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Garden Grove, Iowa: From Mormon Way Station
to Permanent Settlement, 1846-1852

Jill N. Crandell

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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December 2010

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ABSTRACT

Garden Grove, Iowa: From Mormon Way Station to Permanent Settlement, 1846-1852

Jill N. Crandell

Department of History

Master of Arts

When the Mormon people began evacuating Nauvoo, Illinois, in February 1846, they intended to leave the United States and build a home for themselves in the West, where they could practice their religion without persecution. However, as Brigham Young led thousands through severe rain and mud that spring, he soon decided that too many of the Saints were unprepared for the long journey to the mountains. Mormons built way stations across Iowa, places where they planted crops, raised log cabins, and obtained the necessary food and supplies. After the Saints moved on to Utah in following years, many of these way stations became permanent towns in Iowa.

As the first way station Mormons established in Iowa, Garden Grove created a pattern for the other way stations that followed. An exhaustive study of over three hundred sources has provided the information necessary to create a database of the settlers of the town from 1846 to 1852.

This study has found that the mortality rate was high the first year, but death was not a significant problem later. The fertility rate was exceptionally high, demonstrating that the way stations were heavily populated by families awaiting the birth of a child. The nativity of the people showed that the LDS and non-LDS settlers came from the same cultural background, mostly New England and the Midwest, and further study revealed that those not of the Mormon faith were friends and family of the Saints. Economically, the original Garden Grove settlers were the poorest of the Mormons coming out of Nauvoo, but by 1870, their mean wealth was above the average wealth of pioneers in Utah. The Garden Grove Saints created a settlement to help themselves and other Mormons. In the process, they improved trails and supplied food and services to overlanders that assisted in the settlement of the American West.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Conducting a detailed study of an entire town is no small task, and it has not been accomplished alone. Many have willingly shared their time and expertise, and I sincerely appreciate the support I have received. When I visited several Mormon way station sites, local historians provided tours and shared with me their research and knowledge of the area. I thank Karla Gunzenhauser in Garden Grove, Bob Brown in Mt. Pisgah, and Gail Holmes in Council Bluffs for sharing their love for the history of the area. The knowledge they shared has been invaluable.

In locating journals and personal accounts of the people who lived in Garden Grove, I have been assisted by numerous archivists and librarians from Illinois, Missouri, Nebraska, and all across Iowa and Utah. Barbara Bernauer at the Community of Christ Archives in Independence, Missouri, and Bill Slaughter at the Church History Library and Archives in Salt Lake City, Utah, were particularly helpful in allowing the use of fragile documents. In addition, I received friendly service throughout my research at the Garden Grove Public Library, State Historical Society of Iowa, Utah State Historical Society, and L. Tom Perry Special Collections in the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University. The efforts of many have streamlined the research that allowed this study to be conducted.

My greatest appreciation goes to Kathryn Daynes, the chair of my graduate committee. She has been tireless in her mentoring and support of my research and writing that stretched out in time far longer than was originally anticipated. Her encouragement has kept me going. She and the other committee members, Richard Bennett and Susan Rugh, have given valuable feedback to focus my project, yet expand the boundaries of my thinking. I also appreciate the comments and suggestions by Clayne Pope on an early draft of chapter three.

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Chapter 1

Establishing a Way Station

In 1846, dozens of temporary settlements suddenly sprang up along the southern and southwestern border of Iowa. Most of these frontier towns were located on land that was still Indian territory, land which was not yet available for purchase from the United States government. Yet hundreds of people arrived and began building homes and planting crops literally overnight. The settlers were Mormon exiles, whose goal was to cross the plains and establish a new home beyond the borders of the United States.¹ Feeling forced to leave their homes in Nauvoo, Illinois, before they were sufficiently prepared for the journey, the Mormons (or Saints as they called themselves) needed a place to raise funds and gather the necessary supplies to continue their westward trek.² Six years later, these Mormon towns experienced a complete turnover in population, as virtually all of the original settlers sold out and moved west. What impact did these temporary Iowa settlements have on western settlement, both as way stations for westward migrants and as nuclei for permanent settlements in Iowa?

¹The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had been established by its founding president and prophet Joseph Smith, Jr. in 1830. Its early history was characterized by a series of migrations (many to escape religious persecution) from New York to Ohio, to Missouri, to Illinois, and to the Great Basin. For additional information, see James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1992) and Richard E. Bennett, *We'll Find the Place: The Mormon Exodus, 1846-1848* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1997).

²Commenting on the Mormon departure from Nauvoo, Thomas Ford, Governor of Illinois, wrote, "But with a view to hasten their removal they were made to believe that the president would order the regular army to Nauvoo as soon as the navigation opened in the spring. This had its intended effect; the twelve, with about two thousand of their followers, immediately crossed the Mississippi before the breaking of the ice." Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois* (Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co., 1854), 413.

Most historians recognize the significance of the Iowa way stations to the Mormon migration.³ Without these settlements, the mortality rate of the original company might have been catastrophic, putting in jeopardy the movement of the Mormon community to the Great Basin. In later years, the way stations were able to care for additional Mormon migrants, who also struggled with problems of illness and poverty. However, viewing these settlements only within the scope of the impact they had on the Mormons is too narrow a perspective.

The Iowa Mormon communities were significant to the settlement of the western United States, as well as to Iowa. Historian John Unruh writes, “Overland travel was radically altered by the Mormon hegira to the Salt Lake Valley.”⁴ The Mormons blazed trails, built bridges, and wrote guidebooks for their migration, in addition to creating settlements and raising crops along the way. These improvements reduced the difficulty and danger of migration to the West, and all who traveled the trail were able to benefit from them. Salt Lake City became a place for overlanders and gold-seekers to rest and resupply before the final portion of their journey to other western settlements.

From the beginning of the twentieth century, Iowa historians also recognized the importance of the Mormon settlements. Jacob Van der Zee wrote:

Thus thousands of Mormon refugees, fleeing from persecution in Illinois, passed over Iowa’s Territorial roads and highways into an Indian country beyond, and opened up for themselves a thoroughfare which guided hundreds and thousands of later homeseekers to the fertile valleys and plains of Nebraska, Utah, California, and Oregon—indeed to the whole American West.⁵

³For example, see Richard E. Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri: Winter Quarters, 1846-1852* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); Bernard DeVoto, *The Year of Decision, 1846* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1943); and Bettie McKenzie, “After the Mormon Exodus,” *Iowa Heritage Illustrated* 77, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 86-87.

⁴John D. Unruh, Jr., *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 380.

⁵Jacob Van der Zee, “The Mormon Trails in Iowa,” *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 12, no. 1 (January 1914): 16.

Garden Grove was one of the Iowa settlements where Mormon pioneers prepared for the trek, overlanders purchased final supplies, and after six years, Iowa frontiersmen moved in to benefit from existing homes, mills, schools, and church buildings, as well as cleared and fenced fields. This town is representative of the many temporary Mormon settlements established in Iowa between 1846 and 1852. Garden Grove was chosen for this study because it was the first way station established by Brigham Young, thus becoming a model for all of the other way stations that followed. It was also a town small enough to identify and study the entire population, rather than rely on statistical sampling. In addition, existing records for Garden Grove are particularly good for reconstructing the population, even though a civil government had not yet been established when the Saints arrived. An LDS branch list was made in 1847, one year after the town was settled, and Garden Grove was enumerated in the 1850 federal census and the 1851 Iowa state census. By supplementing these lists with the information obtained in personal journals of the settlers, it was possible to construct a fairly complete list of the early residents.

This community study aims to bring greater understanding of the challenges of an early frontier settlement, as well as the impact of these towns on the westward migration of the nineteenth century. Journals and other writings of the settlers will be quoted as they were recorded, including the original spelling, capitalization, and grammar. Punctuation was added in only a few instances for clarity of meaning. Those who lived these experiences describe them best.

The Beginnings of Garden Grove

April 12, 1846, dawned clear and pleasant on the Mormon camp at Elm Point. After enduring nearly incessant wind and rain storms, it was a welcome relief for the exiles who had

left Nauvoo over two months previously. That morning, Brigham Young called a council meeting to discuss the condition of their people. There had been virtually no feed for the teams for almost a week, and hundreds of the pioneers had exhausted what little food and supplies they were able to bring with them. The council decided to establish a permanent farm on the Grand River where cabins would be built and many could remain until they were better prepared for the long trek to the Rocky Mountains.⁶ On Friday, 24 April, Young and Henry G. Sherwood selected the specific location for the way station, and Sherwood began his land survey the next day.⁷ Rain continued intermittently, but by Monday morning, the work parties were organized and the Saints began building. Remembering his arrival at the farm, Howard Egan wrote:

The next place I think was Garden Grove, a most beautiful place. . . . The wagons were all placed in a row side by side with room to pass between them. There was a bowery built along the front and the tongue of each wagon was tied to it, thus making the long shady lane. I went with some other boys with some men that were getting brush for the top of the bowery, and when we got to the Grove that was on the lower ground, I thought it was the prettiest place I had ever seen.⁸

Nelson Whipple wrote, “When we arrived at this place it was one continued bed of wild onions as far as the eye could extend in all directions in the tall oak timber that stood thick on the ground without underbrush. on account of the vast amount of these onions the place was called garden grove.”⁹

Many pioneer journals comment on the beauty of this grove, the abundant onions, and the wildlife, but they also mention the snakes. Although this was a beautiful place, it was infested

⁶William Huntington, *Diaries of William Huntington* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Library, 1952-53), 54-55.

⁷Brigham Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1846-1847*, ed. Elden J. Watson (Salt Lake City: E. J. Watson, 1971), 139-140.

⁸Howard Egan, *Pioneering the West, 1846 to 1878* (Richmond, UT: Howard R. Egan Estate, 1917), 13-14.

⁹Nelson Wheeler Whipple, “Autobiography and Journal, 1859-1887,” 39, Church History Library and Archives, Salt Lake City, UT.

with rattlesnakes. Thomas Bullock wrote, “When the weather broke and warmed briefly in April, it brought out rattlesnakes in numbers that evoked memories of Pharaoh’s plagues.”¹⁰ Lorenzo

Young recorded an experience he had the day after he arrived in Garden Grove:

Saturday, 25 [April 1846]. Remained in camp this morning. Went to look a site to build a bridge across Grand River. While sitting on a log to rest I heard something rattle and observed to Bro. Sherwood that it made a noise like a rattlesnake. We looked but could see nothing and gave it up as the ruffling of a leaf, but soon observed one between where my feet were, all quirked up ready for jumping. I soon despatched him.¹¹

There appear to have been few incidents where any of the Saints were actually bitten by the snakes, and no deaths seem to have been the result of snake bites. However, the rattlers took a much higher toll among the animals. Sarah Pea wrote:

At this place snakes were very bad and many of our cattle and horses were bit by them. Our horse, the only one we had of our own, was bit by a rattle snake. Mr. Rich doctored him with sweet oil and harts horn, and he recovered. It was no uncommon thing to find snakes coiled up under our beds, when we took them up in our tent in the morning.¹²

Some of the animals survived the bites, but others died as a result. The loss of horses or oxen could be devastating to a family. These animals were needed to plow the fields, and they were needed to pull wagons to the West. The death of oxen meant that additional money needed to be earned, and sometimes the Saints were able to afford only young animals. When this occurred, families could be delayed a year or more while the animals aged and gained the necessary strength for the journey. Especially under these conditions, it is not surprising that the people prayed for their animals. Brigham Young recorded:

¹⁰Thomas Bullock, *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints: The 1846 and 1847 Mormon Trail Journals of Thomas Bullock* (Spokane: Arthur H. Clark, 1997), 64.

¹¹Lorenzo Dow Young, “Diary of Lorenzo Dow Young,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 14 (1946): 137.

¹²Sarah Pea, “Sarah Pea Journal,” 38-39 in *Charles Rich DVD Library* (Provo, UT: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for LDS History, 2005), 225.

Thursday, 7 [May 1846] -- . . . My horse was bitten by a rattlesnake. Bro. Hendricks horse died, which was probably bitten the evening before. Many horses have been bitten in Camp, two have died. Several of Elder Kimball's animals have been bitten; he has doctored little, but has prayed for them and they have recovered.¹³

Another serious challenge at the Garden Grove way station was ill health. Sickness was a problem in the companies even before they arrived at the chosen site. Because of their poor nutrition and lack of shelter for two months prior to their arrival, the people were more susceptible to disease than they would otherwise have been. Jonathan Crosby described his experiences while he worked his way toward Garden Grove. "We were quite unwell. I had a chill every other day, but even then I went to work, some of [the] time I had to stop several weeks we stayed there & were treated verry kindly, but the ague hung on to us."¹⁴ After arriving at the way station, illness continued to be a problem. Nelson Whipple recorded his health struggles during the summer months. "So I followd this [coopering] mostly as a buisness through the sumer while I shook with the ague and grunted with the fever every day till fall."¹⁵ Still others sickened as the weather started to cool in the fall. John and Esther (Wainwright) Bennion wrote a letter to her parents in England saying, "as autumn drew on our neighbours begun to sicken around us and even the healthiest of people as well as myself felt the effect of a wild wilderness country."¹⁶ Some of the illnesses lasted only a brief time, but others hung on for months. Some of the Saints were able to work in spite of their illnesses, but others could not. On 15 December

¹³Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 153-154.

¹⁴Jonathan Crosby, "Autobiography," n.d., microfilm, 26-27, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

¹⁵Whipple, "Autobiography and Journal," 52.

¹⁶Ruth W. Rogers, *Bennion Family History, Vol. 4: John Bennion Family* (Salt Lake City: Bennion Family Association, 1990), 102.

1846, Roger Farrer wrote a letter to his son, William, and mentioned his poor health. He recorded:

I have been Sick for nearly five Months but I am now got so that I am able to walk about but not able to do anything much I was reduced to a very weak state and we have suffered much for want of provisions on account of my not being able to go out to work and I am not likely to be able to do much for some time but I hope the Lord will preserve our Lives through our privations.¹⁷

For those who were unable to support themselves, friends and neighbors worked together to sustain each other. Many died that first year, but far more survived and were able to achieve their goal of migrating to the Great Basin.

Before Brigham Young left Garden Grove, he established some basic rules and appointed three men as leaders of the community. On Sunday, 10 May 1846, a council meeting was held, and the following business was conducted:

I [Brigham Young] moved that inasmuch as those who are to leave this place and return to Nauvoo for their families have fenced the lots, built the bridges, houses, etc. that they should have the right of possession. I remarked that any person who chose might go and locate by himself, but those who did should not come here to beg. . . . Those who came to this place from Nauvoo should have equal privileges with those here. Elder Samuel Bent was appointed president at this location. . . .

Voted that each man have his land assigned to him, by the Presidency, proportionate to the number of his family.

I advised that if a man would not till his land, it should be taken from him, and if he would not gather his crops, let Father Bent put them into his own store house. Ezra T. Benson and David Fulmer were appointed councellors to Samuel Bent.

Voted that all who remain and will not work on the Garden Grove farm shall be cast out as idlers.¹⁸

Three days later, Brigham Young and the main camp left the new way station and continued north-westward across Iowa. The beginnings of the town had been built in less than three weeks,

¹⁷Roger Farrer, "Letters Garden Grove [Iowa] to William Farrer, 1846-1848," 15 December 1846, typescript, microfilm, Church History Library and Archives, Salt Lake City, UT.

¹⁸Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 157-158.

and those who remained behind continued to work the fields, build more cabins, and hire out for jobs in Missouri communities.

Garden Grove, established as an emergency way station by Mormon exiles, was one of the temporary settlements that quietly helped to shape the permanent communities of the state of Iowa and much of the western United States.¹⁹ Historians have largely neglected this town, preferring to give only passing mention to the six-year period that the Mormons lived there. Richard E. Bennett includes a chapter, “The Mormon Trek Across Iowa,” in his book *Mormons at the Missouri: Winter Quarters, 1846-1852*. This chapter presents an overview of the trek across Iowa from the perspective of Mormon leader Brigham Young and his associates. Bennett places emphasis on the Saints, their decision-making, and the establishment of various settlements, but he states that a definitive study of Garden Grove has yet to be written.²⁰

None of the authors of existing publications has conducted a study sufficiently detailed to provide demographic and economic information about the people who lived and died at Garden Grove. Carol Cornwall Madsen presents a chapter in *Journey to Zion: Voices from the Mormon Trail*, which includes extracts from pioneer journals describing the trek across Iowa.²¹ A brief history of the Garden Grove settlement written by local historians Paul and Karla Gunzenhauser is contained in Susan Easton Black and William G. Hartley, *The Iowa Mormon Trail: Legacy of Faith and Courage*.²² There are also a number of overviews of this period in several histories of

¹⁹For a map of all locations mentioned in this paper, see Appendix 1.

²⁰Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri*, 249 n. 54.

²¹Carol Cornwall Madsen, “Fresh Courage Take: The Iowa Trail,” in *Journey to Zion: Voices from the Mormon Trail* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1997), 13-303.

²²Paul Gunzenhauser and Karla Gunzenhauser, “Decatur County: Garden Grove—A Mormon Frontier Community, 1846 to 1852,” in *The Iowa Mormon Trail: Legacy of Faith and Courage*, ed. Susan Easton Black and William G. Hartley (Orem, UT: Helix Publications, 1997), 219-227.

Iowa, as well as in county histories of Appanoose and Decatur Counties, Iowa. Typically, these early county histories refer to the Mormons as a “religious sect” and give a brief summary of the formation of the church. Historians make reference to the persecution of the Saints, as well as to their migrations from Ohio to Missouri, Illinois, and Iowa.²³ All of these accounts are superficial overviews. In contrast, “The Settlers of Garden Grove” by Karla Gunzenhauser is a detailed history of the earliest non-LDS settlers, who began arriving in 1848.²⁴ However, the scope of this work does not include the hundreds of Mormons who originally settled Garden Grove and continued to live there until 1852.

Several community studies have been published about frontier towns in the Midwest. Historians Allan Bogue, John Mack Faragher, Robert Ostergren, and Susan Rugh evaluated agrarian communities on a local level, and each of their studies has provided a better understanding of how communities in the American West developed.²⁵ These historians offer what they argue are corrections to myths and previous erroneous conclusions, which had been based on more general observations. One persistent myth about nineteenth-century farmers was Frederick Jackson Turner’s theory of individualism on the frontier. Midwest community studies have argued against this theory by demonstrating extensive networking and cooperation among farmers in frontier towns, as well as community relationships that were built through kinship and

²³*History of Appanoose County* (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1878), 325-326, 362-364.

²⁴Karla Gunzenhauser, “The Settlers of Garden Grove,” typescript, 1994.

²⁵Allan G. Bogue, *From Prairie to Corn Belt: Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963); John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); Robert C. Ostergren, *A Community Transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Settlement in the Upper Middle West, 1835-1915* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); Susan Sessions Rugh, *Our Common Country: Family Farming, Culture, and Community in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001). Regional studies supporting these arguments are Jon Gjerde, *From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand, Norway, to the Upper Middle West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), and Robert P. Swierenga, *Faith and Family: Dutch Immigration and Settlement in the United States, 1820-1920* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 2000).

neighborhood connections. Chain migrations of family and friends were a common occurrence. This study of the Garden Grove way station is an additional community history that provides supporting evidence to the conclusion that community triumphed over individualism on the frontier. The success of the Mormon people who established this Iowa town was a direct result of their cooperative efforts, and the arrival of the first non-LDS settlers two years later is an excellent example of chain migration. A number of published community histories will be used as a basis for comparisons between Garden Grove and other midwestern towns of the mid-nineteenth century.

Earlier studies have followed the development of midwestern frontier towns over time, focusing on the founding settlers who persisted in the town, as well as the new people who migrated in. These have typically been based on cross-sectional data at various points in time. This community study of Garden Grove identifies the founding population and follows the town through its early development, but because the original settlers were Mormons and their religion encouraged personal record keeping, detailed accounts of the first year of the town have been preserved. The Saints' struggle with religious persecution was not typical of midwestern towns in general; however, any group of families attempting to build on the frontier would have dealt with similar problems of building shelters and planting and harvesting crops before the beginning of their first winter.²⁶ Another contribution of the Garden Grove study is that it is a longitudinal study. The founding population has been analyzed in its entirety and followed over

²⁶One other religious community in Illinois that also suffered persecution was Bishop Hill, founded by Swedish Jansonists in July 1846 led by Eric Janson. In the spring of 1850 a disaffected member of the group, John Root, incited a large group of men to "rescue" his estranged wife. The men terrorized the community but were finally driven away by sympathetic neighbors of Bishop Hill. Then Root shot and killed Janson in May 1850 when Janson was in court defending the community. The community numbered only about 550 people in 1850 and so posed no great challenge either economically or politically to its neighbors, and it survived until 1861. Harry E. Pratt, "The Murder of Eric Janson, Leader of Bishop Hill Colony," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 45, no. 1 (Spring 1952): 55-69; Michael A. Mikkelsen, "The Bishop Hill Colony: A Religious Communistic Settlement in Henry County, Illinois," in *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, ed. Herbert B. Adams (1892; repr., New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1973), 38-42.

time. Rather than focus only on those who persisted in the town, the founders have been traced to the end of their lives.

Previous Mormon studies have only been able to estimate the percentages of the Saints who migrated from the Nauvoo area to the West, those who remained in the Midwest, and how many died along the way. This analysis of a community's founders provides specific numbers as to what happened to them over time, including a comparison of economic data twenty years after they established the way station, whether or not they persisted in the town. For the first time, a large sample of the Mormon population that left Hancock County in 1846 has been analyzed to determine what happened to them later in life.

On a larger scale, many historians have written about the process of crossing the plains, the history of the trails, and the settlement of the western United States. Bernard DeVoto was the first historian to attempt to synthesize the multiple aspects of this great movement into one historical account.²⁷ Others had focused on a specific area, a specific people, the political scene, the war with Mexico, or other aspects of the overland trail, but none had brought it all together to evaluate the overall history. He introduces his readers to individuals and families, political leaders and frontiersmen, and brings them all to life. In *Year of Decision, 1846*, DeVoto mentions various stopping points on the trails, as well as the Mormon way stations, but their value is assumed. There is little discussion of the impact of these towns on the overland migration.

In *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1860*, John Unruh, Jr. takes exception to the practice of choosing a representative year to

²⁷Bernard DeVoto, *Year of Decision, 1846* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1943).

generalize about life on the overland trail.²⁸ He presents an exhaustive study. Through the use of hundreds of overland accounts, newspapers, guidebooks, and diaries, Unruh has revised earlier conclusions. One argument he presents is that the contribution of the Mormon pioneers to the overland migration was significant. Beyond the trail improvements, bridges, and ferries, he also emphasizes that Salt Lake City became a way station where overlanders could rest and resupply before continuing on to California or Oregon. The availability of this city significantly altered the risks for later travelers. With the opportunity to resupply along the way, loads could be lighter, preserving the strength of the people as well as the animals. If a company arrived in the Salt Lake Valley too late to continue that season, they could take shelter and purchase food until the following Spring. He also gives brief mention of the value of the towns that were used as jumping off points before the overlanders started across the plains.

In a more recent work, *Into the West: The Story of Its People*, Walter Nugent discusses various migration streams, their timing, who came to the West, their motivations, points of departure and arrival, and what routes were taken.²⁹ There is little discussion of way stations, although he does refer to Salt Lake City as a “Halfway House” because it was approximately halfway between Missouri and California. John Mack Farragher mentions forts and supply towns in *Women and Men on the Overland Trail*, but the focus of this work is on gender and the relationships of men and women during this period.³⁰ In general, the value of way stations is assumed in most histories of the overland trails, and little has been written as to how they functioned and assisted the travelers.

²⁸John Unruh, Jr., *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979).

²⁹Walter Nugent, *Into the West: The Story of Its People* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999).

³⁰John Mack Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

At times, historians of the frontier period have been convinced that information about the earliest settlers is “past finding.”³¹ It is true that there were few U.S. government and state records created in areas where the government was not yet established, but in the case of Mormon pioneers, personal journals have provided a rich resource for study. Unfortunately, these journals are personal accounts of a fairly limited number of acquaintances, and a complete picture of historical events is difficult to obtain. Mormon historian Dean L. May wrote, “There are few benchmarks in early Mormon history that provide a clear fix on how many Mormons there were at any given point.”³² In spite of the limitations of general and personal records, using a combination of sources has provided adequate data to reconstruct both the LDS and the non-LDS settlers of Garden Grove and their familial relationships. Learning more about these Iowa pioneers increases our understanding of how their lives, their work, and their efforts helped to supply the overlanders, as well as to prepare themselves to settle the western United States.

³¹*The History of Wapello County, Iowa* (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1878), 374.

³²Dean L. May, “A Demographic Portrait of the Mormons, 1830-1980,” in *After 150 Years: The Latter-day Saints in Sesquicentennial Perspective*, ed. Thomas G. Alexander and Jessie L. Embry (Provo, UT: Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, 1983), 41.

Chapter 2

Demographics of Garden Grove Settlers, 1846-1852

Where the Mormons settled, they usually stayed. From Salt Lake City to the smaller cities and agricultural villages, populations were unusually stable by American standards, especially by frontier of settlement standards. Religious commitment ensured the settlers “a unifying and stabilizing force.” Some settlements were the result of “calls” by church leaders, but most were not.

--Walter Nugent, *Into the West: The Story of Its People*

To determine the influences of Mormons on frontier and western settlements, historians must first learn who these people were, where they came from, and how long they stayed. Their social and family structures, the culture they brought with them, and their occupations provide insight into the differences and similarities they shared with their frontier neighbors. Geographer Alan H. Grey stated, “People can be so taken up with the presumed uniqueness of their experience that they fail to see its commonness. So it seems to be with the Latter-day Saints when they look back at their actual or adopted heritage.”¹ Although the Mormon exiles who settled in southwestern Iowa were unusual because of their forced mass migration, they also shared many similarities with their frontier neighbors.

Typically, demographic studies focus on family structures, nativity, and persistence rates, which normally would address the demographic structure of the population in question. However, this study requires the differentiation between settlers who were Mormons and those who were not. A township or county demographic study alone cannot isolate the factor of

¹Alan H. Grey, “Mormon Settlement in Its Global Context,” in *The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West*, ed. Richard H. Jackson (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 75.

religion. Although the Mormons lived in communities that were clusters of Saints, many who lived among them were not of their faith. Mormons were not isolated within township or county boundaries. Demographic studies are most frequently based on federal censuses, but this study needs to distinguish between the demographics of Mormons as compared to those of their non-Mormon neighbors, and federal censuses do not provide an indication of religious affiliation. The only way to compare the Mormons to other midwestern frontiersmen is to identify which individuals within the selected population were members of the LDS church. The settlement of Garden Grove, Iowa, was first studied to identify the individuals and families who lived there from 1846 to 1852. Then, various records were analyzed to determine whether or not each person was a member of the LDS church. The sources used for this portion of the study were various records of Nauvoo, Illinois; the Garden Grove LDS branch records; lists of migrants in Mormon companies crossing the plains; and the census records of Utah.² A demographic study of the resulting prosopography provides the data necessary to compare and contrast Mormon pioneer settlers with other non-LDS midwestern frontiersmen.³

Population Growth Patterns

When compared to other midwestern states, Iowa was settled rapidly. The United States government first made Iowa land available to white settlers in 1833, and the territory achieved

²The LDS congregations in pioneer times were referred to as branches. Many branches maintained their own membership records, recording births, deaths, baptisms, priesthood ordinations, and minutes of meetings.

³*The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 4th edition, defines prosopography as, “A study, often using statistics that identifies and draws relationships between various characters or people within a specific historical, social, or literary context.” The goal of prosopography is to study individual identities in aggregate to see what can be learned about the group. The database created for such a study is also referred to as a prosopography. For more information on the creation of the Garden Grove prosopography, see appendix 2.

statehood within thirteen years.⁴ Although this in-migration was exceptional, the wave of Mormon settlers who arrived in 1846 was beyond anything previously experienced. According to historians, fourteen to fifteen thousand Mormons had gathered to Nauvoo and the surrounding area prior to their evacuation.⁵ Not all of the residents of Nauvoo moved into Iowa, but conservative estimates indicate that at least 8,800 did.⁶ The first company to leave Nauvoo crossed the Mississippi River on 5 February 1846, and according to Leland Gentry, more than five thousand people were encamped just across the Mississippi River at Sugar Creek, Iowa, within a month's time.⁷ The last of the Mormons were driven out of Nauvoo by 9 October 1846, which would indicate that thousands of people had settled in southern and southwestern Iowa within a period of eight months.⁸ Because the Mormons left the Nauvoo area in such a short amount of time, the Iowa settlements grew quickly.

