomas L. Kane report of "something over 600 burials in the graveyard there." The sexton's hand-written record, not available to Kane, showed about 365 deaths between September 15, 1846 and May or June of 1848 from amongst a population of about 4,000 residents. A recent remote sensing survey of the cemetery confirmed the sextons record of 365 burials.

It is quite evident now that family health and welfare was addressed as well as could be under the circumstances. How was it done? Healthy family members did the best they could. When all members of the family were sick, neighbors came in to help. When neighbors were sick, church members would help. There were doctors and mid-wives. Special services were provided for "widows" of Mormon Battalion members in California -- cabins were built for them. The builders received the huge sum of \$12 per cabin, yet considerably under today's building cost. That was paid out of Mormon Battalion donations, if available. A welfare store was opened for those who couldn't afford what they needed.

In the Iowa communities we read of tuition schools and graduations. These were not public schools, but they provided a remarkable variety of classes, including foreign and classical languages. What still puzzles me and is still a mystery is why three schools in Kaneshville held graduation exercises in the Tabernacle in September! Was that the end of the school year?

Births, marriages, and burials were as much church and civic matters as they were family affairs. About a dozen burials in the Winter Quarters cemetery were noted without name by the sexton. They seem to have been by families who could not afford the modest cost of a grave digger and conducted the burials unassisted and unregistered.

Work opportunities surrounded the close-knit communities. In Winter Quarters it was the need for a picket fence to hem the mile-long community to the river. The fence separated what belonged to the Mormons and what belonged to Native Americans. Another major community effort was to dam Turkey or Mill Creek and build a grist mill very close to where it still stands, near Interstate 680 Bridge over the Missouri River. The mill was moved a block to the northeast in 1939 after a severe hailstorm and flood affecting the mill. Winter Quarters Mill

operations finally were ended in the late 1980s, after having been repowered over the years from water to steam to electricity.

A wheat committee and a fishing committee were organized early at Winter Quarters to bring grain and fish in from wherever it might be bought or caught.

Workshops were established where those able could manufacture washboards, baskets, and measuring baskets. Their products were loaded into wagons and sold in Missouri for grain, salt pork, and other needs. One old pioneer told in his Utah memoirs that he made a living most of his life making baskets as he had been taught as a boy to do at Winter Quarters.

Finally, for the family, community efforts took care of the precious livestock needed to go on to the Great Salt Lake and to start up farming there. Men and boys were hired to take cattle to the rush bottoms of the Missouri River to winter them. That usually was some distance from any community and was an isolated assignment that paid reasonably well for that time in our history. Corrals were built, and everyone's cattle were taken out and herd--on the grasslands in warm weather season, mostly by boys. The herds were brought in before sundown, and mothers or sisters would meet the hungry herdsmen with words about the daily events and waiting suppers.

Social and cultural affairs amongst these pioneers were surprisingly colorful. Pitt's Brass Band occasionally paraded around Winter Quarters serenading elderly residents, called the Silvers. Special dances and socials were held occasionally at the Council House. In fact, the very first Policemen's Ball of this region was held at the beginning of March 1847 in that building where a small firehall now sits south across the street from Florence/Winter Quarters Mill.

In Kaneshville, Orson Hyde built a two-story music hall and hired D. Ballo away from West Point Military Academy. Ballo taught brass and woodwind lessons during the day to young students and occasionally conducted band and choral concerts there in the evening. Two performances of Shakespeares *Macbeth* were performed in Hyde's Music Hall with local talent. Serious debates were conducted for the entertainment and instruction of residents, including one about slavery.

Mormon editors published *The Frontier Guardian*, a Whig paper, and *The Weekly Bugle*, a Democrat paper in Kaneshville. They published the first Omaha paper, *The Omaha Arrow* on the same press as and with the same staff as *The Weekly Bugle*. They also published newspapers at Wyoming, Nebraska and Woodriver, Nebraska. Another Mormon paper was published at Crescent, Iowa. There was an attempt to publish at Dawsonburg, Iowa but we have no evidence that ever appeared. Jacob Dawson couldn't attract enough people to settle his platted town, so he moved just across the Missouri River and published *The Telescope* in Wyoming, Nebraska.