As the first of the Saints traveled across Iowa, Brigham Young and other leaders wrote a letter to the governor of Iowa to request protection for those who would need to stop and raise crops to prepare for their journey to the West. The letter, written 28 February 1846, described

⁴Mildred Throne, "A Population Study of an Iowa County in 1850," *Iowa Journal of History* 57, no. 4 (October 1959): 330.

⁵Population estimates for the number of Mormons in the Nauvoo and Hancock County area prior to the exodus are varied. The most accurate data available seems to indicate that there were eleven or twelve thousand in Nauvoo and several thousand more in the surrounding area. For more information, see William G. Hartley, "Mormons and Early Iowa History (1838 to 1858): Eight Distinct Connections," *The Annals of Iowa* 59, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 231; Leonard, *Nauvoo*, 551, 557; Susan Sessions Rugh, "Those Who Labor in the Earth: The Families and Farms of Fountain Green, Illinois, 1830-1880" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1993), 102; May, "A Demographic Portrait," 44.

⁶May, "A Demographic Portrait," 50. May estimated that approximately 8,800 Saints left Nauvoo and migrated to Utah by 1850. This estimate does not include those who were in Iowa but did not migrate until 1851 or later, and it does not include those who moved into Iowa and never migrated west. The population of Nauvoo that flowed into Iowa in 1846 was undoubtedly much higher than 8,800.

⁷Leland H. Gentry, "The Mormon Way Stations: Garden Grove and Mt. Pisgah," *BYU Studies* 21, no. 4 (Fall 1981): 446.

⁸Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, A People of Promise* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 2002), 617.

their condition. “To stay [in Nauvoo], is death by ‘fire and sword’, to go into banishment unprepared, is death by starvation. . . . Some of us are already without food, and others barely sufficient to last a few weeks: hundreds of others must shortly follow us in the same unhappy condition.”⁹ The Mormon leaders knew that the people were not prepared to venture far beyond other settlements without additional time to raise crops for food and earn money to obtain better supplies. Temporary settlements would be a necessity to survival. Erastus Snow wrote, “Instructions were left in these places for such as were obliged to leave Nauvoo without a sufficient outfit, to locate and sustain themselves in these places until a further door opened unto them”¹⁰ The nature of the Iowa way stations determined from the beginning that there would be a steady stream of migrants passing through and that these settlements would not be permanent Mormon towns.

Historians have conducted a number of population growth studies on midwestern counties of this period. Wapello County, Iowa; Mercer County Missouri; and Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, were selected for comparison purposes because they did not have any known Mormon settlements. Studies of these counties provide a non-LDS population growth pattern to compare to counties of significant Mormon populations. Wapello and Mercer Counties were in close proximity to Garden Grove, and Trempealeau County was a midwestern county in a similar growth period shortly after statehood. The United States federal censuses provide sufficient data to analyze county population growth patterns from 1850 to 1870. Figure 1 shows that each of these counties had a different growth rate, but it is noticeable that the population in all of the

⁹B. H. Roberts, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1932), 7:601.

¹⁰Erastus Snow was an early Mormon leader in Nauvoo, Illinois, who assisted Brigham Young with the first group of exiles traveling from Nauvoo to Garden Grove in 1846. Three years later, he became a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Gentry, “The Mormon Way Stations,” 448.

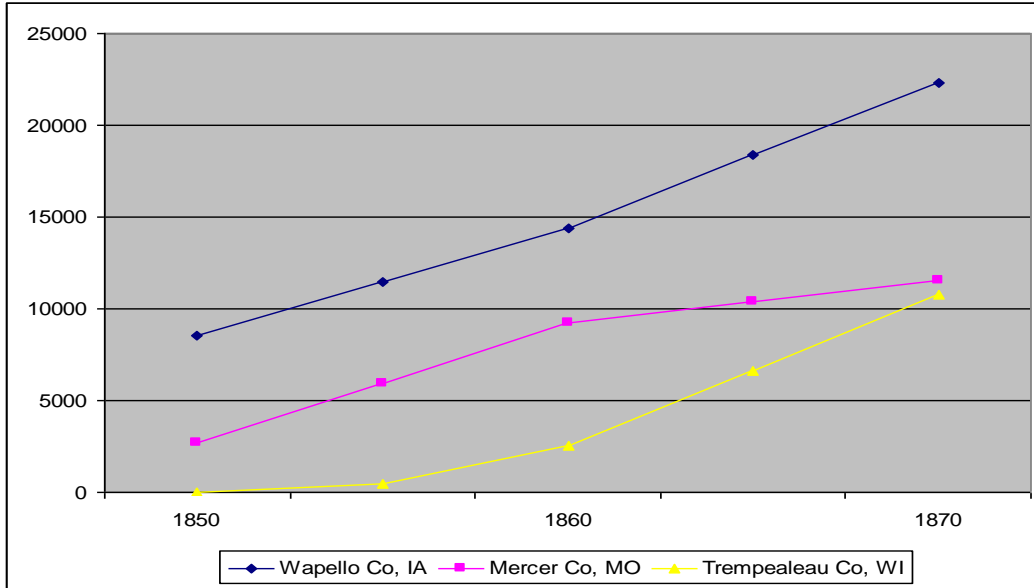


Figure 1. Samples of midwestern county population growth, 1850-1870. Sources: United States Bureau of the Census, *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington: National Archives, 1850); United States Bureau of the Census, *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860* (Washington: National Archives, 1860); United States Bureau of the Census, *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870* (Washington: National Archives, 1870), <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 2006-2010). For Trempealeau County, Wisconsin 1855 data, see Merle Curti, *The Making of an American Community; A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), 31.

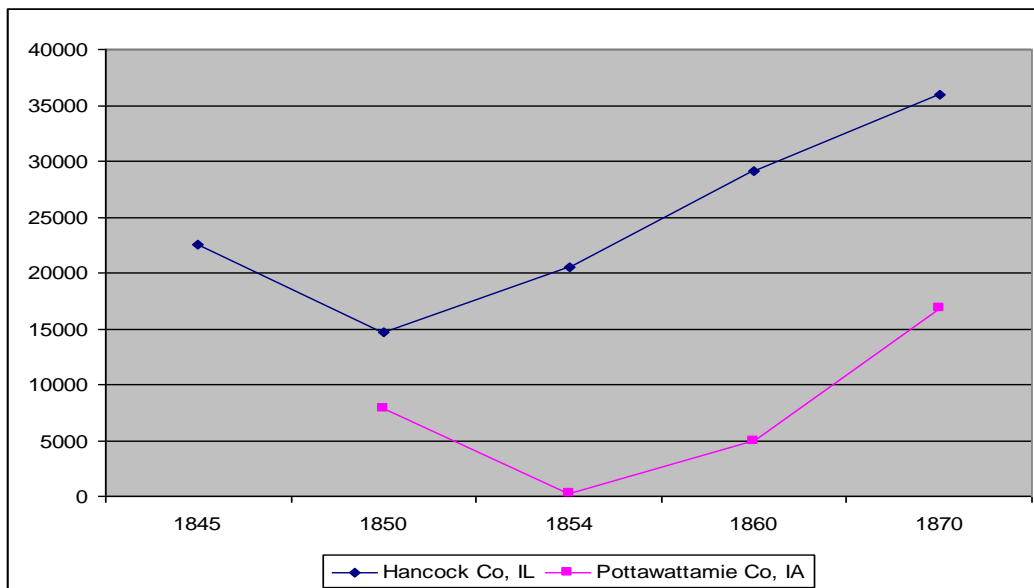


Figure 2. County population growth in areas of LDS settlement, 1845-1870. Sources: United States Federal Censuses of 1850, 1860, 1870; for 1845 Hancock County data, see Rugh, *Our Common Country*, 38; for 1854 Pottawattamie County data, see Iowa Secretary of State, *Census of Iowa for 1880* (Des Moines: F. M. Mills, 1883), 568.

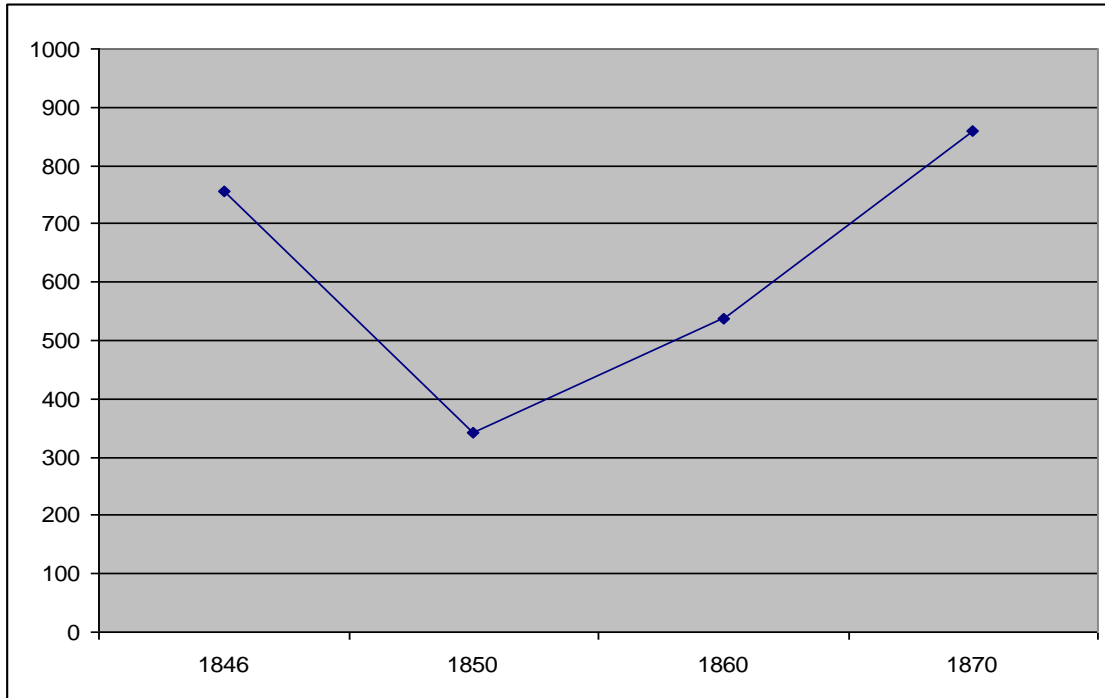


Figure 3. Population growth of Garden Grove, Iowa, 1846-1870. *Sources:* United States federal censuses of 1850, 1860, and 1870; Garden Grove prosopography.

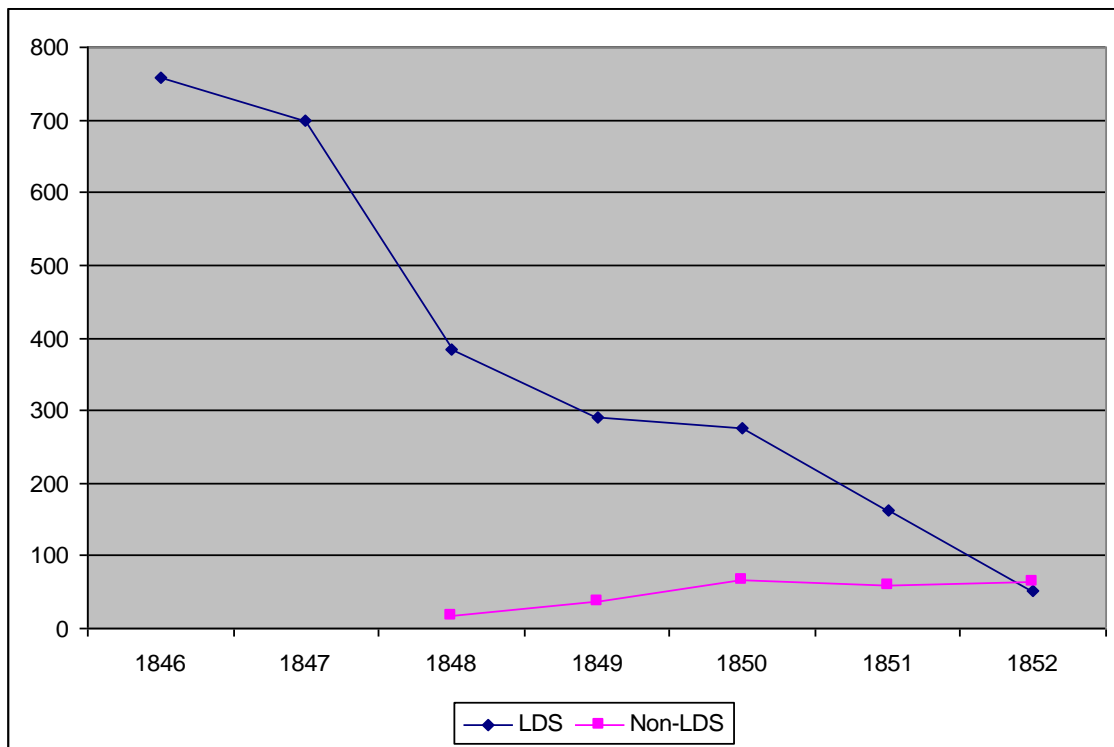


Figure 4. LDS vs. non-LDS Garden Grove population growth, 1846-1852. *Source:* Garden Grove prosopography.

counties was increasing over time, regardless of whether it was at a slower or faster rate. The in-migration was consistently greater than the out-migration. Figure 2 illustrates county growth rates in midwestern areas settled heavily by the Mormons and reflects the large decreases in population as well as the growth of the counties after the Saints' departure. Hancock County, Illinois, included the Mormon settlement of Nauvoo until 1846, and Pottawattamie County, Iowa, included numerous Mormon settlements, the largest being Kaneshville (or Council Bluffs) from 1846 to 1852. As would be expected, the population growth pattern of the town of Garden Grove (figure 3) mirrors the LDS pattern, only on a smaller scale. It is also interesting to note the differences between the LDS and non-LDS populations in Garden Grove (figure 4). The non-LDS growth pattern is typical of other midwestern areas with consistently greater in-migration than out-migration.

Although the differences in population growth between Mormon and non-Mormon areas are to be expected, these charts illustrate the drastic nature of the changes that were taking place. The movement of large numbers of people into and out of a small settlement would clearly have had a significant impact on neighbor relations and consistency in leadership of the community. These population figures raise the question of whether there was a core group of Saints who persisted through the six-year period of Mormon settlement. A group of persisting families might have reduced the impact of the transient settlers.

Persistence Rate of Settlers in Garden Grove

Midwestern persistence rates have been published in multiple demographic studies. Generally, these studies show that the persistence rate of heads of household from 1850 to 1860 was around 25 to 30 percent. Both towns and counties have been studied. While the calculations

Table 1. Midwest sample persistence rates, 1850-1860

	Percent
<u>Counties</u>	
Wapello County, Iowa	30.6
Appanoose County, Iowa	28.6
Bureau County, Illinois	37.7
<u>Towns</u>	
Fountain Green Twp, Illinois	27.0
Jacksonville, Illinois	27.0
Sugar Creek, Illinois	22.2
Garden Grove, Iowa	
LDS	0.0
Non-LDS	20.0

Sources: Throne, "A Population Study," 310 [Wapello Co., IA]; David W. Galenson and Clayne L. Pope, "Economic and Geographic Mobility on the Farming Frontier: Evidence from Appanoose County, Iowa, 1850-1870," *The Journal of Economic History* 49, no. 3 (September 1989): 641 [Appanoose Co., IA]; Bogue, *From Prairie to Cornbelt*, 25 [Bureau Co., IL]; Rugh, *Our Common Country*, 192 [Fountain Green Twp, IL]; Don Harrison Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825-70* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 261 [Jacksonville, IL]; Faragher, *Sugar Creek*, 249 [Sugar Creek, IL]; Garden Grove prosopography [Garden Grove, IA].

used a number of different variables, they reveal that the portion of settlers in midwestern areas in 1850 who were living in the same place in 1860 approximated one-fourth to one-third. Table 1 compares a few specific studies to Garden Grove.

The overall persistence rate for heads of household in Garden Grove was .05 percent. Even with the removal of the LDS population from the calculations, only 20 percent of the non-LDS heads of household persisted from 1850 to 1860. However, this calculation is based on an unusually small population. Of the ten non-LDS heads of household who had been in the town in 1850, only two persisted. Also, persistence in a specific town is a limiting factor that county studies do not place on the data. Regardless of movement to different towns, heads of household are typically considered to have persisted in a county as long as they remained within the county boundaries. Tracing the non-LDS population of Garden Grove in the 1860 census on a county

basis reveals that 60 percent persisted in Decatur County, even though they moved to a different town. Because the Mormons settled in Garden Grove with the intent of moving on as soon as possible, an extremely low persistence rate is to be expected. However, it is surprising that all of the Mormons had left Garden Grove by 1852. Even those who chose not to go west chose to leave the town of Garden Grove.

Although these calculations are indicative of the transience of the town population, they are also somewhat deceiving. Because of the timing of the 1850 census, these numbers do not indicate the persistence rate of the Mormons during their time of settlement. The 1850 census was taken just over a year before Brigham Young issued his final call on 21 September 1851 for the remaining Saints in Iowa to gather to Utah.¹¹ Most of the Mormon settlers who were in Garden Grove in 1850 crossed the plains in the spring of 1851, and the few remaining families left in the spring of 1852. By the time the 1860 census was taken, it is understandable that the Mormons were no longer in town. A clearer picture of a core group of Saints emerges by calculating the persistence rate of the LDS settlers between 1846 and 1850. Of the 130 heads of household who arrived in Garden Grove in 1846, twenty-four (18.5 percent) were enumerated in the 1850 census. This rate of persistence is still fairly low, especially since it covers only a four-year period as opposed to a ten-year period. But in spite of the relatively low persistence rate, this study shows that a core group of 197 Mormons remained in the settlement from the fall of 1846 until at least the spring of 1850.

Although a study of the transience of the population provides information about the flow of migration in and out of the town, it does not answer the question of why the people left. Because this study has identified individuals and followed them through time, it has been

¹¹James R. Clark, comp., *Messages of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1965), 2:75-76.

Table 2. Reasons for non-persistence in Garden Grove, 1846-1852

	N	Percent
Migration to Utah ^a	678	71.6
Death ^b	89	9.4
Staybacks ^c	137	14.5
Unknown	43	4.5
Total	934	100.0

Source: Garden Grove prosopography.

^aOf the 678 settlers of Garden Grove who crossed the plains to Utah, 13 (1.4 percent) later returned to the Midwest.

^bThis figure does not correspond to the mortality rate in Garden Grove. It is the number of individuals who lived in Garden Grove at some point between 1846 and 1852, who died before arriving in Utah. These deaths occurred in Garden Grove, other Mormon settlements, and on the trail.

^cThe term “stayback” is used in this thesis to refer to members of the LDS Church who remained in the Midwest and never crossed the plains to Utah.

possible to determine the number of Garden Grove Mormons who crossed the plains to Utah, those who died before crossing the plains, those who remained in the Midwest, and those who crossed the plains and later returned to the Midwest. In spite of the desperate condition of the Saints as they left Nauvoo, Illinois, the temporary settlement at Garden Grove allowed 678 people to obtain supplies and regain their health so that they might successfully settle in the West. Of the remaining Saints, eighty-nine (9.4 percent) died, and 150 (16.0 percent) eventually left the Church, including 137 (14.7 percent) who never migrated to Utah (see table 2).

Very few studies have been done to determine what percentage of the Saints in the Hancock County area did not follow Brigham Young to the West. As previously noted, Dean L. May estimated that approximately 8,800 Saints from Nauvoo crossed the plains by 1850, having based his calculations on typical birth and mortality rates, the 1850 federal census, as well as

some known migration numbers.¹² He wrote, “The peak population of 14,000 to 15,000 for Nauvoo is also close to what has been thought, but the estimation of 8,800 leaving Nauvoo to go west is lower than many have assumed.”¹³ May considered the population of Pottawattamie County in 1850 to account for the Nauvoo exiles who had not yet crossed the plains, but there was no mention of having considered Decatur County for the Garden Grove Saints, and it would appear that Mt. Pisgah was not enumerated in the 1850 census. These two settlements alone would have added substantially to the estimate of 8,800. It is also unfortunate that May’s study appears to have been misinterpreted. The introduction to his article states, “If, as he indicates, approximately 60 percent of the Nauvoo population went west, then fully 40 percent remained in Nauvoo—a much larger percentage than we have formerly believed.”¹⁴ This statement does not account for deaths between Nauvoo and Utah, and it also does not consider the Saints in Iowa who migrated after 1850.

May was not alone in using the 1850 census as an indicator of the number of Nauvoo Saints who crossed the plains. In 1954, Robert Flanders compared the 1850 census enumeration of Utah to the estimates of Nauvoo’s population and concluded that it was “clear that Young was not able to move more than a fraction of the whole church to Utah.”¹⁵ Almost thirty years later, Barbara Bernauer also used the 1850 Utah census and 1851 population estimates to conclude that “this tabulation would scarcely account for the Mormon population of old Nauvoo alone, to say

¹²May, “A Demographic Portrait,” 52.

¹³May, “A Demographic Portrait,” 52.

¹⁴May, “A Demographic Portrait,” 39.

¹⁵Robert Bruce Flanders, “The Mormons Who Did Not Go West: A Study of the Emergence of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints” (master’s thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1954), 19.

nothing of the many thousands of Saints in the surrounding country and ‘abroad in the land.’”¹⁶

There is no question that 150 staybacks and comebacks out of 934 Saints are significant, but they numbered considerably less than 40 percent of the population. Because the Garden Grove prosopography is a longitudinal study following specific people, the stayback rate for this sample of the Hancock County population is not based on assumptions and estimations.

The Garden Grove study has revealed some statistics quite different from the conclusions that were previously based on the 1850 census, as well as those drawn from May’s calculations. The prosopography shows that 72 percent of the Nauvoo exiles who settled in Garden Grove for two months or more successfully crossed the plains, 9.4 percent died, and 14.5 percent remained in the Midwest. The Garden Grove population accounts for approximately one thousand of the fourteen to fifteen thousand exiles from the Nauvoo area, and this sample documents a higher rate of crossing the plains at the same time that it demonstrates a considerably lower rate of staybacks than estimates given in previous studies. This is possible because the conclusions drawn by earlier studies did not account for the large number of LDS people who were still spread across Iowa and Missouri in 1850. The current data has shown that 64.9 percent of the Nauvoo Saints who settled in Garden Grove did not go to Utah until after 1850 (see table 3). Adding the migration of these later settlers would greatly increase previous estimates of the total number of Nauvoo exiles who eventually settled in the West. A future study of the Nauvoo area comparable to the Garden Grove prosopography would provide a much more accurate evaluation of the loss of church membership during the transition in leadership from Joseph Smith to Brigham Young.

¹⁶Barbara J. Bernauer, “Gathering the Remnants: Establishing the RLDS Church in Southwestern Iowa,” *The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 20 (2000): 6.

Table 3. Garden Grove settlers' year of migration to Utah

Year	N	Percent
1847	37	5.5
1848	28	4.1
1849	26	3.8
1850	100	14.7
1851	166	24.5
1852	126	18.6
1853	29	4.3
1854-70	24	3.5
Unknown year, before 1850 census ^a	43	6.3
Unknown year, after 1850 census	95	14.0
Unknown	4	0.6
Total	678	100.0
Garden Grove settlers in Utah 1850 or earlier	234	34.5
Garden Grove settlers in Utah after 1850	440	64.9
Unknown	4	0.6

Source: Garden Grove prosopography.

^aFor Garden Grove settlers where the year and company of migration are unknown, the 1850 federal census was used to determine if they crossed the plains before or after 1850. The 1850 census of Utah was actually taken in 1851, so pioneers traveling during the summer of 1850 were included in the enumeration. Since the 1850 census of Iowa was taken in 1850, pioneers crossing in 1851 were included in the Iowa enumeration.

Nativity of the Garden Grove Settlers

The history of early Mormonism was one of conflict with neighbors. In 1838, the Saints were driven out of Missouri, and after eight years building their city of Nauvoo, they were also forced to leave Illinois. Historians conclude that the culture of the Saints, who were mostly from the New England and northern states, played a role in this conflict. In addition, practices of bloc voting added to the local anger. A significant portion of the early settlers of Missouri were from the South, and they believed the bloc voting of the Mormons, who had become a local majority,

threatened their right to govern themselves.¹⁷ Yet there does not appear to have been any serious conflict with the non-LDS settlers of Garden Grove, even though the Saints were still a majority who had continued their practice of bloc voting. A study of the nativity of the Mormons and non-Mormons in the town begins to reveal the differences in circumstances.

Several midwestern studies have documented the nativity of frontiersmen in Illinois and Iowa. For the Sugar Creek area of Illinois, John Faragher stated, “Three quarters of the heads of household who immigrated before 1840 came directly from homes in Kentucky, Tennessee, or the up-country of Virginia and the Carolinas. Fewer than one in ten came from a state north of the Mason-Dixon line.”¹⁸ Also in reference to Illinois, Susan Rugh wrote, “The cheap land and river access in Military Tract first drew farm families from the upland South—Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas.”¹⁹ Describing Wapello County, Iowa, Mildred Throne concluded, “. . . the states of the South and the Old Northwest far outnumbered New England as birthplaces of Wapello County’s early population.”²⁰ Finally, David Galenson and Clayne Pope found, “The bulk of Appanoose’s early settlers who had been born outside the Midwest came from a central tier of states that ran west from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina through Kentucky and Tennessee. Together these five states accounted for 55 percent of the household heads in 1850”²¹ Based on these findings, researchers might expect to learn that the non-LDS settlers of Decatur County migrated from the Midwest and the upper South. This

¹⁷Leonard, *Nauvoo*, 22-25.

¹⁸Faragher, *Sugar Creek*, 45.

¹⁹Rugh, *Our Common Country*, 9. Later migration streams to Fountain Green Township came from New York, Pennsylvania, and New England.

²⁰Throne, “A Population Study,” 315.

²¹Galenson and Pope, “Economic and Geographic Mobility,” 639.

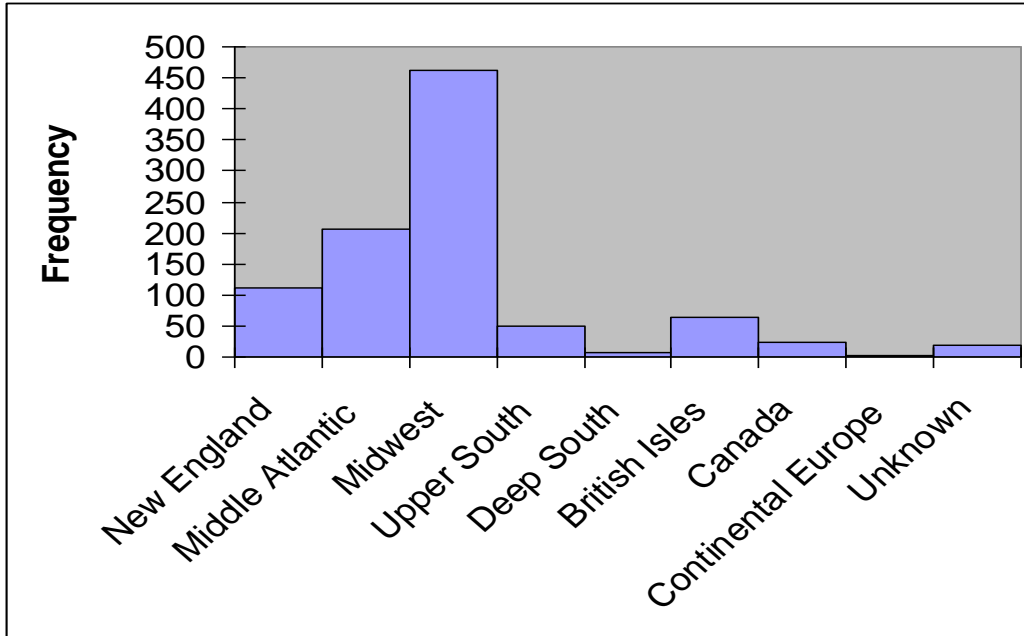


Figure 5. Nativity of Garden Grove LDS settlers, 1846-1852. *Source:* Garden Grove prosopography. *Note:* The categories for regions of nativity were defined as follows: New England included Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont; the Middle Atlantic included New York, Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; the Midwest included Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, and Ohio; the Upper South included Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and Maryland; the Deep South included Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi; the British Isles included England, Ireland, Isle of Man, Scotland, and Wales; and Continental Europe included France and Germany.

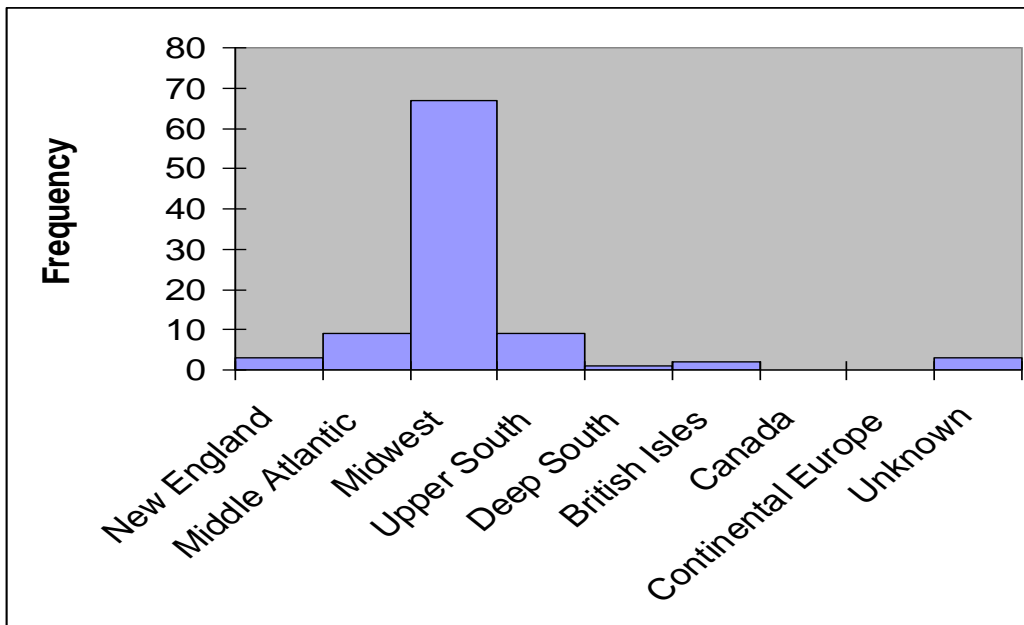


Figure 6. Nativity of Garden Grove non-LDS settlers, 1846-1852. *Source:* Garden Grove prosopography.

study confirms that a high percentage of them came from the Midwest, but the states of the upper South represent the nativity of only 7.8 percent of the non-Mormon population. In fact, figures 5 and 6 show that the proportion of the LDS population who were born in various regions of the North and the Midwest was mirrored in the non-LDS population. Indeed, the nativity of the two groups is similar because they were kin and close friends. The first eighteen settlers who were not of the Mormon faith were siblings, extended relations, and friends of the Mormons who had already settled in Garden Grove. Harriet Kellogg indicated that Dr. Daniel Roberts convinced the Davis and Kellogg families to migrate to Garden Grove because there were some Mormon cabins not being used and the prairie had already been broken.²² Daniel Roberts was a Mormon polygamist from Nauvoo, and his first wife, Eliza, was Harriet Kellogg's sister. The lack of conflict in this community may have resulted from these two groups sharing a similar culture, but it is more important to realize that they were friends and kin.

Fertility in Garden Grove

The Mormons of Garden Grove shared similar backgrounds with their immediate neighbors, but historians have frequently stated that the LDS birthrate was much higher than that of the rest of the population. Dean L. May wrote, “. . . in all its terms—of birth, death, immigration, and out-migration—the Mormons contrast rather sharply with the general population. Mormons are more fertile than most people around them . . .”²³ In 1850, the national crude birthrate per thousand women, ages fifteen to forty-four, was 194, and the crude birthrate per thousand population was 43.3. In Garden Grove between 1846 and 1852, Mormon women bore

²²Gunzenhauser, “Settlers of Garden Grove,” 1.

²³May, “A Demographic Portrait,” 41.

children at a rate considerably higher than the national average (see table 4). The birthrate varied from year to year, but the lowest rates were in years of stress or were subject to distortion because of small population numbers. The year 1850 brought a national cholera outbreak, and in 1852 Garden Grove had an average LDS population of only twenty-six people. In spite of these two years of lower rates, the average annual birthrate in Garden Grove for LDS women of childbearing age was 225.1 per thousand. This was a rate 16 percent higher than the national average. A comparison of birthrates in 1880 puts this statistic into perspective; 1880 was a time when polygamy was openly practiced in Utah, and the Mormon birthrate at that time was 198.9 births per thousand women.²⁴ The Garden Grove birthrate far exceeded that of Utah at a time of widespread polygamy.

Table 4. Crude birthrates for LDS Garden Grove settlers, 1846-1852

Year	Births	Women Aged 15-44 ^a	Births Per 1000 Women Aged 15-44	Average Annual Population	Births Per 1000 Population
1846	29	135	214.8	686	42.3
1847	24	103	233.0	519	46.2
1848	18	61	297.5	326	55.3
1849	12	51	237.6	270	44.4
1850	7	41	172.8	214	32.7
1851	5	21	238.1	103	48.5
1852	1	6	181.8	26	39.2
Garden Grove average			225.1		44.1
National average ^b			194.0		43.3

Source: Garden Grove prosopography.

^aSee Appendix 3 for details on the methods used for calculations. The ages of over 99 percent of the women in Garden Grove are known.

^bWarren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Population Trends in the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933), 263.

²⁴Wayne L. Wahlquist, "Population Growth in the Mormon Core Area: 1847-90," in Richard H. Jackson, ed., *The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 111.

Table 5. Comparison of age groupings shown as percentage of total population

Age	Garden Grove 1847	North Central States 1840
0-4	18.4	19.5
5-19	43.6	39.0
20-29	12.9	17.8
30-44	16.1	14.5
45-64	8.4	7.6
65+	0.6	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Garden Grove prosopography; Thompson and Whelpton, *Population Trends*, 366.

Another method of comparing birthrates is to determine the number of births per thousand population. It is interesting to see that the Garden Grove rate for this calculation was an average of 44.1 births per thousand, which was only 1.8 percent higher than the national average of 43.3. The reason for the difference between the rate per thousand women of childbearing age and the rate per thousand population becomes obvious when comparing the age structure of Garden Grove's population to that of the rural North Central States (see table 5). The percentage of children aged four and under was only slightly smaller, and the children aged five to nineteen was slightly higher. The noticeable difference between the two populations is the 4.9 percent reduction in the Garden Grove population for men and women aged twenty to twenty-nine. In Garden Grove, the overall birthrate was only slightly higher than the rural North Central States, but that rate was being achieved by a smaller proportion of women of childbearing age. A population pyramid illustrating cohorts for every five years of age shows that the reduced number of men and women actually extended from age twenty-one to forty (see figure 7). This is almost the full range of childbearing years. An explanation as to why these cohorts were smaller than a typical population may need to be obtained through a study of the Nauvoo period prior to

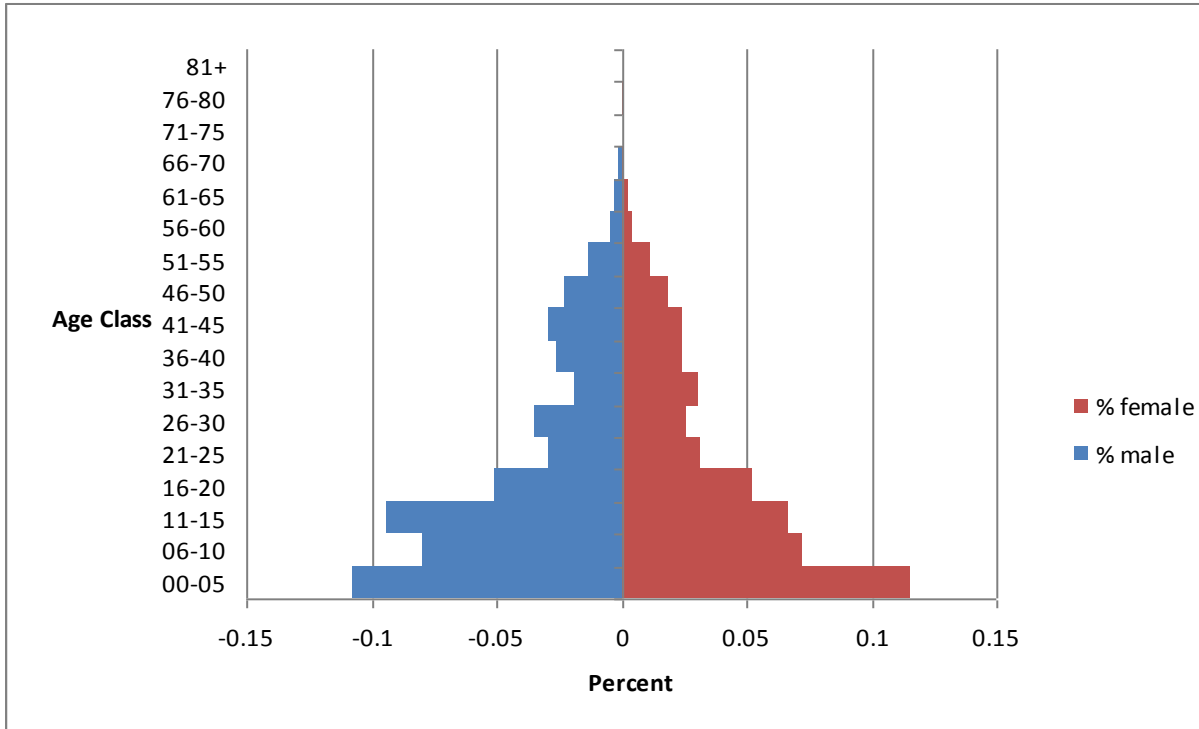


Figure 7. Population pyramid for Garden Grove, 1847. *Source:* Garden Grove prosopography.

the exodus, or through a more complete study of all of the Iowa settlements. It is unclear whether this segment of the population was missing through death, or if there were more individuals from this age group living in the other settlements. Regardless of the cause of the imbalance, the current study has confirmed that the birthrate for women of childbearing age in Garden Grove was considerably higher than the rate for non-LDS women in nearby rural areas.

Two characteristics of a community which impact the fertility rate are the proportion of women in their childbearing years that are married and the mean age at first marriage. Younger ages at marriage increase the proportion of married women, which also increase the number of women with the potential for childbearing. In 1847, there were 141 women in Garden Grove between the ages of fifteen and forty-four. Ninety-six (68.1 percent) of those women were married, and the mean age at first marriage was 20.9 years. Comparing birth cohorts of women in Garden Grove to the same cohorts in the Mormon Historical Demography Project shows a

Table 6. Mean age at first marriage by birth cohort

Birth Cohort	Garden Grove	Mormon Historical Demography Project ^a
1785-89	20.9	
1790-94	25.8	
1795-99	24.5	
1800-04	22.6	23.4
1805-09	22.1	22.7
1810-14	20.0	23.5
1815-19	21.3	23.0
1820-24	20.3	23.4
1825-29	18.1	23.0
1830-34	17.1	22.4
Mean for all ages	20.9	

Source: Garden Grove Prosopography.

^aLee L. Bean, Geraldine P. Mineau, and Douglas L. Anderton, *Fertility Change on the American Frontier: Adaptation and Innovation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 125.

consistently lower mean age at first marriage for the Garden Grove women (see table 6). Because these women were marrying younger, a higher percentage of those in the childbearing years were married and contributing to the inflated birthrate.

No discussion of LDS fertility is complete until the issue of polygamy is addressed. Although polygamy was not practiced openly in Nauvoo, there were thirteen men (8 percent) who had more than one wife during the time they lived in Garden Grove.²⁵ These men were married to thirty-two women who bore a total of seventeen children during their time of settlement. This means that of the ninety-six children born in Garden Grove, 17.7 percent were born into polygamous households. Table 7 shows that for four of the years of settlement the

²⁵Polygamous families in Garden Grove were determined by comparing known marriage dates to the death dates of previous wives. If an earlier wife was known to be living and was not known to have divorced or left her husband, the family was considered to be living the principle of plural marriage. This number includes only those who were polygamists while living in Garden Grove and does not include those who began practicing polygamy at a later date.

Table 7. Crude birthrates for LDS women in a polygamous relationship in Garden Grove, 1846-1852

Year	Births	Polygamous Women	Births Per 1000 Polygamous Women
1846	9	25	360.0
1847	3	13	230.8
1848	4	6	666.7
1849	0	5	0.0
1850	1	3	333.3
1851	0	0	0.0
1852	0	0	0.0
Total	17		
5-year average			318.2

Source: Garden Grove prosopography.

birthrate for women in polygamous relationships was exceptionally high. However, there was also one year where no children were born to these women, and two years that there were no polygamists in Garden Grove. The average birthrate per 1000 polygamous women over the five years they were in town was 318.2. This is considerably higher than the average birthrate per 1000 of all the women of childbearing age in Garden Grove, which was 225.1. It appears that these statistics are exceptionally high because of the timing of polygamous marriages in Nauvoo. All of the women of Garden Grove who were living in a plural marriage had been married less than two years before their arrival at the way station, and the highest birth rates occurred during the first, third, and fifth years of the settlement. These numbers reflect a normal birth pattern for young, newly-married women.

The unusual birthrate seems to be directly attributable to the fact that this way station was a haven for families to stop and provide rest and protection to the women who were awaiting the birth of a child. Disproportionately, families with pregnant women stopped at Garden Grove.

After the birth, they also had the ability to stay long enough for the babies to gain strength before migrating to Utah. Not all families made this choice, but many did. In 1846, each family leaving Nauvoo had unique circumstances and various options to consider as to how they would make their way to the West. Of the families where the mother was expecting a child, twenty-nine stopped at Garden Grove until after the baby was born. That same year, two additional babies were born to families who did not stay, but continued westward soon after the birth.

This same pattern is seen at the end of the settlement period. There were eleven women of childbearing age who remained in Garden Grove after almost all the remaining Saints left during the migration of 1851. Two of those women never migrated, so their delay was clearly not a childbearing consideration. Aseph Blanchard's wife, Eunice, was not pregnant, but she was waiting to travel with her husband who had been left in charge of the branch that final year. Two other women had specific family reasons not to migrate in 1851. Of the six remaining women, four either gave birth immediately before the 1851 migration, or they were pregnant and awaiting the arrival of their next child. The last two women were a mother and a daughter of a pregnant woman, and they were waiting to travel as a family. These last families chose to remain where there was shelter and protection for mother and child, and then to continue their migration the following year. Through the seven years that Garden Grove was a Mormon way station, only four women are known to have departed late enough in a pregnancy to deliver a baby on the trail.

An analysis of the age of each family's youngest child at the time of migration reveals that there was great variation in the timing of when the families moved on. To analyze the timing of migration in relation to births, the families selected for this portion of the study included all married women who settled in Garden Grove, who had given birth to at least one child prior to crossing the plains, and who gave birth to at least one child after migration. This was to ensure

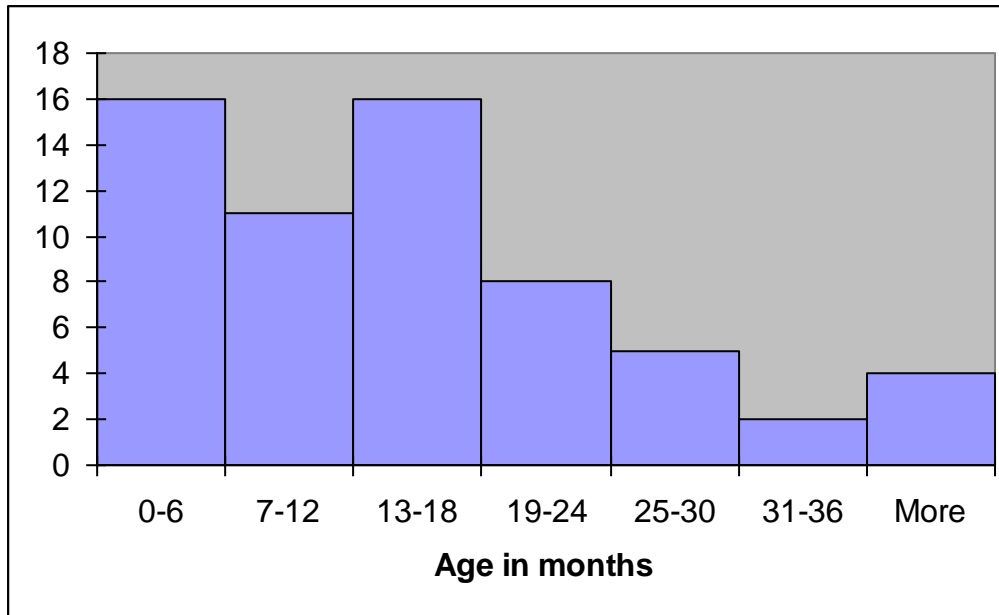


Figure 8. Age of youngest child upon departure when crossing the plains. *Source:* Garden Grove prosopography.

that all women had childbearing potential and a gap in the birth pattern was not caused by divorce, death of a spouse, or the beginning or ending of their childbearing years. Figure 8 shows that two-thirds of the youngest children were eighteen months old or younger at the time of migration, but there were equal numbers of babies up to six months of age and toddlers between twelve and eighteen months at the time the families traveled to Utah. The high birthrate suggests that many families may have chosen to remain in Garden Grove while awaiting the arrival of a child, thus inflating the birthrates of the town. However, there was considerable variation in how long each family waited after the birth before traveling again.²⁶

²⁶For more information on the relationship between fertility and the migration of families to Utah, see Geraldine P. Mineau, Lee L. Bean, and Douglas L. Anderton, "Migration and Fertility: Behavioral Change on the American Frontier," *Journal of Family History* 14, no. 1 (1989): 43-61.

Mortality Rates in Garden Grove

The mortality rate in Garden Grove has also been a matter of discussion for previous historians. Leland Gentry concluded, “At least one problem was never conquered by the Saints in Garden Grove—death. This ever-present spectre struck the camp soon after the settlement was laid and never let up before the town was abandoned in 1852.”²⁷ The impression of a high death rate has likely come from the many journals that were written in 1846, which was the one year the mortality rate was exceptionally high. Nelson Whipple wrote,

Thier was much sickniss in that place in the fall [1846] and many deths among which was Father Samuel Bent President of the Stake Sister Lewis wife of Philip B. Lewis tiner also the wife of Samuel Williams, who had come up from Nauvoo in the Spring and many others for those that died I made all the coffins and buried them the coffins I made out off black walnut split out and hewed down to an inch thick and plained up which made a vary nice coffin but took much hard labor for those jobs I got vary little.²⁸

Orson Pratt visited Garden Grove during the winter of 1846-1847 and recorded, “Found the Saints in those two settlements [Garden Grove and Mt. Pisgah] doing very well, although they also had suffered much by sickness and death.”²⁹ Reading the personal writings of the Garden Grove settlers provides a steady stream of statements about the illness and death they suffered. However, the current study reveals that this condition changed significantly after the first winter. Based on the data that has been gathered, there were forty-two deaths in Garden Grove during the time the Mormons were there (see figure 9). Of those deaths, twenty-two (52.4 percent) occurred in the first year of settlement, and four of the five deaths in 1847 occurred in January. All of these deaths occurred within the first nine months of settlement and were directly

²⁷Gentry, “Mormon Way Stations,” 452.

²⁸Whipple, “Autobiography and Journal,” 52-53.

²⁹Orson Pratt, *Exodus of Modern Israel* (Salt Lake City: N. G. Lundwall, n.d.), 29.

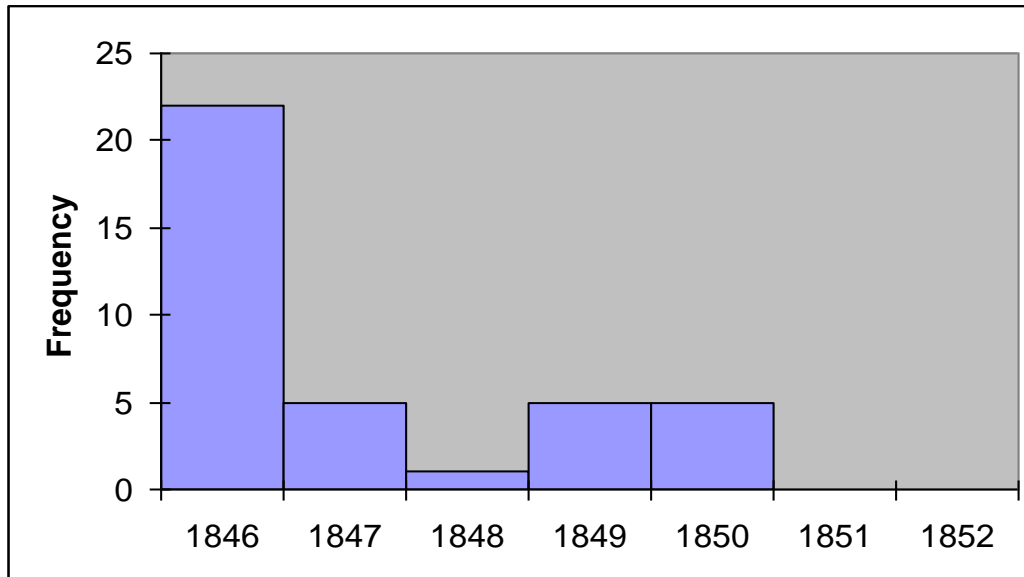


Figure 9. Garden Grove deaths by year, 1846-1852. *Source:* Garden Grove prosopography.

attributable to the exposure, malnutrition, and disease that the Mormon people were subject to as they began their exodus from Nauvoo. There was also a small increase in deaths during 1849 and 1850, likely caused by the national cholera outbreak. These ten deaths account for 23.8 percent of all those who died in Garden Grove. Beyond the first nine months and the cholera outbreak, there was one death in 1847, one in 1848, and no known deaths in 1851 or 1852. Four additional deaths were known to have occurred prior to the 1850 census, but details are unknown. Clearly, death in Garden Grove was not relentless.

The total number of deaths in the Garden Grove settlement is not very helpful without knowing how those numbers compare to other populations. A crude mortality rate compares the number of deaths per thousand population. Unfortunately, the United States was not tracking deaths in detail during this time. There was a mortality schedule taken in conjunction with the 1850 federal census, but these schedules did not record all deaths, and as was mentioned earlier, this was the time of a national cholera outbreak. Using the 1850 mortality rates would not be a good statistic to represent a normal mortality rate outside of 1849 and 1850. Fortunately,

Table 8. Crude mortality rates for LDS Garden Grove settlers, 1846-1852

Year	Deaths	Average Annual Population ^a	Deaths Per 1000 Population
1846	22	686	32.1
1847	5	519	9.6
1848	1	326	3.1
1849	5	270	18.5
1850	5	214	23.4
1851	0	103	0.0
1852	0	26	0.0
Before 1850	4		
Total	42		

Source: Garden Grove prosopography.

^aSee Appendix 3 for details on the methods used for calculations.

Massachusetts began publishing statewide death reports in 1841. The Massachusetts 1855 crude death rate of 21.4 per thousand appears to be the best available comparison.³⁰ Although Dean May considered twenty deaths per thousand a high death rate, it does not appear to have been uncommon.³¹ Two of the years in this study exceeded Massachusetts' mortality rate for 1855 (see table 8), and both years are understandable as explained above. Although the cholera epidemic had an impact on Garden Grove, it wasn't nearly as devastating as what happened in St. Louis, Missouri, the previous year. The 1849 deaths in that city attributable to cholera alone were 68 per thousand population.³² Even though Garden Grove's death rate was high in 1846 and

³⁰Thompson and Whelpton, *Population Trends*, 231.

³¹May, "A Demographic Portrait," 43.

³²James M. Leete and Robert Moore, *The Sanitary Condition of St. Louis, with Special Reference to Asiatic Cholera* (St. Louis: Order of the Club, 1885), 14, <http://www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/cholera/pdf/101195626.pdf> (accessed 2008).

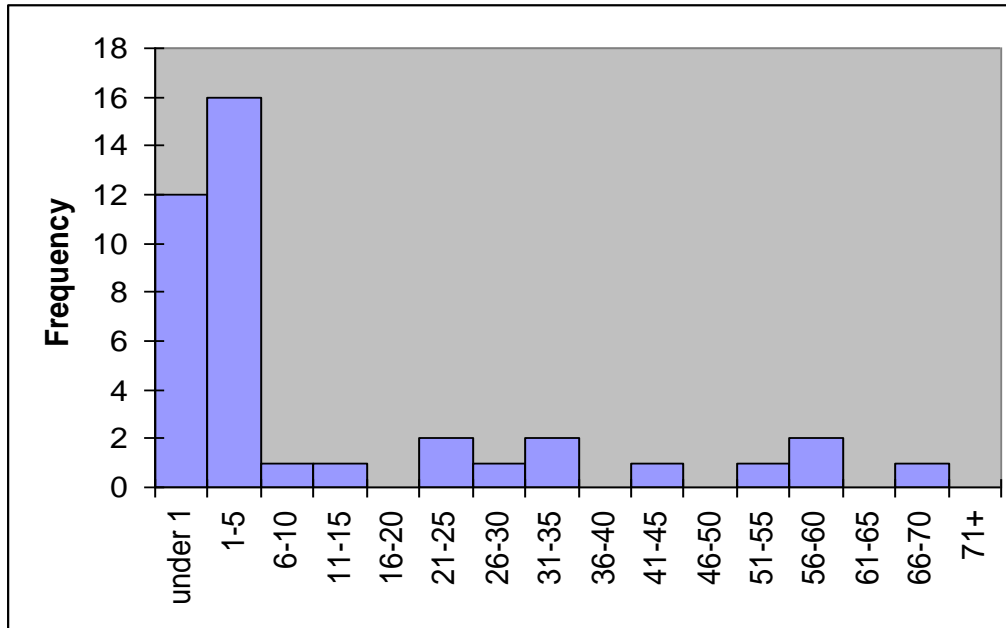


Figure 10. Age at time of death in Garden Grove, 1846-1852. *Source:* Garden Grove prosopography.

1850, of particular interest are the much lower mortality rates for the four remaining years that Garden Grove was functioning as a way station.³³

The number of people who died in Garden Grove indicates the general level of health in the community, but more can be learned by looking at who was dying. Figure 10 illustrates that twenty-eight of the forty-two deaths (66.7 percent) were infants and children under the age of five. Hosea Stout wrote about the loss of his young son while in Garden Grove.

In the after noon I went out in company with Benjn Jones into the wood being very lonesome and was talking over our feelings when I was sent for and informed that my little son Hyrum was dying. I returned immediately home and found the poor little afflicted child in the last agonies of death. He died in my

³³Bishop Hill, a religious community founded in Illinois the same year as Garden Grove was established, suffered high death rates not only during the first winter but also during the second. Destruction of records preclude precise numbers, but the crowded conditions in dugouts were so unhealthy that “nearly every morning a fresh corpse would be pulled out from the reeking death-traps.” In 1849 immigrants to the community brought cholera, killing 143 persons. Death and disenchantment with the hardships reduced the population from over 1600 immigrants to an estimated 550 by 1850. Mikkelsen, “The Bishop Hill Colony,” 28-38 (quotation on p. 30); Pratt, “The Murder of Eric Janson,” 55.

arms about four o'clock. This was the second child which I had lost both dying in my arms. He died with the hooping cough & black canker.³⁴

Fourteen (50 percent) of the children who died in Garden Grove died in 1846 from exposure and disease. Four of those fourteen were two one-year-olds and two three-year-olds. The ten remaining children were infants less than a year old: two died the day they were born, four lived a few weeks, and the remaining four survived less than a few months. These were all babies born after the Saints left Nauvoo. Thus, the infant mortality rate among the Garden Grove settlers in 1846 was 232.6 deaths per thousand births. To put this into perspective, the infant mortality rate in Massachusetts in 1855 was 155.1 per thousand.³⁵ The Garden Grove rate during this first year of their exile was 50 percent higher. Marietta Coray Henderson gave birth to a baby in Garden Grove in 1846 and described the day her son died.