Thomas L. Kane, in his 1850 address to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, said:

"There was something joyous for me in my free rambles about this vast body of pilgrims. I could range the wild country wherever I listed, under safeguard of their moving host. Not only in the main camps was all stir and life, but in every direction, it seemed to me, I could follow "Mormon Roads," and find them beaten hard and even dusty by the tread and wear of the cattle and vehicles of emigrants laboring over them....Wherever I was compelled to tarry, I was certain to find shelter and hospitality, scant, indeed, but never stinted, and always honest and kind. After a recent

*unavoidable association with the border inhabitants of Western Missouri and Iowa, the vile scum of which our own society, to apply the words of an admirable gentleman and eminent divine, 'like the great ocean washes upon its frontier shores,' I can scarcely describe the gratification I felt in associating again with persons who were almost all of Eastern American origin, -- persons of refined and cleanly habits and decent language, and in observing their peculiar and interesting mode of life..." (Zobell *The Mormons* pp. 26-27)*

We have mentioned a few employment opportunities for family members in Winter Quarters. However, individual enterprise and business acumen showed itself more prominently on the Iowa side of the Missouri River. There were more of the families who lacked the supplies and equipment to soon contemplate migrating another 1,000 miles to the Great Basin. Whereas Winter Quarters emptied itself, mostly by migrating west in 1847 and early 1848, Iowa communities took much longer.

Assistant Church historian Andrew Jensen estimated the annual migration rate west at 2,000 in 1847, 4,000 in 1848, 3,000 in 1849, 5,000 each in 1850 and 1851, 10,000 in 1852, and 2,600 in 1853. In addition to needing more time to raise supplies and equipment, those east of the Missouri River included those who arrived largely from the British Isles and the Scandinavian countries without teams, wagons, supplies, or equipment. (Stanley B. Kimball 1991 *Historic Resource Study* National Park Service p. 134)

The June 1, 1850 federal census of Pottawattamie County, Iowa paints an interesting picture of blended groups headed ultimately for the Salt Lake Valley. There were 42 from Alabama, 111 from North Carolina, 254 from Tennessee, 101 from Virginia, 1,175 from Iowa, 1,019 from Illinois, 850 from New York, 480 from Ohio, 394 from Pennsylvania, 369 from Missouri, 197 from Vermont, 162 from Massachusetts, 959 from England, 231 from Canada, 162 from Wales, 161 from Scotland, 44 from Ireland, 13 from Germany, and a total of nine from France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Italy, and Prussia combined. Including a substantial number from other states and territories, the total number of residents in Pottawattamie County in 1850 was 7,828.

With both Church funds and private donations, a Perpetual Emigrating Fund was set up for members of the Church in Europe and in eastern United States to help poor members migrate to Utah. Monies were given as loans without collateral, to be repaid in later years in Utah. It is believed more than 30,000 took advantage of the PEF from its start in 1849 to its closure in 1887.

There was a flowering of individual enterprise in the Mormon settlements which struggled at first, but then caught on fire when floods of ready-spending Gold Rushers arrived. It is estimated that at least 10,000 Gold Rushers crossed the Missouri River at or near Kaneshville in 1850. They knew Kaneshville was their last good opportunity to buy food, supplies, wagons, teams, and treats before entering Indian Country.

Prices moved up sharply when it appeared the Gold Rushers might drain the settlements of food and seed grain for the next season's plantings. Thus the fragile Mormon businesses began to flourish and become robust.

More mills were built, totalling 10 or more in southwestern Iowa. Blacksmith shops and wagon manufacturing boomed. A slaughter house near Kaneshville offered one-day a week home delivery of meat. A bakery shop offered bread delivery. Various kinds of cloth were

manufactured, as well as boots and shoes. Two daguerreotype, or photograph, shops opened in Kanessville. The number of hotels increased. Mercantile shops expanded and numbered five or more in the early Gold Rush years.

Lawyers, dentists, and other professionals checked into the two-story Union Hotel where Platner Street dead-ends at South First in Council Bluffs today. They would walk down the street to advertise in *The Frontier Guardian*, explaining where and for what services they could be contacted.

I talked with a prominent realtor in Council Bluffs years ago who told how his ancestors loaded up their wagon and lined up with a covered wagon train for the trek to Salt Lake. However, he added that they slipped out of the group at night and hid until the wagon train left, before returning to their prosperous new life in Kanessville.

Hard as it was to leave their prosperous circumstances, most smaller communities would set a date, agreed upon, when everyone would migrate as one wagon train to the Salt Lake Valley. On the appointed day they would all load up and pull out a mile or two and stop overnight. That allowed all to think of what they might have forgotten to put in the wagons. They could return home and fetch it before the final departure.

Somewhere in the vicinity of 400 to 700 members of the Church, or those who had been disfellowshipped or excommunicated for transgression, either stayed in Iowa or returned there from Utah. Daniel Brown in Harrison County who never went west was visited by his son, James S. Brown, who was on his way home from mission in England. Daniel told his son: I still believe in the Church, but the Church is too straight for me. Apparently his missionary son made a difference for a few years later that same man and his wife went to Salt Lake City and were sealed for time and eternity in the Endowment House many years before the Salt Lake Temple was completed.

Survival projects among the Mormon pioneers succeeded in the main. In some instances they succeeded to such an extent, it was hard to pick up and move away from these favorable circumstances and start anew in a desert valley by a Salt Lake.

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