My aunt and other women came the next day and made my dead baby a shroud, and laid it out upon a chest. It had no coffin yet. When all this was done, each took leave, and left us alone. There was a great deal of sickness at the time, and most of them had some one at home requiring attention. I was too much absorbed in my grief to notice how things went. My child was not to be buried until the next day. Though dead, it was mine yet another night, and I clung to it.³⁶

The loss of fourteen children in nine months must have been devastating to all of these families. In addition to the children, three adults age sixty and over died that year, including Samuel Bent, the Branch President. The following was written about his death:

Those who stayed in Garden Grove were often the infirm, the sick, and others who needed care. . . . These conditions placed great spiritual and physical burdens on the few who were assigned to stay and operate the way-stations, especially on the station presidency. The needs were tremendous. There never seemed to be

³⁴Hosea Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 160.

³⁵Thompson and Whelpton, *Population Trends*, 236.

³⁶Nelson Winch Green, *Mormonism: Its Rise, Progress and Present Condition; Embracing the Narrative of Mary Ettie V. Smith of her Residence and Experience of Fifteen Years with the Mormons* (Hartford: Belknap & Bliss, 1870), 68, <http://books.google.com> (accessed summer 2010).

enough supplies to go around. The crops raised the first year were soon consumed by those who had nothing and could not work and by those who were being outfitted to continue the journey. The effort required was so great that Father Samuel Bent died on August 16, 1846. In the end, insufficient food, lack of proper shelter, and no skilled attention to his own physical needs made President Bent's recovery impossible.³⁷

President Bent was chosen to care for the Garden Grove Branch on 10 May 1846.³⁸ Within three months and five days, he had literally worked himself to death trying to help the needy settlers at this way station. Clearly, the young and the elderly were the most vulnerable to the harsh conditions of that first year.

Male Occupations and Persistence in Garden Grove

A final characteristic of Garden Grove that reveals even more about the functioning of the town as a way station is the male occupations of the time. Those occupations, as recorded in the 1850 federal census, indicate what services were available to residents (see table 9). Since this was an early frontier community, only the basic occupations were represented, and yet there was clearly enough variety to accomplish the work of the town. Because of the transient nature of Garden Grove's population, it seems likely that some of the variety of occupations might not have been available at all times. However, this study has revealed that the men who filled the occupations beyond farming were almost all from the group of Mormon persisters who had been in Garden Grove since 1846. In addition to the families who chose to stay in the settlement because of their own personal needs, others were asked to remain to assist in the functioning of the town. According to several biographers, David Fullmer was asked to remain in Garden Grove

³⁷Alan P. Johnson, *Aaron Johnson, Faithful Steward: A Documentary History* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1991), 122.

³⁸Garden Grove Branch (Iowa), "Record of Members, 1847," microfilm, 12-15, Church History Library and Archives, Salt Lake City, UT.

Table 9. Distribution of adult male occupations in Garden Grove, 1850

Occupation	Heads of Household	Non-heads of Household
Farmer	28	29
Blacksmith	1	
Bratman ^a		1
Bricklayer	1	
Carpenter	1	
Cooper		2
Mason	1	
Merchant	2 ^b	
Printer	1	
Schoolteacher	1	
Stonecutter	1	
Wagonmaker	2	
Total	39	32

Source: Garden Grove prosopography, 1850 federal census.

^aA bratman was someone who made rough garments.

^bThe two merchants in 1850 were non-LDS settlers.

as a member of the Branch Presidency, Isaac Allred was asked to assist the oncoming Saints, and Benjamin Johnson was asked to remain behind and allow his mules to go forward with the advance company.³⁹ A biography of Lewis Wilson, one of the persisters, described the need for those who were capable of helping. “These stops were rest and repair stations. Whether in Mount Pisgah, Garden Grove, or Council Bluffs those who continued to forge west must be helped to recuperate, wagons must be repaired, horses and oxen must be replaced”⁴⁰ In selecting men and families to remain in Garden Grove, Brigham Young considered the need for leaders, but he also chose those individuals with skills necessary for the functioning of the town. These way

³⁹Donald Hugh Howard, “Peace and Prosperity for a Season”: *The Life of David Fullmer, Mormon Pioneer* (Provo, UT: The Author, 1973), 8; “Biographical Sketch of Isaac Allred and Julia Ann Taylor n.d.,” typescript, microfilm, Church History Library and Archives, Salt Lake City, UT; Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life’s Review* (Provo, UT: Grandin Book Co., 1997), 112.

⁴⁰Roald Fay Campbell, *L. D. Wilson: Mormon Polygamist and Idaho Pioneer, a Biography* (Salt Lake City: Roald F. Campbell, 1986), 34.

stations were not a random selection of only those who could not go on; they also had residents specifically called to remain and use their skills to assist others.

Demographic Summary

The Mormon settlement in Garden Grove, Iowa, between 1846 and 1852 was intended to assist the Saints in finishing their preparations to migrate west. Exposure, malnutrition, and illness were common problems as the exiles arrived, and without the ability to recover and obtain supplies, they would not have been able to survive the trek to Utah. Twenty-two people died that first year, but the Garden Grove way station was successful in assisting 678 settlers to complete their migration. Although population growth and decline were steep because of the temporary nature of the town, a steady growth of non-LDS settlers mirrored that of a typical midwestern town. Overall persistence rates reflect the transience of the Mormons passing through, yet a core group who remained in the town provided consistency for those who stopped there for a season or two. Birthrates were high, even beyond that of typical Mormon populations, and finally, although the mortality rate was high for two years of the settlement period, it was not consistently high. There were several years where death was not a significant challenge. Moreover, this study provides specific concrete data about the Garden Grove Saints that reveals a lower death rate and a lower stayback rate than previous historians have estimated.

Unlike earlier Mormon settlements, the residents of Garden Grove shared a common background with their non-LDS neighbors; they shared kinship ties with many of those who came to settle with them, which precluded the hostility that had existed with earlier non-LDS neighbors. History has portrayed the Mormons and their settlements as unusual and different, and in many ways they were. Garden Grove was a planned community with a purpose, one that

functioned well with local leadership guided by Brigham Young. Necessary services were consistently available to assist the Saints in their ongoing preparations to move west. However, this study of the Garden Grove way station demonstrates that the Saints had far more in common with their Iowa neighbors than had previously been known.

Chapter 3

Economic Issues and Solutions

Their survival depended on a high degree of social bonding, an economic order in which the private interests of the individual were made distinctly secondary to the welfare of the whole.

--Richard E. Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri: Winter Quarters, 1846-1852*

During the fall and winter of 1845, the entire city of Nauvoo, Illinois, became a production workshop for thousands of wagons, tents, clothing, barrels, and all the supplies necessary for fifteen thousand Mormons to leave their city. In September, Brigham Young and other leaders of the church had made an agreement with the local authorities that the Saints would leave the following spring.¹ Months were spent in preparation for the impending departure, yet when the time came, many still had insufficient food, clothing, and shelter to survive on the isolated plains of America. Young had a formidable task ahead. He was to lead this people away from civilization to an unknown destination, ill-prepared and poverty-stricken. His solution had many facets, but the establishment of way stations across Iowa became crucial to the economic survival of this people.

¹Brigham Young, "Whereas a council of the authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, at Nauvoo, have this day received a communication from Henry Asbury, John P. Robbins, Albert J. Pearson," in *Mormon Publications: 19th and 20th Centuries*, BYU Library Digital Collections, <http://www.lib.byu.edu> (accessed November 2010). This document was Brigham Young's response to the Quincy Committee on 24 September 1845.

Leaving Nauvoo

With threats of arrest circulating, Brigham Young decided to start the evacuation of Nauvoo earlier than originally planned. Warrants were issued for his arrest, as well as eight of the apostles, to answer to charges of counterfeiting.² On 4 February 1846, the first of the Saints, including many of the leaders and their families, began crossing the Mississippi River into Iowa.³ Young continued to officiate in temple ordinances in the Nauvoo Temple until 15 February, but then he also loaded up his family and headed west.⁴ Benjamin Franklin Johnson, who later became one of the settlers of Garden Grove, described the threat of his own arrest:

But one afternoon, I think the 6th of February, 1846, I learned of a posse being sent from Carthage to search the manure piles around the Mansion stables for dead bodies, with a warrant for my arrest and others employed about the premises. Tales of great horror had gone about the country, of murders committed at the Mansion. But I left before the arrival of the posse, and with Mary Ann and Clarinda, went to a friend's house near the river and crossed about midnight in a bitter-cold storm.⁵

Some of the residents of Nauvoo left unprepared because they were pressured to leave. However, hundreds of families left in February and made their way to the Sugar Creek Camp in Iowa because they did not want to be left behind, regardless of their state of preparation. It was recorded that while Brigham Young was at Sugar Creek, "eight hundred men reported

²Allen and Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 230; Leonard, *Nauvoo*, 564-565. Federal officials attempted to arrest Brigham Young on 23 December 1845, but they soon found that the man they had in custody was a decoy.

³Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 43.

⁴Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 95.

⁵Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 108.

themselves in camp without a fortnight's provisions."⁶ Because these families did not have the food and supplies they needed, they became a burden to the leadership and those few who did have a sufficient outfit. Brigham Young expressed his frustration with this situation when he spoke to the people in May 1846:

When the removal westward was in contemplation at Nauvoo, had the brethren submitted to our counsel and brought their teams and means and authorized me to do as the Spirit and wisdom of the Lord directed with them, then we could have outfitted a company of men that were not encumbered with large families and sent them over the mountains to put in crops and build houses, and the residue could have gathered, beginning with the Priesthood, and the gathering continued from year to year, building and planting at the same time. Were matters so conducted, none would be found crying for bread, or none destitute of clothing, but all would be provided for as designed by the Almighty. But instead of taking this course, the Saints have crowded on us all the while, and have completely tied our hands by importuning and saying do not leave us behind, wherever you go we want to go and be with you.⁷

The decision had been made on 12 April 1846 to establish a farm.⁸ This settlement would provide a way for those who were unprepared to continue working toward the necessary outfit. The Saints could not go on in their poverty, and they could not return to Nauvoo. They needed time to raise crops and the ability to work to raise funds, which would not be tolerated by the non-LDS people in the Nauvoo area. Although guns were not drawn as they began leaving their homes, the Saints had known they could not remain long.

While attempting to obtain wagons, cattle, food, and clothing for their departure, most of the Mormons needed to sell their homes and property to make their purchases. Unfortunately, everyone surrounding Nauvoo knew that the Mormons were leaving, and they knew that they could claim the homes and land at no cost once the city was abandoned. Local citizens had no

⁶Andrew Jenson, "Journeyings in the Wilderness," *The Historical Record* 8, nos. 7 & 8 (August 1889): 881.

⁷Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 150.

⁸Huntington, *Diaries*, 54.

motivation to make purchases. Seven years of Mormon labor building the city of Nauvoo became virtually worthless overnight. Some of the Saints were able to sell, but most were not. Marietta (Coray) Henderson wrote, “I recollect [my mother] told me afterwards, she sold her house and lot, worth about \$800 for four pounds of pork; of course the Mormon title to the land was not considered good.”⁹ Thomas Bullock “abandoned his \$700 home and lot and ‘his tables, chairs, furniture, pigs, chickens, and all he possessed’ to three men in exchange for ‘food amounting to two dollars seventeen and a half cents.’”¹⁰ In contrast, John Pulsipher was able to obtain some funds on the sale of his property, but he certainly did not receive a fair price. He wrote, “About \$2,000.00 worth property, I had to sell for \$300.00 because I could do no better.”¹¹ After the Saints left Nauvoo, the church trustees acted as agents for the members to help sell their abandoned property. According to historian Glen Leonard, “The trustees realized from 15 to 40 percent of the normal value of the Saints’ property and eventually sold practically all of the developed lots and land.”¹²

However, without the ability to convert their property into cash before their departure, the majority of the Saints were unable to purchase a sufficient outfit. Not only did they lose the value of what they had worked for in Nauvoo, but many of the people who had settled there were the same families who had been driven out of Missouri, and some had suffered significant losses in Kirtland, Ohio, as well. They had lost their possessions multiple times, repeatedly starting over.

⁹Green, *Mormonism*, 55.

¹⁰Bullock, *Pioneer Camp of the Saints*, 33.

¹¹John Pulsipher, “Diary v. 1, 1835-1874,” typescript, 9, Utah State Historical Society Research Center, Salt Lake City.

¹²Leonard, *Nauvoo*, 591.

Feeding and sheltering their loved ones had become a constant struggle. A biographer of Luman Shurtliff wrote:

I had now been a member of this Church near ten years and had been compelled to move my family four times and start anew. I had lived in Nauvoo the longest by half of any other place since I belonged to the Church. This place was endeared to me for the sweet association I had enjoyed with the Prophet, Patriarch and the apostles of the most High. Here I was leaving the body of my dear wife and child. Never to behold these places again in the flesh. I turned my back to the west and took a last look at the Temple Nauvoo and its surroundings and bade them goodbye forever.¹³

Shurtliff's situation was only slightly better when leaving Iowa a few years later.

I sold my farm for a yoke of oxen and a watch. This is the first I have ever realized from sale of my property since I gathered in the church at Kirkland in the fall of 1837 and it was now the spring of 1851. In this time I think I had built and owned eleven log and one frame house and one brick building and this was the first I had received for anything, being obliged to sacrifice or leave all for the sake of the Gospel.¹⁴

Lewis Dunbar Wilson was in a similar situation.

We have belonged to the church at this time about eleven years. Have passed through the Missouri wars of 1838, and from that we went to Illinois and stood the brunt of the hard times at Nauvoo from its rise to its downfall. Left Nauvoo with the first camp and came to Garden Grove and there was left without one day's provisions ahead.¹⁵

Thousands of Saints were in the first exodus to leave Nauvoo in February 1846. By April, after slogging through constant rain and mud, the group had progressed 170 miles and were only half-way across Iowa. Large numbers were totally without provisions, and their need to work along the way and buy food was slowing down the entire company. Brigham Young desperately needed a well-provisioned group of healthy men to move swiftly to the Great Basin, but they

¹³Luman Andros Shurtliff, "Biographical Sketch of the Life of Luman Andros Shurtliff," n.d., 66, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

¹⁴Shurtliff, "Biographical Sketch," 78.

¹⁵Lewis Dunbar Wilson, "Autobiographical Sketch," typescript, microfilm, entry dated Feb. 18, 1846, Church History Library and Archives, Salt Lake City, UT.

could not leave their families in such dire circumstances. The company stopped long enough to establish Garden Grove, the first permanent way station, for those who could go no further.¹⁶ Mormon historians frequently emphasize the fact that the way stations were created so that the poor who were still in Nauvoo could come part way and continue their preparations, but the most immediate purpose was to help those who were already onsite and could not go on.

When Brigham Young left Garden Grove in May 1846, approximately six hundred of the Saints were left behind at the new settlement. Those who remained were the sick, aged, injured, destitute, widows, pregnant women with their families, and enough healthy families to help care for them and keep the way station functioning. Those with more provisions and better health continued to pursue their journey. A number of the families who stopped were partial families who had additional relatives still in Nauvoo. Thus over the next several months, portions of families who had been left behind continued arriving in Garden Grove, where they could regroup and combine their efforts again as a family. Economically, the settlers of Garden Grove were the Saints who were the least prepared and had little to sustain themselves.

By September, the situation in Nauvoo had deteriorated to the point of violence. Jonathan Crosby described his family's condition:

We stayed in Nau[voo] untill after the mob came when we were all sick, & in poverty also, tormented with musketoos, flees, & bedbugs. we could lay abed, & hear the roar of cannon & guns in time of ware. & when the mob came into the city, one of them a old Missourian mober came into my house leveled his gun at me to shoot, demanded my armes but I had none but a pistol. I gave him that & he left.¹⁷

In addition to the sick and destitute, there were widows still in Nauvoo who had remained behind until other family members could come back from the main camp to assist them. Asenath

¹⁶Jenson, "Journeyings in the Wilderness," 880.

¹⁷Crosby, "Autobiography," 25.

(Slafter) Janes and her mother, Eunice (Fenton) Slafter, were two of those widows. Asenath had recently married Samuel Bent as his plural wife, and Samuel had moved out with the first company. He was called to be the Branch President in Garden Grove, but before he could return for Asenath, he died of malnutrition and exhaustion. Shortly after hearing of her husband's death, Asenath's only remaining sister, Lucinda (Slafter) Miller, also died. A biographer wrote:

Now her little family was reduced again to herself, [her] eleven-year-old [daughter] Henrietta, and her aged mother. The poorest families remained as the last to evacuate Nauvoo, and the widow Asenath qualified for she lacked traveling equipment. What terror they suffered through during the assaults on the city complete with cannon fire and the driving of families out of their homes. . . .

Asenath left Nauvoo on October 1st, 1846, and crossed the Mississippi River where she remained on the west bank of the Mississippi River for four weeks in what became known as the "misery camps" or "the Camp of the Poor." Relief wagons arrived October 7th from Council Bluffs over 300 miles away to take them west. It took until November 1st before Asenath's little group could go.¹⁸

While moving the Camp of Israel westward across Iowa, Brigham Young continued to receive reports on the situation in Nauvoo. He was aware of the worsening conditions and the increase in violence, and two weeks before he received information on the Nauvoo Battle, a rescue party had been organized from Winter Quarters to return and bring out the remnants of those who had been left behind. This first party was led by Orville M. Allen.¹⁹ After learning about the battle and the Saints who were exiled across the Mississippi River with no means to join the main camp, leaders organized a second rescue party from Council Bluffs under the direction of James Murdock and Allen Taylor.²⁰ A third and lesser-known rescue party was organized in Garden Grove. Brigham Young wrote at least one letter requesting assistance for

¹⁸Lida Larkin, *Three Plus Two Equals Four: The Wives of Isaiah Cox* (West Valley City, UT: Envision Press, 2001), 32.

¹⁹Richard E. Bennett, "Eastward to Eden: The Nauvoo Rescue Missions," *Dialogue* 19, no. 4 (Winter 1986): 104.

²⁰Bennett, "Eastward to Eden," 106.

the Saints remaining in Nauvoo, but Luman Shurtliff implies in his journal that letters were sent to other settlements as well. He wrote:

About this time a letter was received from President B Young requiring each settlement to select a man and send him to the Mississippi River with all the teams could be raised and bring on the poor that had bin driven out of Nauvoo across the river into Ioway I was chosen to take charge of the company raised at Garden Grove I had rolled up a log house and put my family into it. And on the fifteenth of October started with my co for Nauvoo consisting of eight ox teams and teamsters seventy five cents in money some squashes for our cattle and some provision for our selves thus equiped we started on a journey of 340 miles.²¹

The three known rescue parties approached their assignment in different ways. In reference to the first party, Allen reported that he had located the people on his list. He had clearly been sent to bring back specific families, but he also returned with more than those on the list. Asenath Janes, mentioned previously, was at the Poor Camp by 1 October. Allen left with his first group of 151 Saints in 28 wagons on 9 October, so evidently she and her mother were not on his list.²² Thomas Bullock, who kept a journal about the Allen company, recorded the reluctance of some to help the widows. The day before their departure he wrote, “some would not carry a Widow with only 250 pounds luggage altho’ they were offered a yoke of Oxen to carry them, they being without. Some made one excuse and some another.”²³

There is less information available about the second rescue group, but Murdock and Taylor had come and gone before Luman Shurtliff arrived near the end of October. They had taken an estimated 125 to 150 persons in about 22 wagons.²⁴ Asenath and Eunice were not able to go with the second rescue company either. Previous historians have supposed that the Poor

²¹Luman Andros Shurtliff, “Journal 1841 May – 1856 April,” 245, Church History Library and Archives, Salt Lake City, UT.

²²Bennett, “Eastward to Eden,” 105-106.

²³Bullock, *Pioneer Camp of the Saints*, 74.

²⁴Bennett, “Eastward to Eden,” 106.

Camp was emptied out with the first two rescues, and Andrew Jenson wrote that “on the 9th [October] the camp of the poor was organized and started for the West. . . . [A]ll who wished to move westward had the opportunity offered them, and they were brought on to the main camp by the teams which had been sent back.”²⁵ Jenson was referring only to the first rescue group, and it is now known that not everyone was able to travel with that company. Asenath’s account of having been in the camp since 1 October along with Shurtliff’s record indicate that there were still exiles who needed assistance beyond even the capacity of the second company. Upon arriving at the western bank of the Mississippi River, Shurtliff described the overall rescue effort:

I went to the River oposite Nauvoo to hunt up and prepare as many of the poor as the teams could take back to the Grove I found many sick that were verry destitute. Other teams that ware first their had taken those who ware able to travel and had provisions and left those who were sick and destitute . . . I thought my teams could carry about sixty persons whom I had not provisions enough to last the co three days and how this com[pany] ware to travel 170 miles without food was more than I could tell I had but 75 cents to by it with but I intended to start with them and in the Lord trust.²⁶

Shurtliff’s writings imply that there were more than sixty persons remaining in the Poor Camp when he arrived, since he had to select whom he would take based on the limits of the wagons he had available to him. He described how the people who had been left behind by the other rescue groups were the sickest and most destitute of those who had been driven out of Nauvoo. Everyone in the Poor Camp struggled with exposure and poverty, but the people remaining when Shurtliff arrived were the poorest of them all. Approximately sixty of these people were brought to Garden Grove in eight or nine wagons to be cared for among the poorest

²⁵Allen and Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 234; Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri*, 84; Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, 98; Andrew Jenson, “Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois,” *The Historical Record* 8, nos. 2 & 3 (March 1889): 838.

²⁶Shurtliff, “Journal,” 245.

and least prepared who had been left behind by the first exodus in February.²⁷ Asenath, her daughter, and her mother were brought to Garden Grove in this company, but still more Saints were left behind at the Mississippi River. The final remnants tried to find shelter and work nearby, and at least one of these families made their way to Garden Grove the following spring. Jonathan Crosby was able to borrow a team to pull his wagon to Bonaparte. He continued working and moving through the winter until he had enough money to obtain his own team. He was then able to settle his family in Garden Grove until they had an outfit to cross the plains.²⁸

Conditions in Early Garden Grove

It is difficult to express the extent of the poverty that existed in Garden Grove that first winter. In addition to the families who had been economically devastated by the loss of their property in Nauvoo, fifteen widows were brought to the way station without a husband to help them build, plant, and care for a total of thirty children. Most of them were young and had recently lost their husbands. Ten of the men had died in Nauvoo within the last three years, and three of those ten died during the exodus in 1846.²⁹ Nelson Whipple wrote:

[M]any poor and many widows that could not earn a cent towards a living and had to be supported by the 1 tenth or 1 fifth of that was brought into the settlement by those that went and workd for it. there ware 15 widows and their famelis that had to be fed in this way and their wood furnished them through the winter

Thus the reader may see that we had enough to do. this settlement amounted to about one hundred and fifty Families when winter set in.³⁰

²⁷Shurtliff, "Journal," 245-246.

²⁸Crosby, "Autobiography," 27. Garden Grove Branch, "Record of Members."

²⁹Garden Grove prosopography.

³⁰Whipple, "Autobiography and Journal," 52.

The burdens on the men in Garden Grove were great. Not only were they trying to care for their own families and the widows and fatherless children, but thirteen of the men were polygamists. Caring for their own families meant that those thirteen men were already caring for a total of thirty-two women and their children.³¹ In November 1846, after he returned from the Poor Camp rescue, Luman Shurtliff wrote:

I went to work and gathered my little crop Many families had little or no provision others a scant supply and when we took it into consideration we found their was not provision or clothing enough to support the inhabitants of the grove.³²

The settlers of Garden Grove knew that they did not have enough food to last that first winter, considering the number of people who needed to be fed. It would be the following summer before the next crop could be raised, and there was no money available to purchase what they needed. It is not difficult to understand the desperation they must have felt. These were not men who were unwilling to work; they were men who had repeatedly lost everything at the hands of mobs. In spite of being condemned for their crimes, a few began to feel justified in thievery and counterfeiting because of all they had suffered. Others had stolen their property, and some were willing to steal in return.

Accusations of counterfeiting were circulating while the Saints were in Nauvoo. Glen M. Leonard characterized the rumors as having some basis in fact among the members, which led to false accusations against Brigham Young and other leaders who were not involved.³³ Leonard's conclusion is supported by additional evidence at the Garden Grove way station. Typically, Mormon journals downplay or do not include difficulties the Saints had among themselves, and

³¹Garden Grove prosopography.

³²Shurtliff, "Journal," 246.

³³Leonard, *Nauvoo*, 524.

those who were excommunicated tended to lash out and exaggerate the problems. Nelson Whipple was a member of the LDS Church who arrived at Garden Grove in April 1846, and he remained there until October 1847. During those eighteen months, he kept a fairly detailed record of what was happening around him, and he was willing to make statements about their struggles and imperfections. In reference to a time when Whipple was in Garden Grove, he wrote:

Bro John bear came to me and seemed to have some secrecy to reveal to me and we went into the woods and sat upon a log when he said to me don't you think you could make dies for making half dollars & quarters.

I told him it was a job I had never undertook and knew but vary little about it I asked him what he wanted to do with them he said he could make money that could pass in Missouri just as well as any he told me of several ways that it might be done and that he thought I was quite an injenous man and could make them as well as not but I told him I was quite buisey and could not attend to it.³⁴

Another incident occurred on the trail between Nauvoo and Winter Quarters which immediately came to the attention of Brigham Young.

While I was standing with Prest. Kimball at his tent, an outcry was heard from Peter Haws' Camp; we repired thither and found that Haws and Thomas Williams and two others had a quarrel about some property, etc. that Haws had let Williams have some bogus money on shares and Williams had not paid him his share of the profits. I reprovded them for dealing in base coin and told Haws he could not govern himself, his family, or a company; and unless he repented and forsook such dishonesty, the hand of the Lord would be against him and all those who partook of such corruption.³⁵

Brigham Young rebuked these men and left no question that counterfeiting would not be tolerated.

Another related problem in Garden Grove was theft. Nelson Whipple wrote of an event that occurred sometime in the fall of 1846 involving several of the LDS men. Brother Duvall was

³⁴Whipple, "Autobiography and Journal," 56.

³⁵Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 158.

peddling some goods for another man, and he left the wagon parked outside of Brother Stringham's house. Approximately seventy dollars worth of goods were stolen during the night, and Whipple was asked by David Fullmer, the Branch President at the time, to find the goods. Whipple recorded, "[I] found them in a trunk belonging to Wm & Saml Clide and a portion of them in the house of one [Charlie] Carter the trunk however was in the house of one John Davis we broke open the trunk took the goods and returned them to the owner."³⁶ The men who were involved were punished with whippings of twelve to fifteen lashes.³⁷ It is possible that physical punishment was used because fines and imprisonment were not options during this time of poverty and migration.

One of the greatest difficulties the Saints had was the presence of dishonest people among them. There were not many, but they brought condemnation on the entire group. Andrew Jenson recorded:

There were few men in some of the companies who would pass spurious coin, or bogus money, as it was called, upon the people when they had an opportunity. This brought disgrace upon the whole camp; for if one man who calls himself a Latter-day Saint, or "Mormon," does a mean or wicked act, it is not usual for him alone to be blamed; but it is generally saddled upon the entire people.³⁸

Although there is no doubt that there were thieves and counterfeiters in Garden Grove, the records also demonstrate that these practices were not tolerated. When discovered, thieves were required to return stolen goods and punishments were administered. Counterfeiters were excommunicated from the church.

³⁶Whipple, "Autobiography and Journal," 53.

³⁷Whipple, "Autobiography and Journal," 54.

³⁸Jenson, "Journeyings in the Wilderness," 882.

All of the theft and counterfeiting issues seem to have come to a head in 1847. The High Council at Winter Quarters received a steady stream of reports about the evil in Garden Grove until they took action. On 18 July, the entire Garden Grove Branch was excommunicated from the church.³⁹ The next day, Orson Hyde wrote a letter to the Branch informing them of this action and assured the innocent that everything would be sorted out. Although the council knew that there were members who were not involved in the problems, they believed the crimes to be sufficient to cut off everyone until the guilty ones could be identified. Upon receiving Hyde's letter, the entire Garden Grove Branch Presidency traveled immediately to Winter Quarters to give an accurate explanation of the condition of the branch. The High Council had acted because they believed the problems were more widespread than they were, and they believed the guilty members were not being punished. In fact, the Garden Grove Branch Presidency had held a council and excommunicated several members on the same day the High Council in Winter Quarters withdrew membership from the entire branch. David Fullmer gave an accurate report of their problems, the High Council declared that there had been misrepresentations made, and the branch was reinstated on 4 August. Upon their return to Garden Grove, the presidency continued to discipline guilty members of the church until they eventually rid the town of these problems.⁴⁰

Feeding and Providing for Thousands of Exiles

Well before the winter of 1846-1847, Brigham Young was aware of future difficulties. He began urging the Saints to prepare during the fall of 1845 and laid the groundwork for the

³⁹Garden Grove Branch [Iowa], "Council Minutes, 1847," microfilm, 22-25, Church History Library and Archives, Salt Lake City, UT [used by permission]; Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri*, 182. The reasons for excommunicating the branch went beyond theft and counterfeiting, but these were two of the significant problems being addressed.

⁴⁰Garden Grove Branch, "Council Minutes, 1847," 1-11, 16-27. [Used by permission.]

pooling of resources even before leaving Nauvoo. At a General Conference held in the Nauvoo Temple on 6 October 1845, Young proposed a covenant, “That we take all the saints with us, to the extent of our ability, that is, our influence and property.”⁴¹ The vote was unanimous, and he held the people to their covenant. As early as May 1846, Young stated that some of the saints were “forgetting that they had covenanted to help the poor away at the sacrifice of all their Property.”⁴² The Nauvoo Covenant, as it was called, required that people with very little share what they had obtained with those who had even less. The Mormons’ first defense against destitution and starvation was to bring together individual resources for the good of the entire group.

One focus of the group welfare was to supply the leaders of the church with an outfit so they could move quickly to the Great Basin and select a site for settlement, preparing the way for the general membership of the church. This was evident in Brigham Young’s instructions to Ezra Taft Benson:

Bro. Brigham requested me and my family to go with him. I had no property, but a good brick house and a lot which I could not sell. I asked Bro. Brigham what I should do to get away, not having a team nor any means to purchase one. He said, go out in the streets and enquire of every brother you meet till you pick up one. I accordingly went in search of one.⁴³

Benson then described all the supplies that were donated to him so that he could move on with the leaders. Unfortunately, as the main company crossed Iowa, Benson discovered that he was too weighed down and his animals too weak to pull his wagon through the deep mud. He decided that he could not go on and went to counsel with President Young.

⁴¹B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 2:538.

⁴²Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 150.

⁴³Ezra T. Benson, “Brief History of Ezra Taft Benson, [ca. 1846],” 17, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

The road being so bad I went to Bro. Brigham and told him I could not proceed further on account of the heaviness of my load and weakness of my teams, I told him I was willing to tarry there till I could get on further, to which he replied, that I must not stop, but go on with him and the camp. He asked, what I had for loading, I replied six hundred pounds of flour and a few bushels of meal etc., He said, "Bring your flour and meal to my camp, and I will lighten you up"; I accordingly complied and to my surprise he requested John D. Lee to weigh it out and divide it among the camps, leaving about fifty lbs. of flour and half a bushel of meal to support myself and family going into the wilderness country. When we started, I found my wagons rolled comfortably along, while many of the companies' wagons would sink to their axletrees in the mud, and I would say to them, "Go to Bro. Brigham, and he will lighten your loads."⁴⁴

Although Benson had originally obtained the supplies he needed for his family, he soon shared it with others and was no longer "weighed down." He kept his sense of humor about it and recognized that he could move forward better after he shared what he had been given. Young did not expect others to do what he himself was not willing to do, and the sharing of Benson's supplies was typical of the other leaders as well. According to Andrew Jenson:

The camp was not more than one hundred and fifty miles from Nauvoo before President Young, who had started with one year's provisions for his family, had fed it all out. The other Apostles were in the same condition. This was a cause of constant embarrassment and difficulty. The men who ought to have been free to go ahead and find a suitable place for a home for the Saints were kept back.⁴⁵

There are numerous stories of the many who shared, but not everyone did. Nelson Whipple was willing to express his frustration when he was refused help just prior to his arrival in Garden Grove. After three days with very little food, he went to Albert P. Rockwood, the captain over the group to which Whipple was assigned. Rockwood instructed Whipple to go to anyone who he felt had plenty and ask for help. Rockwood committed to pay it back as soon as they reached the place where the new settlement (Garden Grove) would be established. After Whipple asked Erastus Snow for assistance, he wrote, "I could not persuade him (Snow) to let

⁴⁴Benson, "Brief History," 19.

⁴⁵Jenson, "Journeyings in the Wilderness," 881.

me have the least mite although I told him my situation and how I came to be in this fix.”⁴⁶ Snow was later called as one of the Twelve Apostles, and it is possible he was part of the group of men who were still attempting to get to the Great Basin quickly. He may have felt that he needed his supplies to accomplish the greater good. However, it is also possible that because of the great numbers of people in need, he might have been worried about providing for his three wives and children if he gave away what he had.

Another evidence of the group welfare effort was shown in the assignment of hunters for each company. As the company traveled during the day, several men went out hunting to bring back meat for the evening meal. It was not unusual for them to return with deer, wild turkeys, or prairie hens, and sometimes they would bring pails of honey after locating a bee tree.⁴⁷ Because the Mormons were moving into unsettled areas, the bee trees were more plentiful than in later years. *The History of Appanoose County, Iowa* gives a description of how these trees were located:

Bee-trees were to be found along the smaller streams, particularly in the vicinity of Chariton River, and one skilled in woodcraft could obtain honey along the streams for several years after the first settlement. The usual practice was to search in the vicinity of the timber till a bee was found, when it would be watched till it had gathered its load. This done, it would make a “bee-line” for the tree to which it belonged. The hunter would follow this course into the timber.⁴⁸

Whatever the hunters brought back was shared with the entire company. While these men were hunting, others were helping to drive their wagons, herd their cattle, and assist their families.

As the companies continued to make their way across Iowa, those who ran out of food began to buy what they could. Over time, more and more of the Saints needed to purchase corn

⁴⁶Whipple, “Autobiography and Journal,” 40.

⁴⁷Orson Pratt, “History of Garden Grove, Iowa, 1874,” microfilm, 244, Church History Library and Archives, Salt Lake City, UT.

⁴⁸*The History of Appanoose County, Iowa* (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1878), 335-336.

and grain. With demand rising, it was discovered that the Saints were bidding against each other trying to obtain what they needed from a limited supply, which was driving the prices up.

Brigham Young reorganized the companies at Chariton, Iowa, and afterwards, these groups purchased provisions for everyone at a lower cost.⁴⁹ With money in short supply, men who left the company to work along the way were frequently paid in corn or other needed supplies.

William Huntington wrote:

Monday [March] 23d [1846] . . . took A job to make 500 rails for 15 bushels of corn we are to make the rails for Mr Easley . . .

Friday 27th . . . our hands commence a job to macke 3000 rails are to receive pork and corn-myself and Sidney Tanner made one hundred rails this day which finishes the job for Mr Easley thus ends this day all is well in our camp-⁵⁰

Margaret (Zimmerman) Brown also mentioned in her history that the men worked for provisions, but she also emphasized the care they took of the women before they left to work in the other settlements:

After fixing us with fire wood, hay and all they could for the winter to make us comfortable the men folks went down to the state of Missouri to work for grain, pork, honey and such things as they could get for their work to live on till we could raise something for ourselves.⁵¹

These men took any job they could contract as they traveled across Iowa; thus much of their work was manual labor. They built a jail, shucked corn, thrashed oats, split rails, cut timber, and any other work where they could earn the needed cash or provisions.

In addition to manual labor, the Nauvoo Brass Band was able to play concerts in many of the towns they passed by. They were paid in cash from collections that were gathered at the performances and once were given a pail of honey. The band's main performances were in

⁴⁹Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 103-104.

⁵⁰Huntington, *Diaries*, 50-51.

⁵¹Margaret Zimmerman Brown, "History of Margaret Zimmerman Brown," 1901, 1, Garden Grove Public Library, Garden Grove, IA.

Farmington and Keosauqua, Iowa, during the first two weeks of March 1846.⁵² Helen Mar Whitney wrote:

There was a great amount of sympathy manifested by the people as we traveled through Iowa. Many visited our camps, and wherever the companies stopped our men were able to find employment. The splendid music made by the Nauvoo Brass Band quite surpassed anything that had been heard in that part and they were cordially invited to play at every settlement, and requested to give a number of concerts--this they did after consulting the Presidency, and for which they were generously recompensed.⁵³

Whitney also recorded that at one concert in Keosauqua, the band was paid thirty dollars.⁵⁴

The towns where the band performed were mostly within about fifty miles of Nauvoo, and once the camp moved beyond the settled parts of Iowa, they were no longer able to perform for income. The band continued to play for the Saints, but when the main camp established Garden Grove, part of the band stayed and part moved on to Winter Quarters.

Shortly after the main company arrived in Garden Grove, Brigham Young and the other leaders of the church had to decide what to do with the Nauvoo Temple. Their desire was to maintain ownership, but they knew that the building would then stand empty and fall into disrepair. They also believed that the local mobs would likely desecrate and possibly destroy the building. On 26 April 1846, Brigham Young received a letter from Orson Hyde who had remained in Nauvoo to sell church properties and settle debts. Hyde had received an offer from a Catholic bachelor to buy the temple for \$200,000. A counter offer was made to lease the temple, but the man only wanted to buy. Hyde suggested in his letter to Young that the sale of the

⁵²Hartley, "Mormons and Early Iowa History," 234.

⁵³Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, "Our Travels Beyond the Mississippi," *Woman's Exponent*, 1883-84, 102.

⁵⁴Whitney, "Our Travels Beyond the Mississippi," 111.

Nauvoo Temple and other church properties in Kirtland, Ohio, could assist the Saints in their emigration. A meeting of the council was called at Garden Grove to consider the offer.⁵⁵

The council decided that the Trustees might sell the Temples at Nauvoo and Kirtland and all other property of the Church and help the poor saints to move westward. The Council considered that the Temple would be of no benefit to the saints if they could not possess their private dwellings, and the time should come that they should return and redeem their inheritances they could redeem the Temple also, that a sale would secure it from unjust claims, mobs, fire and so forth, more effectually than for the Church to retain it in their hands.⁵⁶

Two days later, the council's decision was unanimously approved at a meeting of the Saints in Garden Grove. The next day in Nauvoo, Joseph Young dedicated the temple with several of the members of the Council of the Twelve in attendance. The following morning, 1 May 1846, a public dedication was held by Orson Hyde.⁵⁷ The sacrifices made by the Saints to build their temple were immense, especially considering their poverty and the urgency of their departure from Nauvoo. When they could have been building more wagons, they continued to build a temple to their God. These circumstances make it all the more interesting that they decided to sell the temple, even before it had been dedicated.⁵⁸ In their determination to survive, they had few options.

In mid-May, Brigham Young and the main camp moved out of Garden Grove. They established Mt. Pisgah as a second way station in south-central Iowa, and then moved on again. The camp arrived at the Missouri River around mid-June, and less than a month later, the Saints

⁵⁵Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 143.

⁵⁶Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 145.

⁵⁷Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 147-48.

⁵⁸The Nauvoo Temple sale did not occur in 1846, and the Saints were not able to use that option as a way to fund the exodus. Brigham Young was looking for whatever means were available to him to sustain the people, and although they were willing to sell, the purchase did not go through. As feared, the local mobs damaged the building when the last of the Saints were driven out of town. In 1848, the temple caught fire, and in 1850 a tornado added to the damage. Over time, the walls were pulled down and the stones used in other buildings. See Richard E. Bennett, "Has the Lord Turned Bankrupt?: The Attempted Sale of the Nauvoo Temple, 1846-1850," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 95, no. 3 (Autumn 2002): 245-253.

were presented with their next challenge, which was also an economic opportunity. Captain James Allen of the U.S. Army arrived at Mt. Pisgah with three dragoons on 26 June 1846. He brought with him his instructions to enlist four or five companies from the Mormon camps to serve for one year in the war with Mexico. William Huntington, the Branch President at Mt. Pisgah, sent Captain Allen to speak with Brigham Young at Council Bluffs. Young was notified that Allen was on his way, so he called a council meeting to discuss this request from the U.S. government. The council quickly decided that this was a way to help finance the migration of their people, knowing that it also meant they could not send a company to the Great Basin that year. If five hundred of the strongest and healthiest men left the camp to serve in the Mormon Battalion, there would not be sufficient manpower to cross the plains.

Many of the Saints recorded in their journals the indignation they felt towards a government that would ask them to supply a battalion for the defense of a country that would not defend their rights as citizens. As Captain Allen was recruiting, the Saints in Nauvoo were being pressured out of their homes with no local, state, or federal authority willing to defend their rights. Orson Pratt wrote:

The United States had the barefaced injustice and inhumanity to require of the Saints to go and fight their battles in their invasion of Mexico, after having suffered us to be driven from state to state unlawfully and unconstitutionally, with a loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of property; and after the martyrdom and cold blooded butchery of scores of our men, women and innocent children.⁵⁹

Even though the Saints were surprised at the request for a battalion, Brigham Young likely was not. In January 1846, Young had written to Jesse C. Little asking him to talk to government officials and see if the Mormons could obtain a contract that would assist them in financing the

⁵⁹Pratt, *Exodus of Modern Israel*, 26.

migration.⁶⁰ He wrote, “If our Government should offer facilities for emigrating to the western coast, embrace those facilities if possible. As a wise and faithful man, take every honorable advantage of the times you can.”⁶¹ It is possible that Young was thinking about the building of forts along the Oregon Trail which President Polk had recently recommended to Congress.⁶² The forts could be worked on and completed as the various companies moved their families along the trail. However, when Elder Little met with President Polk, he found that the government leaders had a different idea.⁶³ The Mormons were asked to enlist five hundred men in the U.S. Army and march to California by way of Santa Fe. They were offered “pay and rations, and other allowances, such as volunteers or regular soldiers receive, from the day they shall be mustered into the service.”⁶⁴

The Mormon leaders began their recruiting efforts immediately. A meeting was held in Council Bluffs, and Young traveled back to Mt. Pisgah to encourage enlistment from that way station. From there, he also sent letters to Garden Grove and Nauvoo asking that “all the sin[g]le men and those that could be spared to come to [Council] Bluffs.”⁶⁵ Edward Bunker had settled at Garden Grove, but at the time, he was working in Missouri for provisions. He heard a rumor that the Saints had been asked to form a company and go to Mexico, and he felt he should return to the settlement. He arrived on Saturday. Bunker wrote:

⁶⁰Jesse Little was the presiding church authority in the New England States in 1846.

⁶¹Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, 1846-1847* (Salt Lake City, 1881), 111.

⁶²Tyler, *Concise History*, 111.

⁶³For more information about lobbying President Polk on behalf of the Mormons, see Matthew J. Grow, *“Liberty to the Downtrodden”: Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 52-54.

⁶⁴Tyler, *Concise History*, 114.

⁶⁵Edward Bunker, *Autobiography of Edward Bunker* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1938), 7.

Next day being Sunday I went to meeting and heard the letter read. Volunteers were called for and I was the first to offer my service. Eight others followed my example. They agreed to meet at my house the following Tuesday morning at nine o'clock and we would start together for the Bluffs.

Tuesday morning came, but none of the men who had agreed to meet me put in an appearance so with my small bundle of clothes and provisions I started alone 140 miles, and only one settlement on the way.⁶⁶

Bunker left behind his pregnant wife in the care of Nelson Whipple.⁶⁷ She was joined in November by her widowed mother and her seven younger siblings. Emily Bunker's mother, Abigail (Smith) Abbott, had recently married James Brown in a polygamous marriage, and he had left Nauvoo in an earlier company. Abigail shared the experiences of the Poor Camp and appears to have been one of those who were rescued by Luman Shurtliff. Captain James Brown enlisted in the Mormon Battalion, but he left from a settlement further west than Garden Grove.

Brigham Young sent for George, Charles, and Stephen Hales, members of the Nauvoo Brass Band, to go with the Battalion as musicians. They had settled in Garden Grove, so they made their way to Council Bluffs, only to find that Captain Allen was not authorized to have a band. The three brothers then returned to Garden Grove.⁶⁸

There was one additional family living in Garden Grove that was tied to the Battalion. Thomas and Ann (Ratcliff) Karren had settled at the Mt. Pisgah way station. When the call for the Battalion came, Thomas enlisted and left his pregnant, ill wife and five children. Ann's baby was born prematurely and died within a day. Her daughter relates:

After the departure of my father with the Battalion, the Lord showed his mercy and kindness to my mother in many ways. He soon restored her to health, and opened a way for her to provide for her family. She had an offer from a kind gentleman that if she would return to Garden Grove she could have a one-room

⁶⁶Bunker, *Autobiography*, 7.

⁶⁷Whipple, "Autobiography and Journal," 71.

⁶⁸"Hales Family Biographical Sketches [n.d.]," typescript, microfilm, 87, Church History Library and Archives, Salt Lake City, UT.

house and a piece of ground, which he had left, and which she might use in raising something for the support of her family. She accepted the offer which proved a great blessing to her, for she raised more than enough for the necessities of life. From her potatoes alone she received several hundred dollars. She remained there until the return of her husband in the fall of 1847.⁶⁹

Thomas Karren did not enlist from Garden Grove, but his family lived there until his return a year later. As a result, even though Edward Bunker was the only man from Garden Grove known to respond to the call for the Mormon Battalion, there were three Battalion families in that way station who were without the head of the family to care for them: Emily (Abbott) Bunker and her baby, Abigail (Smith) Abbott Brown and her seven children, and Ann (Ratcliff) Karren and her five children. These women and children needed assistance in addition to the fifteen widows mentioned previously.

When the Battalion reached Fort Leavenworth, their clothing allowance was paid in advance at the rate of forty-two dollars per soldier. Daniel Tyler, an officer in Company C of the Mormon Battalion wrote:

On the 5th [August 1846] we drew forty-two dollars each, as clothing money for the year. Most of the money was sent back by Elder P. P. Pratt and others for the support of the families of the soldiers, and for the gathering of the poor from Nauvoo.⁷⁰

The enlistment of the Mormon Battalion was yet another evidence of the efforts of individuals to work toward the good of all. Pratt was able to return to Council Bluffs with five to six thousand dollars that was soon used to purchase wagonloads of provisions for the Saints in that area. With time, there were a few grumblings from some of the families who were upset that the money was not paid to the families of the soldiers, but Brigham Young used the funds to supply the whole

⁶⁹John Alton Peterson, *The Life of Thomas Karren* (Salt Lake City: The Author, 1982), Appendix A, 3.

⁷⁰Tyler, *Concise History*, 136.

camp.⁷¹ Since men had been assigned to watch over and assist the Battalion families, the total effort required to send the men in the army justified the use of the funds to benefit all. No evidence has been found to indicate that any of the supplies purchased with Battalion money ever arrived in Garden Grove. However, the Abbott and Bunker families recorded that during that winter, Captain James Brown sent Abigail \$22.50 from Santa Fe, and Emily received some money from her husband as well.⁷²

After the departure of the Mormon Battalion, the Saints in all of the way stations knew that there would not be any companies attempting to move further west that year. They all began to build, plant, and prepare to spend the winter in Iowa and Nebraska. The men continued seeking any work available to them, according to their personal skills and abilities, and whatever they earned was tithed for the poor. When Brigham Young called Samuel Bent to preside over the Garden Grove way station, he instructed Bent “to tithe all the income of all the Saints for the benefit of the poor & sick.”⁷³ Some of the men went so far as to tithe their income at one-fifth rather than one-tenth. Nelson Whipple relates:

Some time in the fore part of the winter [1846-47] Bro. George Tiffany got a chance to come up . . . to my place and lived in a room I had built for a shop we built another shop and workd through the winter at chair making which we sent off to Missouri and Iowa and sold for 50 cents apiece giving one half fore peddleing them out and fetching us the pay thus we got 25 cts. for a chair and gave one fifth of that to the poor but we lived well at that.⁷⁴

Unfortunately, the large number of the poor was overwhelming in Garden Grove, and the tithes were not sufficient to keep everyone fed. On 25 January 1847, the leaders held a council

⁷¹Stegner, *Gathering of Zion*, 83.

⁷²Lois Earl Jones, “George Abbot and His Descendants,” WPA typescript, n.d., 8, Utah State Historical Society Research Center, Salt Lake City.

⁷³Garden Grove Branch, “Council Minutes, 1847,” 12-13. [Used by permission.]

⁷⁴Whipple, “Autobiography and Journal,” 59.

and decided that their only hope of survival until a crop could be raised would be the generosity of strangers. Luman Shurtliff and Daniel Hunt were called on a begging mission and given the following petition, which also functioned as a letter of introduction:

Be it known to all persons to whom this Instrument shall be presented; that we about six hundred persons (Latter-day Saints;) late citizens of Hancock County, Illinois, were driven from our houses and farms, by the hands of our enemies, and compelled to leave most of the necessaries of life; driven across the Mississippi River, at the point of the bayonet into Iowa, and are now encamped on the Pottawattamie Lands, Iowa Territory.

Most of our brethern, who had teams and provisions, have gone further west; We are poor; many of us ~~destitute~~ are widows and orphans, made such by the late exposure. Most of us are nearly destitute of clothing, in fact we have scarcely sufficient to cover our nakedness, in such circumstances, with only a scant supply of Corn for the winter, and remote from settlement, that unless we receive assistance from some source, many must assuredly perish. We therefore are induced to appeal to the sympathy of the free and benevolent part of Community, for assistance.

We therefore invite you to stretch forth your hands with liberately, and give to our agents, such things as you have which will make the poor widows and orphans' heart rejoice, and thank the God of Heaven, and his blessings will rest down upon you, with fourfold for all you give to a poor persecuted, but honest, virtuous, and industtious people.

On motion Luman Shurtleaf, and Daniel D. Hunt, were unanimously appointed to present this petition to the people, and receive such things as may be donated, and forward the same to said encampment as soon as possible, for the relief of those that are in distress

John Tophen
William Storrel
Lorenzo Johnson Committee
Thomas McChan
William Carson⁷⁵

On 8 February, Shurtliff and Hunt left Garden Grove and traveled toward the Mississippi River. They made their way to Nauvoo and obtained some bonnets and over eighteen dollars in cash. At a stop in Quincy they were given about seventy-five dollars. Next, they took a boat down the river to St. Louis, Missouri, where they met with the mayor. The mayor read their

⁷⁵Garden Grove Branch [Iowa], "Petition 1847 Jan. 25," microfilm, Church History Library and Archives, Salt Lake City, UT.

recommends and wrote a certification of who they were, allowing them to have his writing published in the newspaper. The mayor then put his name at the top of their subscription paper and signed five dollars.⁷⁶ Shurtliff wrote:

we then divided the City and Br Hunt took a part and I the other and went to each house shop tavern store and bank told them our buisness and asked them to do something for the poor Mormons sometimes I got curses sometimes money or goods I collected from 18 to 36 dollars per day.⁷⁷

When they had completed their work in St. Louis, Shurtliff and Hunt decided that Hunt should return to Garden Grove with the money and goods they had obtained. So, on 16 March, Daniel Hunt began his return trip to the way station and Luman Shurtliff headed to Louisville, Kentucky. At Louisville, Shurtliff repeated the pattern from St. Louis by visiting with the mayor of the city and seeking a recommendation to be published in the newspapers. He then went to all of the homes, shops, and taverns to gather whatever donations the people were willing to give. Everything was taken to a storehouse where he could pick it up on his return trip.⁷⁸

With time, Shurtliff's health began to suffer, but he continued his mission. After completing his work in Louisville, he continued up the Ohio River to Cincinnati where he again attempted to repeat the pattern. However, the mayor in Cincinnati was not interested in supporting the Mormons. He told Shurtliff that he would need to seek donations from people with no religion, because he and other religious people already donated to their own churches. He recommended a wealthy man down the street, who eventually donated twenty dollars. Shurtliff made his way through the city, but his health continued to decline. He finally decided that he needed to return home. On 3 May, when he was only a few miles from home, he met

⁷⁶Shurtliff, "Journal," 248-49.

⁷⁷Shurtliff, "Journal," 249.

⁷⁸Shurtliff, "Journal," 249, 254.

Daniel Hunt and Erastus Derby on the road. They had just left from Garden Grove to begin a second begging mission in New Orleans. They invited Shurtliff to join them, but he felt strongly that after being gone for three months, he needed to be with his family and regain his health.⁷⁹ Upon returning, he took the money and goods to David Fullmer, the Branch President, to be sold or distributed as needed. Shurtliff ended his account of this mission with the statement, “thus the Lord provided for his people at Garden Grove.”⁸⁰ Shurtliff’s description of his begging mission does not indicate the total value of what was donated, but a number of items are mentioned in addition to cash. Shurtliff received bonnets, hats, coats, pants, caps, vests, tin pans, plates, looking glasses, knives, forks, and spoons. He accepted anything that could be sold for food or clothing. One biographer estimated that the donations were worth \$1500.⁸¹

There is little doubt that the donations obtained through the begging missions helped the people at Garden Grove to survive those last few months before they were able to bring in a crop. Although it is easy to blame the angry citizens of Illinois for placing the Saints in their destitute circumstances, it was also the generosity of non-LDS people all across Iowa who gave the Mormons work and sold them provisions, the government officials who provided the opportunity of military wages for the Mormon Battalion, and the non-LDS people in the cities of St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati, and New Orleans who were generous in making donations to assist them. Once they were able to harvest crops, and quality food became more plentiful and readily available, the health of the Saints greatly improved. With greater strength, they were able to improve their shelter, and not only continue farming, but return to their skills and professions

⁷⁹Shurtliff, “Journal,” 254-260.

⁸⁰Shurtliff, “Journal,” 260.

⁸¹Shurtliff, “Biographical Sketch,” 72. This biography purports to be a transcription of Shurtliff’s journal, but it clearly does not match the handwritten manuscript. The value of the goods he obtained on his begging mission is not included in the journal. It is unknown how this amount was obtained.

that allowed them to support themselves. By the summer of 1847, life in Garden Grove settled into that of a more typical frontier settlement.

The men worked in many of the common occupations, as recorded in the 1850 census: farmer, cooper, wagonmaker, blacksmith, teacher, bratman, carpenter, merchant, and more.⁸²

William Critchlow, who had been paralyzed from the waist down since 1838, moved his family into Missouri so he could teach school. After two years, they returned to Garden Grove and he taught school at the way station. It was said of him,

Brother Critchlow was paralyzed for fifty-two years from his waist down, but this handicap did not prevent him from accomplishing more than most men do who have the use of all their limbs. He not only took up land and supervised the work on it, but with his arms and hands did many things which were necessary to be done in pioneer times.⁸³

John William Cooley built an ox-driven flour mill in Garden Grove, which greatly improved the diet of everyone living in the area. In 1848, he sold his mill and property for supplies amounting to approximately \$150 and moved further west.⁸⁴ After returning from the Mormon Battalion, Thomas Karren joined his wife, Ann, in running a bakery. They sold “cakes, pies, bread, hard tack and sea biscuits to emigrants and gold miners.”⁸⁵ The settlement of Garden Grove was not on a major trail, but there were still many overlanders and gold rushers who passed through on their way west. They made use of the wagonmakers and blacksmiths, as well as the Karrens’ bakery and other town services. Heavy traffic from overlanders provided a market for the Saints’

⁸²1850 U.S. Census of Decatur County, Iowa, Population Schedule, 323-27, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 2006-2010). A bratman made rough clothing.

⁸³Georgina Bolette Critchlow Bickmore, *Critchlow and Related Families; the Life Histories, Writings and Genealogies of William Critchlow, Benjamin Chamberlin Critchlow and Elizabeth Frances Fellows Critchlow and Their Families* (Salt Lake City, 1967), 26.

⁸⁴Andrew Jenson, “Manuscript History of Church Activities in Iowa [1840-1860],” typescript, microfilm, entry for 6 January 1848, Church History Library and Archives, Salt Lake City, UT.

⁸⁵Peterson, *Life of Thomas Karren*, 11.

goods and services. In describing the number of people passing through the town, Harriet Kellogg wrote:

The California travel overland was so great as to tax to the utmost all the resources available in the way of food and shelter for man and beast during two or three months of the latter part of winter and early in the spring – the trains separating upon all the different roads in order to supply themselves. There was once during a snowstorm over thirty horses and mules hitched under our shed (the stable being already full) and when it was remarked that mules were addicted to kicking, all fears in that quarter were allayed by the information that “they were jammed so tight they couldn’t kick.”⁸⁶

Each of the families of Garden Grove continued working toward their objective of joining with the Saints in the West. After they overcame their desperate conditions in 1846 and 1847, the way station became a place of contentment as neighbors worked together toward a common goal. Margaret (Zimmerman) Brown said, “I think the happiest period of my life was the five years we spent in Garden Grove. From fifty to one hundred families stopping there, all good Latter-Day Saints. Had good schools, meetings, dances, and social gatherings.”⁸⁷ Every year as springtime arrived, more families left the Garden Grove way station with a good outfit, prepared for their trek across the plains.

Wealth Comparison of the Garden Grove Settlers to the General Utah Population

The Garden Grove way station was established in May 1846 when Brigham Young left behind the poorest and least prepared of the Saints from the first companies leaving Nauvoo. Over the next few months, those who did not have sufficient supplies to travel in the first exodus continued to arrive. Finally, the remnants of the Poor Camp, who have been referred to as the

⁸⁶Harriet Kellogg, “An Interesting History About Decatur County” (1876), 28; as cited in Gunzenhauser, “Settlers of Garden Grove,” 8. Harriet Kellogg and her husband and children were not members of the LDS Church. They moved to Garden Grove in 1848. This statement apparently refers to the Gold Rush years.

⁸⁷Brown, “History,” 1.

“poorest of the poor,” arrived in November.⁸⁸ With a disproportionate number of widows, polygamous wives, Battalion wives, and all of their children to be assisted and supported by the men in the settlement, this group of Saints was arguably the most destitute of them all. Because of the church’s policy of individual sacrifice for the benefit of the many, sharing became the great equalizer during that first, desperate winter. The way station was reduced to begging for survival, indicating that there was a high level of poverty at the beginning of 1847. Because of individual efforts and variations in skills that earned different levels of pay, the economic standing of these families did not remain equal over time. By 1870, the total property value for the heads of household of the Garden Grove settlers ranged from \$0 to \$40,000.⁸⁹ Although they were the poorest of the poor in 1846, the Garden Grove Saints acquired a mean wealth by 1870 that was higher than the mean wealth of the rest of the Utah population.

Because wealth was tied to the head of household in census records, the women were included in this study through their husbands. Of the nineteen women who were considered heads of household while they were in Garden Grove, one was included because she later married a man from Garden Grove. Seven could not be part of the study because they died before 1870. Three were not included because they later married men who were not from Garden Grove, and three more have not been found after they left the settlement. The remaining five women were still single in 1870. One was living with her son, and the mean wealth of the remaining four women was \$223. One other explanation needs to be given about the Garden Grove comparison data. John William Cooley, the mill builder in Garden Grove, became an

⁸⁸William G. Hartley, “The Pioneer Trek: Nauvoo to Winter Quarters,” *Ensign*, June 1997, 31.

⁸⁹Garden Grove prosopography. Each of the Garden Grove heads of household was located in the population schedules of the 1850, 1860 and 1870 U. S. censuses for economic comparison purposes.

extremely wealthy man in Utah.⁹⁰ In the 1870 census, his personal wealth and real wealth were both valued at \$20,000, for a total wealth of \$40,000.⁹¹ The next highest total wealth for a Garden Grove head of household in 1870 was \$8330, so Cooley was an extreme outlier. Including Cooley in mean calculations gives an inaccurate picture of the wealth of the rest of the families, so for comparison purposes, the means in this study were calculated without Cooley, and the mean including Cooley will be shown to the right in parentheses, where applicable.

In 1980, an economic study of Utah from 1850 to 1870 was published by J. R. Kearl, Clayne L. Pope, and Larry T. Wimmer.⁹² This study “found time of entry or duration in an economy to be a significant determinant of wealth.”⁹³ The data from the Garden Grove prosopography supports this conclusion, even though the number of households is a considerably smaller data set, and the time span of migration was much shorter. Figure 11 illustrates a comparison of wealth accumulation for the Garden Grove heads of household for the 1850, 1860, and 1870 censuses according to their year of migration to Utah. It is noticeable that the 1870 data shows a definite decrease in the mean wealth the later the families migrated. Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer used census records to determine when a family arrived, so the data grouped households into ten year increments. With the actual years of migration available in the Garden Grove prosopography, it is possible to divide the data into much smaller increments. It appears

⁹⁰John William Cooley crossed the plains in 1853. He soon settled in Grantsville, Utah, where he owned a successful farm, sawmill, and store. In addition, one of his wives owned and ran a hotel. Cooley’s accumulated wealth in 1870 was far beyond any typical pioneer of that period.

⁹¹1870 U.S. Census of Grantsville, Tooele, Utah, 142, <http://www.Ancestry.com>, (accessed 12 August 2010).

⁹²J. R. Kearl, Clayne L. Pope, Larry T. Wimmer, “Household Wealth in a Settlement Economy: Utah, 1850-1870,” *Journal of Economic History* 40, no. 3 (September 1980): 477-496.

⁹³Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer, “Household Wealth,” 496.

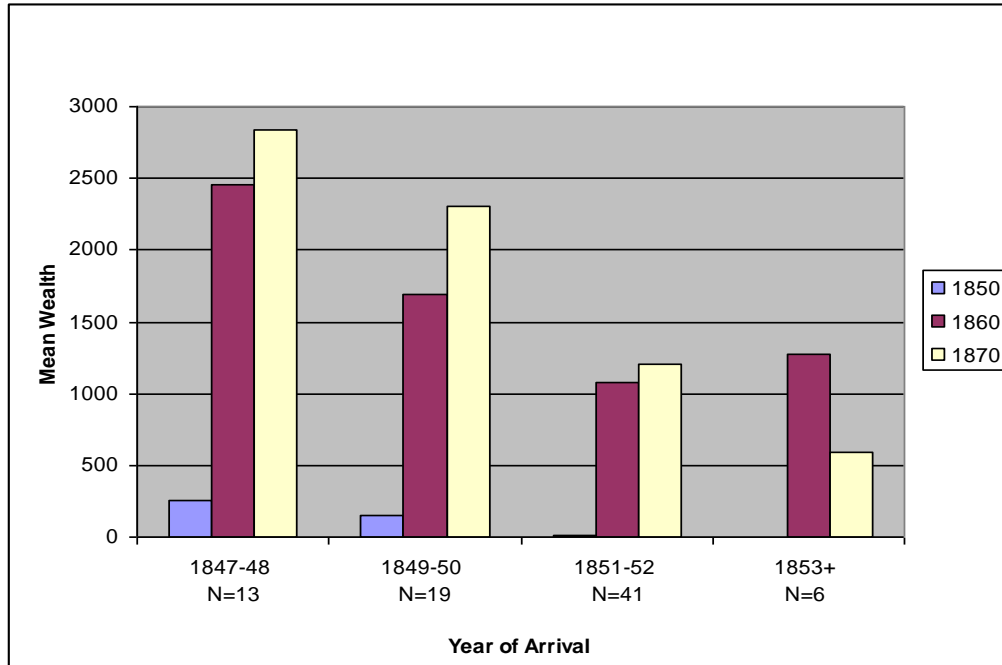


Figure 11. Mean wealth of Garden Grove settlers by date of arrival in Utah. *Source:* Garden Grove prosopography. (The 1853+ mean for 1870 would be \$8470 including John Cooley.)

that delaying migration even two years made a difference in the ability to accumulate wealth over time.

A second data comparison shows that the mean wealth of the Garden Grove settlers grew faster than that of the overall Utah population between 1850 and 1870. In Table 10, the impact of the repeated losses of property suffered by the Mormons prior to 1850 is reflected in the fact that the mean real wealth in Utah that year was one-fifth of that in the United States in general. The Garden Grove settlers who had been able to migrate to Utah by 1850 had real wealth comparable to their neighbors, but those who were still in Iowa owned very little. By 1870, the Utah population had more than tripled its real wealth, but those who had previously stayed in the Garden Grove way station increased their wealth almost fivefold. In addition to the rate of increase, the Garden Grove heads of household had a mean wealth 61 percent higher than other Utahns. One final statistic is that the Garden Grove staybacks, those who never migrated to Utah,

Table 10. Mean real wealth of Garden Grove settlers compared to Utah and the United States

	1850	N	1870	N
United States	\$1001		\$1782	
Utah	201		644	
Garden Grove Settlers:				
Migrated to Utah	216	36	1037 (1274)	79 (80)
Not yet migrated	1	89 ^a	3197	18

Sources: Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer, "Household Wealth," 484; Garden Grove prosopography.

^aOnly two men owned real estate in 1850 prior to their migration.

had triple the wealth of those who crossed the plains. There was a cost to migrating, and the more times a family moved and started over in a new place, the harder it was to recover economically.

In addition to overall wealth comparisons, the Garden Grove prosopography provides data allowing for the analysis of the impact of age and residence on the production of wealth. Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer described a typical life-cycle pattern for income production as "increasing quite rapidly during the early adult years with later increases at a less rapid rate, perhaps peaking at some age and then declining."⁹⁴ They also mentioned that in the United States there was an "age pattern of wealth accumulation in which households grow older and richer."⁹⁵ Among the population of Utah, the life-cycle pattern of income and wealth accumulation was disrupted by the Mormons' forced migrations. The data in Table 11 reflects the life-cycle pattern in the United States of increased wealth over time, as well as Utah's poverty after a migration within the previous three years. Utah also shows a trend of reduced wealth after ages in the fifties. There are some noticeable differences in the wealth by age of the Garden Grove settlers

⁹⁴Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer, "Household Wealth," 481.

⁹⁵Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer, "Household Wealth," 483.

Table 11. Mean real wealth by age class for the United States, Utah, and Garden Grove settlers in 1850

Age Class	United States	Utah	Garden Grove Settlers in Utah	N
20-29	\$ 253	\$ 99	\$ 60	3
30-39	835	244	254	18
40-49	1,638	303	272	8
50-59	1,950	253	50	5
60-69	2,253	214	53	2
Over 70	2,439	173		

Sources: Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer, "Household Wealth," 484; Garden Grove prosopography.

who had migrated to Utah by 1850. In the younger age groups, up through the forties, the men were close to the mean real wealth of other Utahns, but there was a much sharper drop off in the wealth of those heads of households who were over fifty years old. This may be explained by the fact that the Garden Grove settlers were considerably poorer than the Saints at other way stations in 1846, and of those who were in Utah by 1850, fully half of them had arrived less than a year before the census was taken. The older men did not have the strength of the younger men and had not had much time to build their wealth after their migration.

Twenty years later, the 1870 census reveals some interesting changes, as shown in Table 12. There were no heads of household from Garden Grove younger than forty, and the men in their forties and seventies had comparable wealth to the other residents of Utah. The Garden Grove mean for each of those cohorts was less than a hundred dollars difference. What is most noticeable is that the men in their sixties had accumulated 25.8 percent more wealth than other Utah residents of that age group, and the men in their fifties had 66.9 percent greater wealth than their counterparts. These statistics are particularly significant considering that 73.6 percent of all the Garden Grove heads of household fall into these two age cohorts.

Table 12. Comparison of mean total wealth for Utah and Garden Grove settlers by age in 1870

	Utah	% of Population	Garden Grove Settlers in UT	% of Population
Age				
Under 20	\$ 105	1.9		
20-29	403	24.2		
30-39	903	28.2		
40-49	1,237	21.0	\$1,170	14.5
50-59	1,280	14.1	2,136 (3249)	44.7
60-69	1,139	7.5	1,433	28.9
70 and over	709	3.0	611	11.8
Total		99.9		99.9

Sources: Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer, "Household Wealth," 487; Garden Grove prosopography.

In a comparison of wealth according to residence, Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer found that "County of residence mattered in nineteenth-century Utah. The expected wealth for those living outside of Salt Lake County is considerably below that of residents of this urban county."⁹⁶

Table 13 reports that the mean wealth for residents of the counties surrounding Salt Lake County was less than half that of Salt Lake, and the remaining counties was even lower. The Garden Grove statistics indicate the same trend. Those who settled in Salt Lake County had the greatest wealth, those in the surrounding counties had less, and those in the outlying counties had the lowest mean wealth. The difference between the Utah and Garden Grove wealth was that those who had come from Garden Grove had accumulated considerably more total wealth than the rest of the Utah population in all residence groupings. One final note of interest is that the staybacks accumulated the greatest wealth having had one less migration, and those who migrated out of Utah into other western states had the least wealth after an additional migration.

⁹⁶Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer, "Household Wealth," 490.

Table 13. Comparison of mean total wealth for Utah and Garden Grove settlers by residence in 1870

	Utah	% of Population	Garden Grove Settlers	% of Population
Residence				
Salt Lake County	\$1,495	23.1	\$2,380	10.2
Utah, Davis and Weber Counties	739	27.6	1,738	31.6
All other Utah Counties	715	49.3	1,256 (2363)	35.7
Staybacks (IA, IL, OH, MO, WI)			3,565	18.4
Other western states (CA, MT)			919	4.1
Total		100.0		100.0

Sources: Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer, "Household Wealth," 487; Garden Grove prosopography.

There were a number of differences between the general Utah population and the subset of Garden Grove settlers which help to explain how the mean wealth of the poorest people coming out of Hancock County could become so much greater than the mean wealth of the rest of the pioneers to Utah. The overall migration to Utah began in 1847 and continued past 1870. Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer indicate that 87.4 percent of the heads of household in their study were not found in the Utah census prior to 1870.⁹⁷ The Garden Grove way station provided an opportunity for the Saints who lived there to prepare themselves to cross the plains relatively quickly. Some of the residents were in Iowa as much as seven years, but when compared to the overall migration to Utah, all of the Garden Grove settlers could easily be considered part of the group of the earliest arrivals in Utah. The Garden Grove prosopography demonstrates a difference in accumulated wealth based on arrivals with as little as a two-year delay, so it is understandable that those in the Utah population who had arrived in the 1860s would have a lower mean accumulated wealth than those who had arrived in the 1850s. The general Utah population also had a large percentage of immigrants who had traveled from Scandinavia and the

⁹⁷Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer, "Household Wealth," 487.

British Isles. Their migration to Utah involved ship passage and a much longer and more expensive journey.

Although there were differences in the make-up of the two populations, the Garden Grove settlers were a subset of the Utah population. This study demonstrates that among the Utah settlers, those who had lived in Garden Grove had recovered from the poverty they suffered in 1846 and were mostly in the middle to higher ranges of wealth in Utah by 1870. There is little doubt that most of these poorest of the Nauvoo exiles would have lost their lives had they attempted to cross the plains to Utah in 1846. They were suffering from exposure, poverty, and poor nutrition, all of which resulted in poor health, and they did not have the necessary supplies to cross the plains safely. The Garden Grove mortality rate during the winter of 1846-47 is yet another indicator of their weakened condition. Brigham Young's establishment of the Garden Grove way station was essential to the physical and economic recovery of the Saints, which ultimately allowed them to reach their goal of settling in the Great Basin and prospering after their arrival.

Chapter 4

The Impact of Mormon Way Stations

The limb of a tree grows to a foreordained shape in response to forces determined by nature's equilibriums, but the affairs of nations are shaped by the actions of men, and sometimes, looking back, we can understand which actions were decisive.

--Bernard DeVoto, *The Year of Decision: 1846*

Brigham Young established way stations across Iowa in 1846 for the purpose of sheltering and supplying the unprepared Saints in his company, as well as for the protection and assistance of the poor who were yet to come from Nauvoo. His ultimate goal was to aid his people in removing themselves from the borders of the United States so that they could dwell in peace in the secluded Great Basin area of the West. Garden Grove, Iowa, was the first way station to be built, thus establishing a pattern for all of the way stations across the state. These temporary settlements preserved the Mormon people, opened and encouraged the settlement of western Iowa, and eventually facilitated the settlement of the entire American West. Although the Saints intended to separate themselves from other Americans, the way stations they built and the trails they improved invited innumerable overlanders to follow. What began as a decision for the survival of a people eventually impacted the settlement of a nation.

The People of Garden Grove

The Garden Grove way station was a place of great opportunity to the people who settled there. After months of camping in the snow and rain with little food or shelter, the Saints were ill

and exhausted. Work parties built cabins, dug wells, built bridges, and plowed, planted, and fenced large fields. Within two weeks of their arrival, Orson Pratt wrote that “the whole place assumes the appearance of having been occupied for years.”¹ Illness and the lack of sufficient food stores had not gone away, but the opportunity to stop and work to support themselves gave the people hope. George Whitaker recorded,

We were all full of life and spirit. We had almost forgotten our trials and troubles of our two month’s journey; how we had traveled through cold and snow and rain and mud, and that we had traveled only about 150 miles. When we had completed our work for the day and had finished our suppers, we would have music and dancing, singing and any other recreation that we thought proper. The weather was splendid and all was joy and happiness. In about 14 or 15 days we had quite a little town built up.²

The log cabins were built close together, each having a door, but none of them had windows.

Depending on the size of the cabin, there were one or more fireplaces for warmth and cooking.

Harriet Kellogg described these early structures:

The Mormon cabins, though with one or two exceptions entirely destitute of window, were healthful, dwellings, in consequence of their one grand feature, open fireplaces. These were made without a farthing of expense except the time necessary for their construction. A kind of clay such as bricks are made of was hauled to the building and some clapboards or long shingles set up edgewise and firmly staked in the shape of a fireplace. The amount of comfort dispensed by those fireplaces at a time when comforts were luxuries is beyond comprehension.³

With hearths and fireplaces, the women were able to cook better than they could over open fires in the rain, and the men were able to work and obtain more nutritious food. They did not have enough to eat, but vegetables and grains were an improvement over sea biscuits. Some who were children at the time complained about the cakes made from parched corn meal, but the Saints’

¹Pratt, *Exodus of Modern Israel*, 24.

²George Whitaker, “Autobiography [n.d.]” typescript, microfilm, 22, Church History Library and Archives, Salt Lake City, UT.

³Harriet N. Kellogg, “The Kellogg Manuscript ca. 1875,” microfilm, 251, Church History Library and Archives, Salt Lake City, UT.

circumstances were greatly improved over what their camping conditions had been. Helen Whitney described her early memories of Garden Grove as follows:

I shall never forget how I feasted at Garden Grove upon my mother's first white bread and fresh churned butter. I had been famishing for a fortnight or more for the want of nourishment, or the lack of appetite to eat such as was set before us.⁴

But Garden Grove meant more to the Saints than just better food and shelter. This grove was a place of peace and beauty to them. Contention with their neighbors had been left behind. Some of the men working in Missouri were careful not to reveal their identity unnecessarily, but the settlement itself was a respite from persecution. Although Marietta (Coray) Henderson later left the LDS Church, her feelings about Garden Grove did not change.

I have no hesitation in saying this was the most beautiful and romantic spot of earth I have ever seen before or since. Our cabin was surrounded by a heavy growth of timber, and each tree was entwined by the climbing rose or entangled masses of the wild grape: and the whole scene was a blooming labyrinth of wild flowers and graceful foliage, enlivened by the twitter of birds, the noisy whiz of the pinnated grouse, and every variety of game, bounding from the thickets or along the graceful banks of Grand River.⁵

The Saints established a functioning community as quickly as possible. Brigham Young counseled them to hold school for their children, beginning that first winter.⁶ Abigail (Smith) Abbott taught school in Garden Grove the winter of 1846-47, and by 1848, school was taught by Mary (Anthony) Davis, one of the first non-LDS settlers to arrive in town.⁷ John William Cooley built an ox-powered mill sometime in 1847, and Thomas Crooks and his sons had a

⁴Whitney, "Our Travels Beyond the Mississippi," 136.

⁵Green, *Mormonism*, 60.

⁶Jenson, "Manuscript History of Church Activities in Iowa," 21 July 1846.

⁷Jones, "George Abbot and His Descendants," 8; Himena V. Hoffman, *The History of Decatur County, Iowa [1839-1970]* (Leon, Iowa: Decatur County Historical Society, 1972), 13.

blacksmith shop.⁸ Garden Grove was located halfway between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, but after the first company established the settlement, a new and more direct trail was created across Iowa. Garden Grove was further south than the new trail, but a branch leading to the way station allowed travelers to take advantage of the supplies and services available there.⁹ The traffic on this trail created a sufficient demand for the settlers to market their services, products, and excess produce so that eventually they were able to obtain an outfit to move west. Some became so comfortable that they considered staying permanently in Garden Grove. A granddaughter of Thomas and Ann Karren wrote, “They carried on a good business with the sale of bakery merchandise and farm produce to the passing travelers. Grandma thought it was wise and worth while to remain and rebuild their finances, but Grandfather was desirous of rejoining the pioneers.”¹⁰ The Karrens had done well with their bakery and were able to move on to Utah by 1850.

After the extreme conditions of the first winter, Garden Grove became a place for the Saints to live a normal life. It grew into a rather typical frontier settlement, one that others found to be a desirable place to live as well. Past histories of the town of Garden Grove have mentioned its Mormon beginnings, but landmark events like the first birth or the first marriage have been recorded as those that occurred among the non-LDS population. It has been stated that Josephine Kellogg, born 18 March 1849, was the first child born in Garden Grove.¹¹ It is now known that

⁸Jenson, “Manuscript History of Church Activities in Iowa,” 27 Dec 1847 and 6 Jan 1848; William J. Strong, “Jennette Crooks, 1821-1879,” n.d., typescript, 325, Garden Grove Public Library, Garden Grove, IA.

⁹Stegner, *Gathering of Zion*, 55-56.

¹⁰Peterson, *Life of Thomas Karren*, 7.

¹¹Timothy Hopkins, *The Kelloggs in the Old World and the New* (San Francisco: Sunset Press and Photo Engraving Co., 1903), 1121; J. M. Howell and Heman Conoman Smith, *History of Decatur County, Iowa and Its People* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1915), 160.

Wilbur Earl was the first child born in the town, arriving on 29 April 1846, just five days after the Saints began building.¹² The first marriage license in Decatur County was issued to Henry Hall and Eliza Ann Ewing in 1850, but the first marriage performed in Garden Grove was between Aaron Johnson and Mary Ann Johnson on 18 May 1846.¹³

The first Mormon settlers and other Saints passing through were not the only people to benefit from the Garden Grove way station. In 1848, Daniel Roberts visited his wife's extended family and friends and convinced them that this was a place where they might want to live. One county history states:

The first permanent settlers in Garden Grove came in 1848, deciding upon this location because of the enthusiastic accounts given them by Dr. Daniel Roberts who told of it as not only well-timbered, well-watered, and exceptionally advantageous as to health, but also giving the opportunity to buy what the Saints had already built and land they had already cultivated. It is said that William Davis bought the Mormon holdings for \$400, so it was secured at a bargain price.¹⁴

Harriet Kellogg wrote:

the Dr. [Daniel Roberts] was the sole cause and instigator of the hejira of our family and the Davis to the obscure and almost unheard of settlement named by the Mormons Garden Grove. This superinduced the coming of the Chase's, Knapps, Arnolds, Stearnes's, Bakers, Careys, Northurps, Woodbury's, Charles L. and R. D. Kellogg, Humistons, Culvers and Harkness and Siglers, all early settlers and influential families, who with the Shaws & others who came a trifle later have shaped the destiny of at least the north half of the county.¹⁵

The first eighteen settlers came specifically because of the benefits of the way station, and many more followed soon after. There were empty Mormon cabins available for them to move into

¹²Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 147.

¹³Lawrence Dale Ahern, *Down One Hundred Years* (Des Moines: Wallace-homestead Co., 1938), Chronological Table; Johnson, *Aaron Johnson*, 119; and Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Ancestral File*, v. 4.19, <http://www.familysearch.org> (accessed 2006-2010).

¹⁴Hoffman, *History of Decatur County, Iowa*, 13.

¹⁵Kellogg, "Kellogg Manuscript," preface.

until they could build nicer homes, the prairie had already been broken, there was a mill in town, and many other benefits. They were not deterred by the Saints who lived there, because they were family and friends. It was also known that the Mormons were there only temporarily.

The Kellogg and Davis families came with their children. Education was important to them, and it is likely that Daniel Roberts mentioned the schooling of the Mormon children when he told them about the community.¹⁶ However, Abigail Abbott left for the West before these families arrived, so Mary Davis started a school in her cabin their first year in town. Mary's school has been recorded as the first held in Decatur County, but it is now known that Abigail taught school there two years earlier.¹⁷ The Saints also taught their new neighbors about the surrounding area. Early in 1849, Roger Farrer accompanied several of the Davis men to the southern part of the county for a hunting trip, to assist them as a guide.¹⁸ When Josiah Morgan arrived later that year, he purchased the land where thirty Mormon cabins had been built, as well as the mill. He was able to rent the cabins and run the mill without having to build them himself.¹⁹

It is likely that one of the main reasons for the early non-LDS settlers to come to Garden Grove, rather than to other areas of Iowa, was the fact that the prairie sod had already been broken. This was not a simple or inexpensive process, but it only needed to be done once. An article written in Iowa in 1851 explained this to eastern farmers:

[N]ature herself wisely provides for the extermination of the wild grasses and plants, that so profusely spread over the prairie surface, requiring only on the part

¹⁶Hoffman, *History of Decatur County, Iowa*, 27.

¹⁷Howell and Smith, *History of Decatur County, Iowa*, 158.

¹⁸Gunzenhauser, "Settlers of Garden Grove," 5.

¹⁹Kellogg, "Kellogg Manuscript," frames 258-259.

of the husbandman, a single plowing, by which the soil becomes divested of every species of herbage except such as may be planted by the hand of man.²⁰

This first plowing was best done with a steel mould-board plow, three yoke of oxen, and two men: one man holding the plow and a second one driving. Typically, this work was hired out at a rate of \$1.50 to \$2.50 per acre, and generally the work progressed at about two to three acres a day.²¹ The Saints had plowed and planted 715 acres in the first three weeks after their arrival, and more was plowed over time.²² As each spring arrived and more families left for the West, their cabins and plowed fields were available for purchase. By coming to Garden Grove, the new settlers avoided the work of breaking the sod or the cost of hiring others to do it for them. If they purchased land beyond what had already been plowed, steel plows were available from the local blacksmith, Thomas Crooks.

The first metal plows and harrows to be used in that part of the country were made by [the Crooks] family. The farmers there used wooden implements. About that time John Deere was making metal implements on a small scale in Illinois, but his output was not enough to reach far in advance of his forge. Prairie sod was tough, wooden plows and harrows needed repairs and replacement, so a quick demand grew around Garden Grove for Crooks metal farming implements.²³

Eventually, the two Mormon fields grew to a total of fifteen hundred acres. By 1915, a county history declared, “There are now more than one hundred owners of the realty that was originally contained within the confines of these two fields.”²⁴ The establishment of the way station at

²⁰W. G. Edmundson, “Prairie Farming—Breaking the Sod,” *The Cultivator* 9, no. 2 (February 1852): 67.

²¹Edmundson, “Prairie Farming,” 67.

²²Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 135.

²³William J. Strong, “Thomas Crooks, Jr. (Thomas Crooks II) 1791-1872,” n.d., typescript, 330, Garden Grove Public Library, Garden Grove, IA.

²⁴Howell and Smith, *History of Decatur County, Iowa*, 153.

Garden Grove, Iowa, benefitted not only the destitute Saints, but also those who came later and bought their improvements.

The Mormons

Beyond the people who lived in Garden Grove, the LDS population in general was impacted by the establishment of this first way station. As a group, they all worked together for several weeks to create shelter and plant fields necessary for the poor to survive the winter. Two days after choosing the site, the men were organized as follows:

Three hundred and fifty-nine laboring men were reported on hand, besides trading commissaries and herdsmen. One hundred men were selected to make rails under the superintendence of C. C. Rich, James Pace, Lewis D. Wilson and Stephen Markham. Ten under James Allred were appointed to build a fence. Forty-eight under father John Smith to build houses. Twelve under Jacob Peart to dig wells. Ten under A. P. Rockwood to build bridges. The remainder to be employed in clearing land, ploughing and planting under Daniel Spencer.²⁵

When the main camp moved on, it was less than a week later that a second way station was established at Mt. Pisgah. Again, the work parties were organized and the pattern established at Garden Grove was repeated. Mt. Pisgah has been referred to as a “carbon copy” of Garden Grove, although it became a much larger settlement.²⁶ When the Saints arrived in Council Bluffs, the pattern was repeated many times over. The way stations of Iowa were established based on the experience of the Saints in building Garden Grove. Over time, there were more than fifty-five way stations built in southern and western Iowa.²⁷

²⁵Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 144.

²⁶Pearl Wilcox, *Roots of the Reorganized Latter Day Saints in Southern Iowa* (Independence, MO: P. G. Wilcox, 1989), 29.

²⁷Gail George Holmes, “The LDS Legacy in Southwestern Iowa,” *Ensign*, August 1988, 54-57.

After the way stations were established, work in the communities focused on the goal of helping all the Saints to migrate west. Each family had responsibility for itself, but they also assisted their friends and neighbors and worked in cooperative efforts. Many are the stories of those who left crops they had planted so others could harvest and benefit from their labors. A history of Pottawattamie County reports:

No more industrious, frugal and temperate community was ever known. Among them were mechanics of almost every kind, and they proceeded to build a city here, which they called Kaneshville Not only did they build the city, but the rich valleys became hives of industry; good crops were raised, which enabled them to assist their fellow pilgrims who were passing through In fact, without this halting place to rest, make repairs and lay in supplies, it is hard to conceive how they could ever have made the thousand mile trip across the plains and mountains.²⁸

Because the Saints built way stations in Iowa, they were able to survive that first winter and improve their circumstances, so that a large number of them could begin their final trek to the Great Basin in the spring of 1847. In contrast to the slow growth of most frontier settlements, the Salt Lake Valley had two thousand residents within three months of the arrival of the first company.²⁹ Thirty-five of those who crossed the plains that first year had stayed in Garden Grove. Without the way stations, it is likely that Salt Lake City never would have been founded.

The Settlement of Iowa

Iowa achieved statehood by the end of 1846, but at that time, the population was concentrated in the eastern portion of the state. For the first two months of the Mormon trek across Iowa, there were nearby towns where the men could work to earn money or provisions along the way. The towns were relatively new, so homes and public buildings were needed.

²⁸Homer H. Field, *History of Pottawattamie County, Iowa: From the Earliest Historic Times to 1907*, 2 vols. (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1907), 1:8.

²⁹Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, 101.

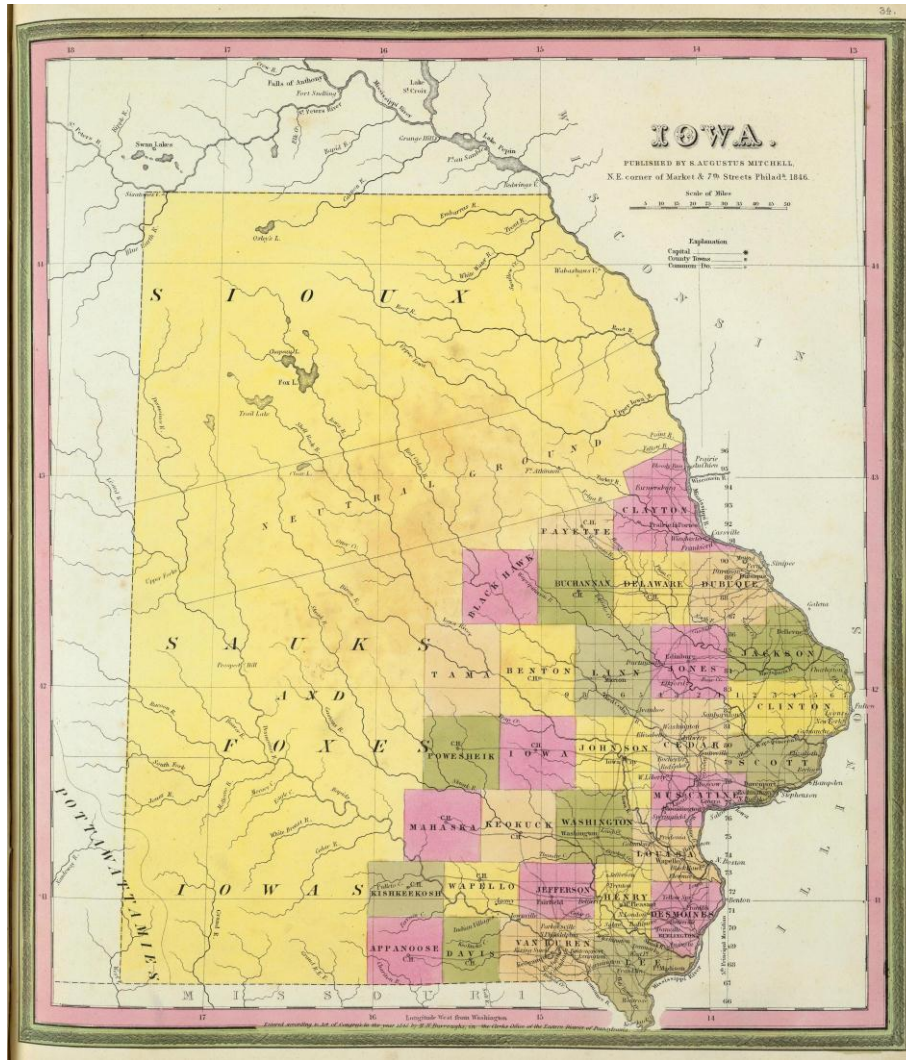


Figure 12. 1846 Map of Iowa. Source: Samuel Augustus Mitchell, *A New Universal Atlas* (Philadelphia: S. A. Mitchell, 1846), 34. David Rumsey Map Collection. <http://www.DavidRumsey.com>.

One Iowa history states:

Begging not for bread through charity, but for work for even trivial wages, [the Mormons] drove resistless bargains for their skill and labor with the Iowa settlers. As a result the spring of 1846 in the Des Moines Valley above Farmington saw more frontier cabin shanties replaced by two-story dwellings than has occurred, perhaps, in any like time and area in any western state.³⁰

³⁰Edgar Rubey Harlan, *A Narrative History of the People of Iowa* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1931), 212.

The Nauvoo exiles worked any contract that could be fulfilled in a fairly short period of time, so that provisions could be obtained and the company could continue to move on. In addition to building homes, the people hired out work for building fences, clearing fields, digging wells, and making rails. Some of the contracts the Mormons obtained were for government buildings.

Nelson Whipple described a jail that they built:

In the morning we proceeded to Prinston where thare was 4 or 5 log houses one of which was a kind of store or grocery. Here we found some thirty of our Boys ingaged on the job of building a jail. This was built of hewn timber one foot squair and two foot thick that is two the walls with the floar of timber 10 inches squair & thicknesses across each other this took a good deal of timber.³¹

Moving through Iowa, the LDS people left numerous improvements behind them. With large numbers of men working together, they accomplished these projects in a very short period of time.

When the Saints moved into south-central and western Iowa, they were on land that had been vacated by the Pottawattamie Indians only the year before. A few frontiersmen had ventured into the area, but it was essentially unsettled territory. There were no roads for large wagons, so advance companies were sent ahead of the main camp to pick the best route. With steady use over time, the various trails used by the Mormons became well-traveled roads. Later frontiersmen were then able to move more easily into western Iowa because the roads provided access to the unsettled portions of the state, as well as establishing a means of communication between settlements. In addition to the roads themselves, the way stations gave travelers the opportunity to purchase goods and services along their way. The Mormon Trail across Iowa was the first roadway from the Mississippi River to the Missouri River. Edgar Harlan, an Iowa historian, stated, "This made of the Mormon Trail the last and the greatest highway in Iowa

³¹Whipple, "Autobiography and Journal," 47.

before interstate commerce by rail began.”³² Another important aspect of this highway was the fact that the many rivers and streams were bridged by the Mormons. These people were not following a trail, they were creating a road for others. The Saints toiled and struggled along for six months on a trip that normally could have been completed in about ten days.³³ Part of the delay was the constant rain and mud they dealt with, but another reason this trip took so long was the improvements they left behind in construction work and building bridges. This was not a simple process. One Iowa history records, “Wherever they traveled they left their trail markings for the benefit of those who would come later; bridges were built or the best fording places were discovered, improved, and marked, often at a high cost in effort and sometimes in lives.”³⁴

In addition to creating roadways and establishing way stations, the Saints demonstrated to others how productive the land of Iowa could be. While the Mormons were still living in their way stations, overlanders and gold rushers began traveling through. Even though they had no intention of settling in Iowa, some of these people decided to stay when they saw the beauty and productivity of the land. A history of Pottawattamie County records:

This great movement of the California immigration in connection with the gradual exodus of the Mormons soon wrought a great change in affairs. Some of the emigrants, on seeing the wonderful fertility of the soil, with its fine groves of timber along the streams, changed their minds, traded part of their outfits to the Mormons for their claims and settled here permanently.³⁵

The desire of others to stay created a market for the Saints who were ready to leave. Although the Mormons had created a temporary settlement for themselves, these way stations became the

³²Edgar R. Harlan, “The Location and Name of the Mormon Trail,” an address delivered at Keokuk on 22 April 1913, as quoted in Harlan, *A Narrative History of the People of Iowa*, 213.

³³Whitney, “Our Travels Beyond the Mississippi,” 182.

³⁴Leland L. Sage, *A History of Iowa* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1974), 77.

³⁵Field, *History of Pottawattamie County, Iowa*, 1:9.

first permanent settlements in western Iowa because others bought their homes and fields and remained long-term.

Although large numbers of the Saints did move on to Utah, based on the Garden Grove population, about 16 percent remained in or returned to the Midwest. These early members of the LDS church made significant contributions to the settlement of Iowa.

Mormons who remained in or returned to Iowa, . . . became pioneers and sometimes pillars in many southwestern Iowa communities, including Council Bluffs, Macedonia, Woodbine, Manti, Blockton, and Coonville. For example, in 1851 Mormons Lorenzo Dow and Ann Binnall Butler moved north of Kaneshville about 30 miles to Twelve-Mile Grove. . . . They took up land, Lorenzo built a grist and sawmill, and they opened a store. When the area received a post office, Ann became postmistress and named the place Woodbine, the name of the English cottage where she once lived. Woodbine, in Harrison County, became Lorenzo and Ann's lifelong home.³⁶

Many county histories of southwestern Iowa have published biographical sketches mentioning the contributions of Mormons who did not go west. One example is Henry A. Terry.

[Mr. Terry] established . . . the first permanent nursery of the county and to H. A. Terry the people of Iowa are largely indebted for a demonstration of the fact that the state and especially the western portion of it is specially adapted to fruit growing. . . . [He] is one of the oldest of the early settlers of the county. The land which he converted into a nursery was wild prairie when he bought it. . . . At all times he has been the champion of progressive public measures but perhaps greater credit is due him for his work as a nurseryman than for any other effort of his life. In proving the possibilities of the state for fruit culture he accomplished a work that has been of inestimable value to Iowa, connecting his name closely with its history, so that no record of Pottawattamie county or the western part of the state would be complete without mention of him.³⁷

These early settlers became part of Iowa's history. They contributed their skills, knowledge, and experience to the development of the areas where they lived, and they also brought religious diversity to western Iowa. The Saints who did not go west were divided in their feelings about the leadership of the LDS church, and many were discontented with the practice of polygamy.

³⁶Hartley, "Mormons and Early Iowa History," 259.

³⁷Field, *History of Pottawattamie County*, 2: 1131-1132.

They participated in a number of groups that broke away from the original church and became members of the Reorganized Latter Day Saints (now Community of Christ), Cutlerites, Strangites, and others, while some remained unaffiliated with any religion later in life.

Beyond their impact on the settlement of Iowa, the Saints who broke away and did not follow Brigham Young established new settlements. Some scattered to great distances. Alpheus Cutler established his headquarters in Manti, Iowa; followers of Sidney Rigdon moved to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; James J. Strang's group migrated to Wisconsin and Michigan; Lyman Wight led a group to Texas; and the Reorganized Latter Day Saints gathered in Illinois, Iowa, and later, Missouri.³⁸ There were numerous additional groups, as well as families who left Mormonism altogether, who scattered throughout the Midwest and established the beginnings of countless new settlements.

As Brigham Young led the main camp of the Saints across Iowa in 1846, his intent was to pass through Iowa to the Great Basin that year. Various events and circumstances prevented that goal from being reached, so he established way stations until the move could be completed. The Mormons' stay in western Iowa impacted the growth of the state by providing roads, bridges, and way stations, as well as early residents to facilitate the permanent settlement of the state. Although the largest numbers of the Saints eventually made their way to Utah, there were also those who remained along the way or migrated to surrounding midwestern states.

³⁸Danny L. Jorgensen, "The Cutlerites of Southwestern Iowa: A Latter-day Saint Schism and Its Role in the Early Settlement of Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* 58, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 145; D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *Brigham Young University Studies* 16, no. 2 (1976): 191, 196, 197; Bernauer, "Gathering the Remnants," 24.

The Settlement of the American West

The growth of Iowa was only the beginning of the Mormon impact on the settlement of the western United States. When the Mormon Battalion left Council Bluffs, they began a long trek through the Southwest to Santa Fe, then marched on to California. William Hartley, Mormon historian, writes, “Under Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke they opened up the first wagon route across the Southwest.”³⁹ In addition to establishing this trail, the men continued the labors they had performed in Iowa.

The march of the battalion was of major importance in the development of the Southwest and Far West; in community after community through which they passed, especially at trail's end in San Diego, weary, haggard Mormon soldiers extended helping hands to local citizens, digging wells, repairing buildings, widening roads, tending livestock, keeping busy in any way they could.⁴⁰

After arriving in California, many Battalion members continued to work for the income they needed to obtain an outfit for their families to cross the plains from Iowa. Several of them were hired to dig a mill race for Captain Sutter. Although Sutter owned the land and the mill, it was the labor of the recently discharged Mormon soldiers that facilitated the discovery of gold in the Sacramento area.⁴¹ Spreading the news of this discovery resulted in the gold rush and a mass migration to the West.

While the discharged Battalion members worked in California, the first company of the Saints began their trek across the plains. Rather than following a trail to their destination, they again improved a road for others yet to come. As in Iowa, one of the most important improvements was their bridge building. The Mormon pioneers had become experienced in this

³⁹Hartley, “Mormons and Early Iowa History,” 237.

⁴⁰Joseph E. Brown, *The Mormon Trek West* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 70.

⁴¹Tyler, *A Concise History*, 332-333.

process, and they built sturdy bridges that would support the weight of heavy wagons for years to come. Thomas L. Kane, in his famous speech to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1850, used some humor in describing this process.

Here, in what seemed to be an incredibly short space of time, there rose the seven great piers and abutments of a bridge, such as might challenge honors for the entire public-spirited population of Lower Virginia. The party detailed to the task worked in the broiling sun, in water beyond depth, and up to their necks, as if engaged in the perpetration of some pointed and delightful practical joke. The chief sport lay in floating along with the logs, cut from the overhanging timber up the stream, guiding them till they reached their destination, and then plunging them under water in the precise spot where they were to be secured. This, the laughing engineers would execute with the agility of happy diving ducks.⁴²

Where rivers were too large to bridge, ferries were established. Men remained to operate them, which became another means of income for the Saints. In addition, William Clayton measured distances and noted campsites, so that by 1848 his *Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide* was published. This guide assisted thousands in traveling more safely because of the knowledge it conveyed about the trail.⁴³

The Mormon Trail across Iowa guided travelers to Council Bluffs, which was two hundred miles farther west than major departure points in Missouri.⁴⁴ What began as a Mormon way station soon became a significant outfitting town for overlanders. Those who departed from Council Bluffs then followed the Mormon Trail west, and large numbers stopped to resupply in Salt Lake City before finishing the trip to their final destination. Within several years, the Mormons of Salt Lake began to settle towns throughout the Great Basin. These towns followed the pattern established while building the way stations of Iowa, and they became supply and

⁴²Thomas L. Kane, "A discourse delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, March 26, 1850," *Treasures of Pioneer History* 6:80; *Family History Suite 2*, CD-ROM (Infobases, 1998).

⁴³Glen M. Leonard, "The Exodus, 1844-47," *Tambuli*, July 1979, 38.

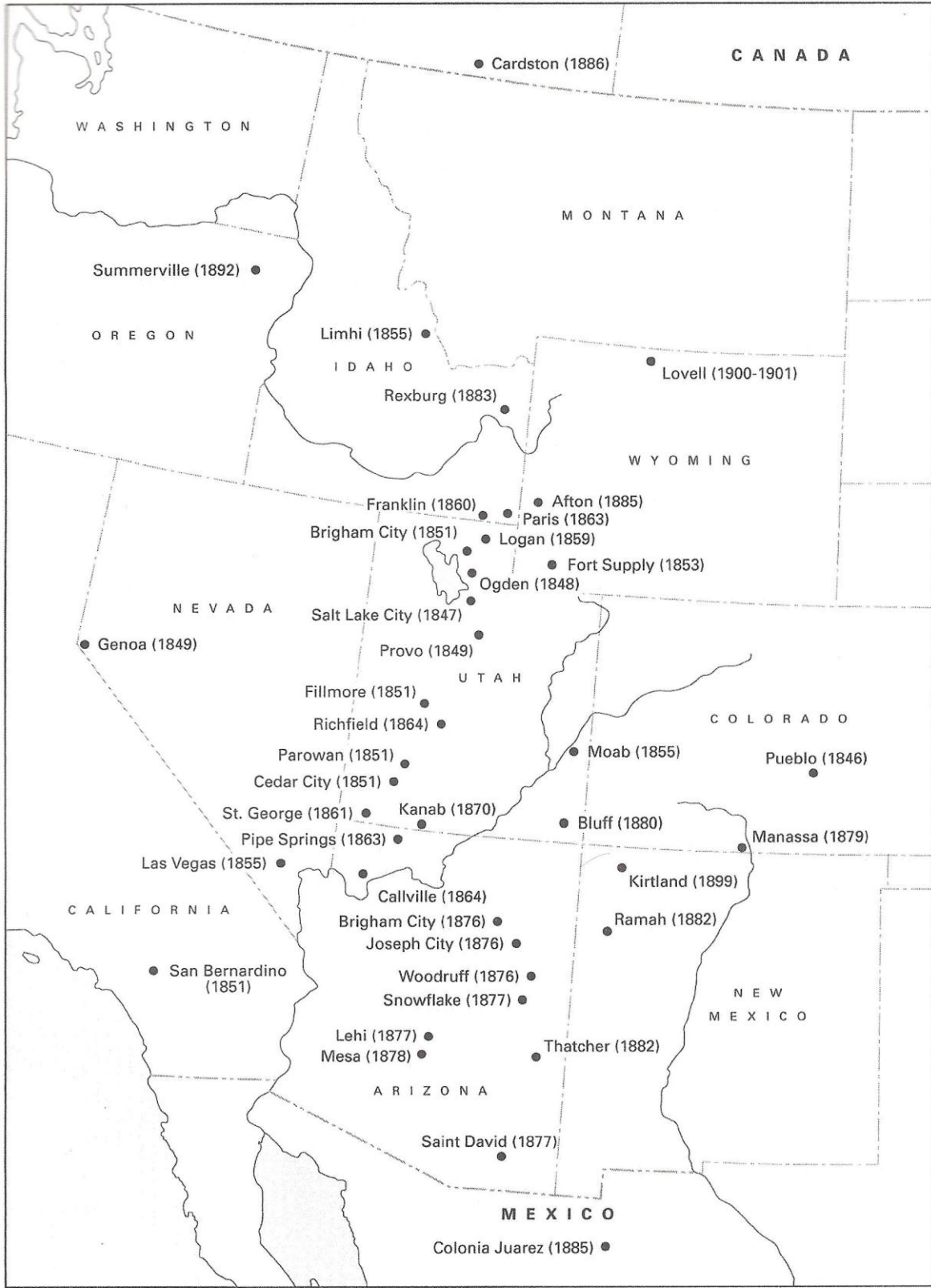
⁴⁴Stegner, *Gathering of Zion*, 55.

outfitting stations throughout the West. Within thirty years of their arrival in Salt Lake, the Mormon pioneers founded over four hundred new towns.⁴⁵ Figure 13 illustrates the extent of the settlement area.

A brochure recently published by the U. S. National Park Service states, “Clearly, the Mormon exodus to Utah was not a mere footnote in the history of the American West. It is an integral part of the American story.”⁴⁶ Because the way stations of Iowa were established, the exiles from Nauvoo were able to regain their health and obtain supplies to cross the plains. Without the opportunities provided by the Iowa settlements, it is doubtful that enough of these people would have survived the year of 1846 to establish Salt Lake City. The trails they improved, the works they performed, the settlements they founded, and the supplies they provided all facilitated the settlement of western Iowa and the western United States. These small Iowa towns were important to the history of the Mormon people, but they also played a significant role in the history of America.

⁴⁵Richard L. Jensen, “Colonization,” *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 3 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1: 290.

⁴⁶National Park Service, *National Historic Trails Auto Tour Route Interpretive Guide: The Mormon Pioneer Trail Across Iowa in 1846* (National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 2007), 15, <http://www.nps.gov> (accessed summer 2010).

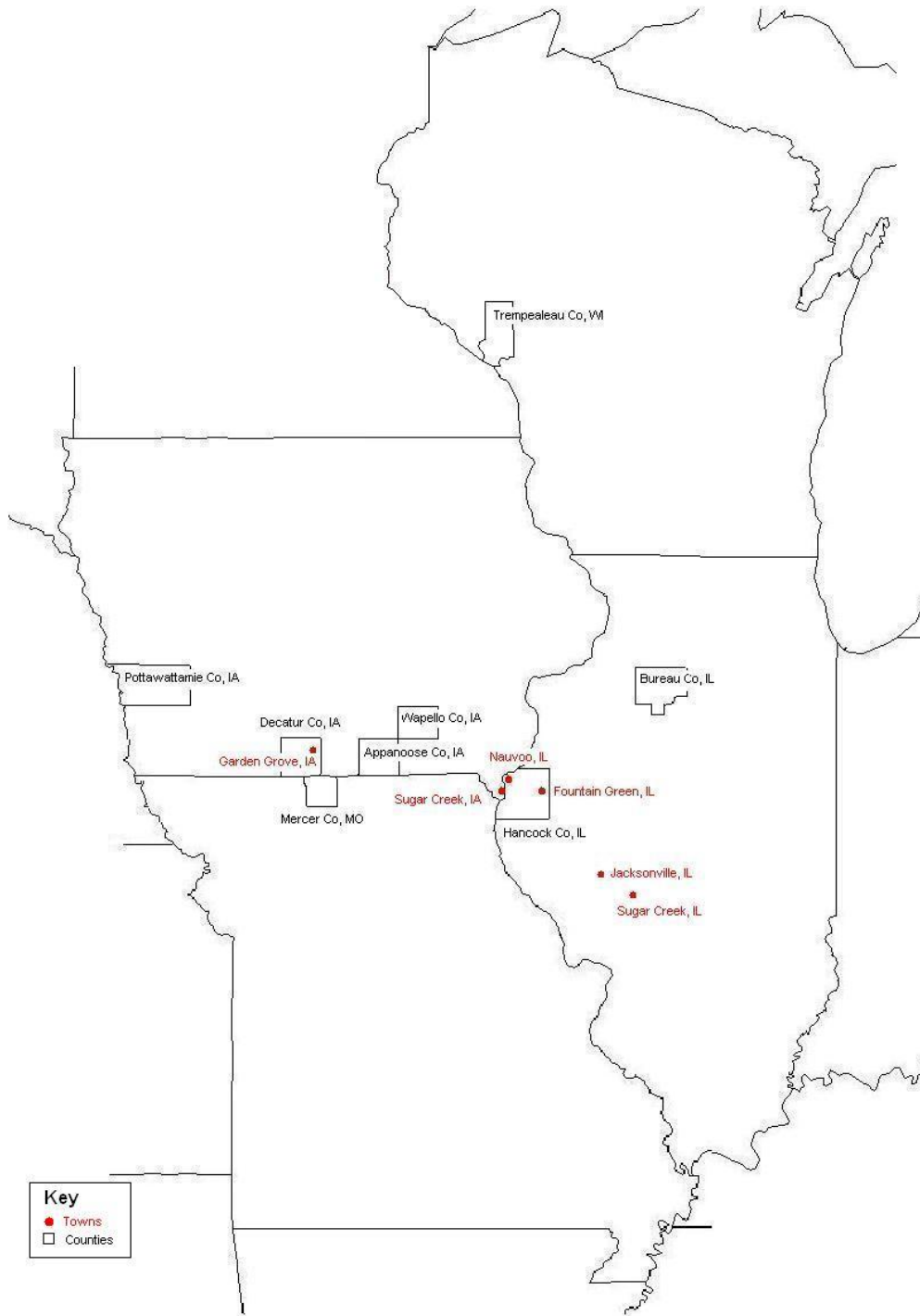


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Figure 13. Mormon colonization of the West. Source: Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1: 293. Used with permission.

Appendix 1

Mormon Settlements and Comparison Communities in the Upper Mississippi River Region, 1855



Source: State outline maps from <http://geography.about.com/library/blank/blxusx.htm>; county outlines from Adrian B. Ettlinger, *AniMap County Boundary Historical Atlas* CD-ROM (Alamo, California: Gold Bug, 1997).

Appendix 2

Garden Grove Prosopography

The data for this study was compiled from a combination of primary and secondary sources of information. The author's goal was to identify all of the settlers of Garden Grove, Iowa, between 1846 and 1852. Garden Grove was located on the Mormon Trail; thus, numerous people passed through the town and may have stopped briefly, but only those who remained in town for two months or longer were included in the database.

Data gathering began with the Garden Grove LDS Branch Records.¹ The membership list recorded on 18 July 1847 named those members who were willing to recommit themselves to the leaders and teachings of the church. The list was incomplete, because not everyone in town was willing to make that commitment, and children under the age of eight were not yet considered members. However, the list was arranged in family groups, providing relationship information which aided in uniquely identifying each family. Missing names were added from later searches in additional sources. Lists of baptisms, blessings of children, priesthood ordinations, and minutes of meetings also identified residents of the town through 1851.

Census records provided information about the settlers of Garden Grove in 1850 and 1851. The population schedule of the U.S. federal census in 1850 named the settlers as of 1 June, and the mortality schedule listed those who had died in the previous twelve months.² The 1851 Iowa state census documented the few Mormons remaining during the last year of Mormon

¹Garden Grove Branch, "Record of Members."

²United States Bureau of the Census, *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington: National Archives, 1850); United States Bureau of the Census, *Mortality Schedule for Iowa, 1850*, micropublication T1156, roll 54 (Washington: National Archives, 1850).

settlement, as well as the non-LDS population who had moved in over the previous three years.³ All of these censuses were recorded on a county level, but the listings of residents in the town of Garden Grove could be identified based on Karla Gunzenhauser's previous research. Her work, especially in land records, supplied the necessary details for each landowner's town of residence. Non-LDS settlers between 1848 and 1852 who were not in the censuses were added according to Gunzenhauser's detailed study, "The Settlers of Garden Grove."⁴

The Mormons who arrived in Garden Grove in 1846 were struggling with the question of who should be their next leader. Over time, there were many who left the church and followed leaders other than Brigham Young. The Garden Grove Branch list did not include the Mormons who had left the church or who had already continued their journey west by the summer of 1847. The "LDS Vital Records" and "Pioneer Heritage Library" collections on the *LDS Family History Suite 2* CD were searched for journal entries identifying the settlers of 1846 who were not on the branch list.⁵ Many new families were identified in these collections.

This researcher then searched the *Ancestral File*, *Pedigree Resource File*, or *New FamilySearch* for all of the individuals identified as residents of Garden Grove.⁶ Additional family members and vital information were obtained from the research that descendants have submitted to these databases. The 1850, 1860, and 1870 federal census entries were then located

³Iowa General Assembly, *Census of Cedar, Clinton, Decatur, Guthrie, Iowa, Jackson, Jasper, Jefferson, Johnson, Madison, Mahaska, Page, Pottawatomie, Poweshiek, Scott, and Washington counties, Iowa [1851]* (Salt Lake City: Filmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1978), microfilm.

⁴Gunzenhauser, "Settlers of Garden Grove."

⁵Ancestry, "LDS Vital Records Library," *LDS Family History Suite 2* CD-ROM (Salt Lake City, Utah: Infobases, 1998); Ancestry, "Pioneer Heritage Library," *LDS Family History Suite 2* CD-ROM (Salt Lake City, Utah: Infobases, 1998).

⁶Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Ancestral File*, ver. 4.19, <http://www.familysearch.org>; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Pedigree Resource File*, <http://www.familysearch.org>; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *New FamilySearch*, <https://new.familysearch.org>.

1970	Looman Shodley	44	"	"	So.				31
	Altamira	34	F	"	Wife				32
	Mary	18	"	"					33
	Melissa	17	"	"	Wife				34
	Louis	16	M	"					35
	Lydia	12	F	"	Wife				36
	Dane	10	"	"					37
	Elizabeth	6	"	"	Wife				38
	Noah	4	M	"					39
	Ellen	2	F	"					40
	Wm. A. Maston	58	M	Malon	Wife				41
									42

Figure 16. Looman Shodley, 1850 U.S. Census of District 21, Pottawattamie, Iowa, p. 125, line 32.

In this case, the census taker got the surname slightly wrong and misspelled Luman as Looman. The indexer then misread the “L” and indexed it as Sooman. On occasion, a census taker may have left off a surname or recorded the wrong surname, thus requiring a page by page search to recognize the family structure by matching given names, ages, and birthplaces. In the case of Samuel and Lilly Coon, their family was enumerated in 1850 with the surname of Mendinhall. The only explanation seems to be that they were listed after several Mendenhall families, and the census taker did not change surnames. All other records indicate the family’s surname was Coon (see figures 17 and 18). Great effort has been expended in identifying and locating the Garden Grove settlers, and because the families in this study were linked to multiple records and

1948	Saml Mendinhall	46	"	"	Ohio				27
	Lillia	12	F	"	Wife				28
	Eli	21	M	"					29
	Edm	17	"	"					30
	Sarah	15	F	"					31
	Agnet	12	M	"					32
	Lucinda	8	F	"	Wife				33
	Joseph	3	M	"					34
	Saggy	1	F	"					35

Figure 17. Saml and Lillia Mendinhall, 1850 U.S. Census of District 21, Pottawattamie, Iowa, p. 443, lines 27-28.

28	245	257	Samuel Coon	51	770	Farmer	1000	000	Ohio				
29			Lilly A "	38	F				Pennsylvania				
30			Judith "	19	20				Ohio				
31			William "	10	F								

Figure 18. Samuel and Lilly A. Coon, 1860 U.S. Census of Jackson Twp, Harrison, Iowa, p. 37, lines 28-29.

censuses over time, there are very few unknowns in the database. Compared to other community histories, this study offers detailed information about a specific population, including their migrations and economic status after leaving Garden Grove.

Information specific to each family's trek to Utah was determined through searching *Mormon Overland Travel, 1847-1868*.⁸ The migration year for any family that was not located in this database was determined based on dates and places of known family births, marriages, and deaths, or personal historical writings. For those families who did not go west, the 1860 and 1870 federal censuses were used to document their continued residence in the Midwest. Conclusions for years of residence in Garden Grove and whether or not each individual was a member of the LDS church were based on the evidence obtained in all of the above-named record sources. The statistics in this study were obtained through analysis of the current database of 934 individuals who are now known to have been residents of Garden Grove, Iowa, between 1846 and 1852.

⁸Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Mormon Overland Travel, 1847-1868*, <http://www.lds.org> (accessed 2006-2010).

Appendix 3

Method of Calculating the Average Annual Population of Garden Grove

In order to obtain the most accurate calculations for birth and mortality rates, an average annual population of Garden Grove needed to be calculated. Demographers typically use a mid-year population count as an estimate of the average population for the entire year. For most of the years of this study, no records exist to provide a specific mid-year count. However, because Garden Grove was a way station, there was a significant out-migration each year that had to be accounted for to maintain consistency for the purpose of comparisons to other studies.

The many historical writings of those who settled in Garden Grove have demonstrated the trend that the out-migration from the town occurred heavily during the summer months. Departure dates for companies crossing the plains ranged from April to August, with the largest numbers leaving in June. Families who moved to another way station further west in Iowa also migrated during the summer months. There were very few individuals who mentioned traveling during the winter. It is logical that the families would move in the spring and summer in time to settle in a new place to prepare shelter and cut hay before the winter came again.

The Garden Grove prosopography indicated the people who were in Garden Grove at the beginning of each year, even if they left during the year. The number of those who left the settlement each year was determined by the difference between the annual counts. Because the out-migration centered on the month of June, a mid-year count would be a fairly accurate representation of the average population for the year. Mid-year counts were calculated by determining the population at the beginning of the year, and then determining the population at the end of the year. The average of the two numbers provided the approximate mid-year population count.

Appendix 4

People Who Lived in Garden Grove for at Least Two Months, 1846-1852

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Abbott, Abiel	1835	1913	Stephen Joseph Abbott	Abigail Smith
Abbott, Abigail	1842	1934	Stephen Joseph Abbott	Abigail Smith
Abbott, Charilla	1829	1914	Stephen Joseph Abbott	Abigail Smith
Abbott, Cynthia	1839	1910	Stephen Joseph Abbott	Abigail Smith
Abbott, Emily	1827	1913	Stephen Joseph Abbott	Abigail Smith
Abbott, Lydia Lucina	1833	1919	Stephen Joseph Abbott	Abigail Smith
Abbott, Myron	1837	1907	Stephen Joseph Abbott	Abigail Smith
Abbott, Phebe Abigail	1831	1914	Stephen Joseph Abbott	Abigail Smith
Abshire, Elizabeth	1826	1899	Abraham James Abshire	Else or Elsie Harris
Aiken, Benjamin Burk	1828	1909	Samuel Ruggles Aiken	Nancy Mason Lazell
Aiken, Fanny Mason	1835	1918	Samuel Ruggles Aiken	Nancy Mason Lazell
Aiken, Samuel R.	1827	1847	Samuel Ruggles Aiken	Nancy Mason Lazell
Aiken, Samuel Ruggles	1803	1896	John Aiken, Jr.	Sarah Ruggles
Allen, Alice Jane	1847	1847	Philo Allen	Lucy Alvord Hawkes
Allen, Philo	1818	1909	Gideon Allen	Rachel Hand
Allred, Amanda Jane	1842	1915	Isaac Allred	Julia Ann Taylor
Allred, Eliza Maria	1836	1926	Isaac Allred	Julia Ann Taylor
Allred, Isaac*	1813	1859	James Allred	Elizabeth Warren
Allred, Isaac	1846	1846	Isaac Allred	Mary Henderson
Allred, James Martin	1838	1918	Isaac Allred	Julia Ann Taylor
Allred, John Allen	1834	1904	Isaac Allred	Julia Ann Taylor
Allred, Julia Ann	1845	1933	Isaac Allred	Julia Ann Taylor
Allred, Sidney H. Little	1841	1917	Isaac Allred	Julia Ann Taylor
Allred, William Alma	1833	1900	Isaac Allred	Julia Ann Taylor
Ambler, Sarah Louisa	1804	1846	Benjamin Ambler	Sarah
Anderson, Catherine Iona	1815	1877		
Anderson, Elizabeth	1823	1848	Miles Anderson	Nancy Pace
Anderson, Miles	1795	1876	Nathan Anderson	Sally Nelson
Anthony, Mary	1823	1909		
Avis	1851		John Avis	
Avis, John	1830			
Badger, Martha	1818			
Baggs, John	1833		John Baggs	Cynthia Nicholas
Baggs, Margaret	1826		John Baggs	Cynthia Nicholas
Baggs, Mary	1829		John Baggs	Cynthia Nicholas
Baggs, Susan Jane	1828	1856	Charles Bailey	Miranda Newton
Bair, Armena	1846	1847	John Bair	Belinda Owen
Bair, Belinda Jane	1848	1924	John Bair	Lucinda Owens
Bair, Delores	1844		John Bair	Lucinda Owens
Bair, Isaac	1846	1850	John Bair	Jerusha A. Richardson

Note: Women are listed by their maiden surname. Men and women who lived the principle of plural marriage while they were in Garden Grove are marked with an asterisk (*).

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Bair, John*	1810	1884	Adam Bair	Catherine Bowermaster
Bair, Joseph Amasa	1848	1849	John Bair	Jerusha A. Richardson
Bair, Katherine Elizabeth	1844		John Bair	Lucinda Owens
Bair, Lucinda Amanda	1848	1916	John Bair	Lucinda Owens
Bair, Marian	1845	1856	John Bair	Lucinda Owens
Bair, Rachel	1846	1846	John Bair	Jerusha A. Richardson
Baker, A. T.	1830			
Baker, Anne	1811		Samuel Baker	Elizabeth Daniels
Baker, Mary E.	1788	1861	Samuel Baker	Elizabeth Daniels
Baker, Richard T.	1828	1862	Joseph Baker	Mary E. Baker
Baker, Samuel F.	1820		Joseph Baker	Mary E. Baker
Baldwin, Caleb Clark	1817	1905	Caleb Baldwin	Nancy Kingsbury
Baldwin, Caleb Hyrum	1846	1933	Caleb Clark Baldwin	Anna Eliza Robinson
Baldwin, Emma Eliza	1842	1919	Caleb Clark Baldwin	Anna Eliza Robinson
Baldwin, Mary Ann	1839	1924	Caleb Clark Baldwin	Anna Eliza Robinson
Baldwin, Phoebe Ann	1803	1850	Isaac Baldwin	Esther Sealy
Baldwin, Wheeler	1793	1887	Nathan Baldwin	Agnes Brunson
Baldwin, William James	1844	1908	Caleb Clark Baldwin	Anna Eliza Robinson
Barnes, Caroline	1814		Willard Barnes	Dolly Stevens
Beach, Albert Orlando	1844	1874	Nathaniel Smith Beach	Isabel Adeline Saxton
Beach, Nathaniel Smith	1817	1885	Daniel Beach	Rachel Hoit
Beach, Thomas	1845		Nathaniel Smith Beach	Isabel Adeline Saxton
Beebee, Eliza	1849		Mr. Beebee	Margaret
Beebee, James F.	1847		Mr. Beebee	Margaret
Beebee, Mrs. Margaret	1823			
Beebee, William H.	1846		Mr. Beebee	Margaret
Beeman, Artimesia*	1819	1882	Alva Beeman	Sally Burttts
Benedict, Sarah A.	1836		Josiah Lobdel Deforest	Mary Collins
Bennion, Angeline Roberts	1847	1934	John Bennion	Esther Wainwright
Bennion, Ann	1845	1850	John Bennion	Esther Wainwright
Bennion, Hyrum	1847	1926	Samuel Bennion	Mary Bushell
Bennion, John	1786	1846	William Bennion	Elizabeth Iball (Eubale)
Bennion, John	1816	1877	John Bennion	Elizabeth Roberts
Bennion, John Rowland	1840	1899	Samuel Bennion	Mary Bushell
Bennion, Mary	1844	1933	John Bennion	Esther Wainwright
Bennion, Samuel	1818	1889	John Bennion	Elizabeth Roberts
Bennion, Samuel Roberts	1842	1915	John Bennion	Esther Wainwright
Bent, Samuel	1778	1846	Joel Bent	Marcy Mason
Bishop, Ruth	1786	1846	Newman Bishop	Mary Tuttle
Blades, Jehu (John)	1801	1878	Samuel Blades	Martha
Blades, Robert Eli	1840	1906	Jehu (John) Blades	Charity Goff
Blades, Samuel Ellis	1842	1917	Jehu (John) Blades	Charity Goff
Blanchard, Alma Moroni	1842	1913	Aseph Blanchard	Eunice E. Thompson
Blanchard, Aseph	1800	1879	John Blanchard	Clarissa Ackley
Blanchard, Ether Enoch	1846	1918	Aseph Blanchard	Eunice E. Thompson
Blanchard, Jane Elizabeth	1845	1929	Aseph Blanchard	Eunice E. Thompson
Blanchard, Junietta Charlotte	1850	1899	Aseph Blanchard	Eunice E. Thompson
Blue, Hannah	1800	1876	John Michael Blue	Margaret Dallingforce
Bonney, Maria Theresa	1817	1846		

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Bostwick, Daniel	1837		Hyrum Bostwick	Ruth
Bostwick, Hyrum	1806		Andrew Bostwick	
Bostwick, Mrs. Ruth	1806			
Bostwick, Samuel	1836		Hyrum Bostwick	Ruth
Bowen, Daniel S.	1832			
Bowen, Mary	1849		Daniel S. Bowen	Julia A.
Bowen, Mrs. Julia A.	1825			
Branch, Brother				
Brandon, David L.	1833		George Washington Brandon	Keziah Fowler
Brandon, Elizabeth Jane	1837	1897	George Washington Brandon	Keziah Fowler
Brandon, Evaline Mallisa	1846	1922	George Washington Brandon	Keziah Fowler
Brandon, George Washington	1809	1849	John Brandon	Dinah Scott
Brandon, John L.	1835		George Washington Brandon	Keziah Fowler
Brandon, Martha Frances	1842	1922	George Washington Brandon	Keziah Fowler
Brandon, Mary Caroline	1839	1898	George Washington Brandon	Keziah Fowler
Brandon, Rebecca Ann	1844	1940	George Washington Brandon	Keziah Fowler
Brandon, Thomas Jefferson	1832	1916	George Washington Brandon	Keziah Fowler
Brandon, Wilford Woodruff	1838	1900	George Washington Brandon	Keziah Fowler
Brown, Franklin	1842	1861	John M. Brown	Nancy Ann Foutz
Brown, Henry Jacob	1847	1910	John M. Brown	Nancy Ann Foutz
Brown, John S.	1826			
Brown, Mrs. Sarah E.	1835			
Buchanan, Benjamin	1830		Peter Buchanan	Anna Mathews
Buchanan, Eliza Jane	1836	1922	Peter Buchanan	Anna Mathews
Buchanan, German	1826	1900	Peter Buchanan	Anna Mathews
Buchanan, Hannah Ann	1832	1868	Peter Buchanan	Anna Mathews
Buchanan, Lucy Ellen	1843	1868	Peter Buchanan	Anna Mathews
Buchanan, Peter	1798		Peter Buchanan	Hannah Bloomer
Bundy, Permelia*	1799	1882	Moses Bundy	Naomi Bascom
Bunker, Edward	1822	1901	Silas Bunker	Hannah Berry
Bunker, Edward	1847	1915	Edward Bunker	Emily Abbott
Burckhart, Brenetta*	1810	1885	George Frederick Burckhart	Ruth Dorsey
Burton, Mary Hannah	1818	1894	Samuel Burton	Hannah Shipley
Bushell, Mary	1816	1872	John Bushell	Martha Rowland
Butler, Cynthia	1811	1852	Thomas Butler	Mary Robinson
Butler, Mary	1785	1856	Solomon Butler	Rebecca Gibson
Butler, Mary Heady	1810	1884	Charles Franklin Butler	Rebecca Silkwood
Cahoon, Andrew	1824	1900	Reynolds Cahoon	Thirsa Stiles
Callaway, Levi Hamilton	1824	1899	George M. Callaway	Lucinda Daggart
Callaway, Lucy Elizabeth	1851	1852	Levi Hamilton Callaway	Mary F. Van Buren
Card, Louisa	1838		Amasa Card	Jerusha A. Richardson
Carson, David	1827	1905	George Carson	Ann Huff
Carson, Elizabeth	1822	1898	George Carson	Ann Huff
Carson, Elizabeth Minnie	1845	1896	John Carson	Elvira Egbert
Carson, George	1794	1851	William Carson	Ruth Sherman
Carson, George	1827	1856	George Carson	Ann Huff
Carson, George Washington	1844	1912	William Huff Carson	Corilla Egbert
Carson, John	1819	1895	George Carson	Ann Huff
Carson, John	1848	1926	John Carson	Elvira Egbert

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Carson, John Alma	1839	1919	William Huff Carson	Corilla Egbert
Carson, Mary Ann	1833	1914	George Carson	Ann Huff
Carson, Mary Ann	1841	1897	William Huff Carson	Corilla Egbert
Carson, Samuel David	1847	1897	William Huff Carson	Corilla Egbert
Carson, Sarah Ann	1850	1926	John Carson	Elvira Egbert
Carson, Washington	1830	1856	George Carson	Ann Huff
Carson, William Franklin	1843	1911	John Carson	Elvira Egbert
Carson, William Huff	1818	1901	George Carson	Ann Huff
Carter, Angeline or Harriet	1847	1854	Thomas Carter	Margaret E. Meeks
Carter, Athe	1835		Thomas Carter	Margaret E. Meeks
Carter, Barnabas	1832	1886	Thomas Carter	Margaret E. Meeks
Carter, Charles	1829		Thomas Carter	Margaret E. Meeks
Carter, Eveline Lydia	1821	1898	Simeon Dagget Carter	Lydia Kenyon
Carter, Joseph A.	1849	1850	Thomas Carter	Margaret E. Meeks
Carter, Margaret Jane	1833		Thomas Carter	Margaret E. Meeks
Carter, Mary E.	1839	1850	Thomas Carter	Margaret E. Meeks
Carter, Sarah A.	1837		Thomas Carter	Margaret E. Meeks
Carter, Sarilda	1839		Thomas Carter	Margaret E. Meeks
Carter, Susanna	1844	1922	Thomas Carter	Margaret E. Meeks
Carter, Thomas	1806	1854	Barnabas Carter	Rachel Main
Carter, William L.	1847	1850	Thomas Carter	Margaret E. Meeks
Chamberlain, Polly	1812	1849	Solomon Chamberlain	Hopestill Haskins
Chapman, W.				
Chase, Alice	1846	1863	Hiram Chase	Ellen Lewis
Chase, Carlon Murray	1849	1871	Hiram Chase	Ellen Lewis
Chase, Hiram	1816	1883		
Chase, James H.	1843		Hiram Chase	Ellen Lewis
Clark, Eliza Aldula*	1806	1865	Miles Clark	Lucy Clark
Clark, Harriet Newell	1814	1907	Miles Clark	Lucy Clark
Clearwater, Lavina	1792	1872	John Clearwater	Rachel Davis
Clinger, Mary Matilda	1820	1886	Henry Clinger	Nancy Reader Ashcom
Clinger, William	1817	1851	Henry Clinger	Nancy Reader Ashcom
Cloward, James				
Clyde, Almond David	1834	1898	George Washington Clyde	Cynthia Davis
Clyde, Edward Prentis	1831	1909	George Washington Clyde	Cynthia Davis
Clyde, George Washington	1825	1899	George Washington Clyde	Cynthia Davis
Clyde, James Heber	1840	1916	George Washington Clyde	Cynthia Davis
Clyde, Lorintha	1842	1849	George Washington Clyde	Cynthia Davis
Clyde, Lucy Bethia	1836	1898	George Washington Clyde	Cynthia Davis
Clyde, Solomon D.	1827	1882	George Washington Clyde	Cynthia Davis
Clyde, William Morgan	1829	1919	George Washington Clyde	Cynthia Davis
Collins, Mary	1816			
Cooley, Janette	1836	1927	John William Cooley	Hannah Gould
Cooley, John Rancler	1843	1846	John William Cooley	Hannah Gould
Cooley, John William	1811	1898	Daniel Cooley	Mary Butler
Coon, Eli	1829	1856	Samuel Coon	Lilly Ann Rogers
Coon, Jacob	1838	1899	Samuel Coon	Lilly Ann Rogers
Coon, John	1834	1857	Samuel Coon	Lilly Ann Rogers
Coon, Lucinda	1841	1925	Samuel Coon	Lilly Ann Rogers

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Coon, Lucinda E.	1844		Samuel Coon	Lilly Ann Rogers
Coon, Mary	1831	1903	Samuel Coon	Lilly Ann Rogers
Coon, Samuel	1802	1878	George Coon	Mary Ann
Coon, Sarah Jane	1836	1922	Samuel Coon	Lilly Ann Rogers
Copeland, Anna	1786	1858	Charles Copeland	Hannah Osborne
Copeland, Charlotte	1835	1881	Jefferson Copeland	Louisa Johnson
Copeland, Jefferson	1810		Charles Copeland	Hannah Osborne
Copeland, Juletta	1845		Jefferson Copeland	Louisa Johnson
Copeland, Lydia Ann	1841		Jefferson Copeland	Louisa Johnson
Copeland, Martha	1842		Jefferson Copeland	Louisa Johnson
Coray, Marietta	1827		Silas Coray	Mary Stephens
Cowley, Ann	1829		Charles Cowley	
Creamer, Hannah Henry	1826	1891	Jacob Creamer	Anna Elizabeth Reed
Critchlow, Benjamin C.	1835	1924	William Coe Critchlow	Harriet Hawkins
Critchlow, Charlotte Rhoda	1837	1893	William Coe Critchlow	Harriet Hawkins
Critchlow, William Coe	1809	1894	David Critchlow	Margaret Coe
Critchlow, William Fuller	1839	1906	William Coe Critchlow	Harriet Hawkins
Crooks, Agnes	1845		Thomas Crooks	Jane Cribis
Crooks, Elizabeth	1834	1912	Thomas Crooks	Elizabeth Beard
Crooks, George	1825	1906	Thomas Crooks	Elizabeth Beard
Crooks, James	1823	1914	Thomas Crooks	Elizabeth Beard
Crooks, James	1844		Thomas Crooks	Jane Cribis
Crooks, Jenette	1821	1879	Thomas Crooks	Elizabeth Beard
Crooks, Sophia	1827	1899	Thomas Crooks	Elizabeth Beard
Crooks, Thomas	1791	1872	Thomas Crooks	Sophia Anderson
Crooks, Thomas	1816	1896	Thomas Crooks	Elizabeth Beard
Crosby, Alma	1836	1897	Jonathan Crosby	Caroline Barnes
Crosby, David Harland	1837	1903	David Barnes Crosby	Maria Thompson
Crosby, Emily Maria	1841	1919	David Barnes Crosby	Maria Thompson
Crosby, Jonathan	1807	1892		
Crosby, William Harvey	1836	1911	David Barnes Crosby	Maria Thompson
Cummings, Rhoda E.	1784		John Cummins	Sarah Sibley
Curtis, Dorr Purdy	1819	1904	Beriah Curtis	Phebe Purdy
Davis, Amasa J.	1827	1921	William Davis	Phebe Whitaker
Davis, Asabel	1821	1849	William Davis	Phebe Whitaker
Davis, Barny				
Davis, Charles M.	1825	1860	John Davis	Mary Reed
Davis, Cynthia	1806	1874	Ezekiel Davis	Bethia Grandy
Davis, Ebenezer	1831	1875	John Davis	Mary Reed
Davis, Elizabeth	1797	1885	Reuben Davis	Mary Abbott
Davis, Ellen	1835		John Davis	Mary Reed
Davis, Enoch	1827		James Davis	Margaret E. Meeks
Davis, Enoch William	1849	1895	William Luce Davis	American Jane Overlin
Davis, Enos B.	1816	1908	William Davis	
Davis, Harmon	1842		William Davis	Phebe Whitaker
Davis, Henry	1844		John Davis	Mary Reed
Davis, Homer	1851		Enos B. Davis	Mary Anthony
Davis, Isaac	1840		William Davis	Phebe Whitaker
Davis, James	1847	1936	William Luce Davis	American Jane Overlin

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Davis, John	1797	1879	Ephraim Davis	Lydia Conant
Davis, John Meeks	1823	1896	James Davis	Margaret E. Meeks
Davis, Lehi	1838	1862	John Davis	Mary Reed
Davis, Lydia Ann	1827	1915	John Davis	Mary Reed
Davis, Margaret Maria	1846	1920	William Luce Davis	American Jane Overlin
Davis, Maria Louise	1812	1847	James Davis	Miranda Jones
Davis, Martha Jane	1847	1925	John Meeks Davis	Elizabeth Abshire
Davis, Mary A.	1844		Enos B. Davis	Mary Anthony
Davis, Merrick	1844		William Davis	Phebe Whitaker
Davis, Mrs. Ruth	1805	1874		
Davis, Nephi	1838	1879	John Davis	Mary Reed
Davis, Sarah	1838		William Davis	Phebe Whitaker
Davis, Susan	1801			
Davis, Sylvester	1836		William Davis	Phebe Whitaker
Davis, William	1792	1864		
Davis, William Luce	1821	1852	James Davis	Margaret E. Meeks
Dayton, Alma Theodore	1846	1933	Hyrum Dayton	Sophia Lance
Dayton, Hyrum*	1798	1881	Friend Dayton	Ann Herrington
Dayton, Lauvura Myril	1839	1877	Hyrum Dayton	Permelia Bundy
Dayton, Lysander	1827	1905	Hyrum Dayton	Permelia Bundy
Dayton, Moroni	1834	1903	Hyrum Dayton	Permelia Bundy
Dayton, Moses Bundy	1831	1847	Hyrum Dayton	Permelia Bundy
Dayton, Myriah	1830	1890	Hyrum Dayton	Permelia Bundy
Dayton, William Wallace	1832	1887	Hyrum Dayton	Permelia Bundy
Deforest, Josiah Lobdel	1820			
Deforest, Mary E.	1847		Josiah Lobdel Deforest	Mary Collins
Denmon, Jane	1804	1863	Thomas Denmon	Jane
Derby, Erastus Herman	1801	1890	Edward Derby	Ruth Hitchcock
Derby, Freeman	1836	1910	Erastus Herman Derby	Ruhama B. Knowlton
Derby, Louis Phillip	1844	1923	Erastus Herman Derby	Ruhama B. Knowlton
Derby, Martha	1845		Thomas Derby	Martha Badger
Derby, Polly	1813	1898	John Derby	Sarah Currier
Derby, Ruhamah Ruth	1846		Erastus Herman Derby	Ruhama B. Knowlton
Derby, Sidney Algernon	1838	1879	Erastus Herman Derby	Ruhama B. Knowlton
Derby, Thomas	1812		Edward Derby	Ruth Hitchcock
Derby, Thomas Levi	1847	1849	Thomas Derby	Martha Badger
Dimick, Albert Stanley	1832	1866	Thomas Jefferson Dimick	Mary Ann Gates
Dimick, Alma	1847	1862	Thomas Jefferson Dimick	Mary Ann Gates
Dimick, Eliza	1844	1870	Thomas Jefferson Dimick	Mary Ann Gates
Dimick, Ephriam	1833	1917	Thomas Jefferson Dimick	Mary Ann Gates
Dimick, James Heber	1839	1913	Thomas Jefferson Dimick	Mary Ann Gates
Dimick, Moroni	1847	1893	Thomas Jefferson Dimick	Mary Ann Gates
Dimick, Syntha	1830	1891	Thomas Jefferson Dimick	Mary Ann Gates
Dimick, Thomas Jefferson	1805	1882	Ephraim Jefferson Dimick	Cynthia Ann Couch
Doane, Thomas	1763			
Draper, Mary Caroline	1810	1885	Thomas Draper	Mary Mosier
Drury, Charles Horatio	1825	1859	Joel Drury	Tirzah Winters
Drury, Joel	1797	1854	Zachariah Drury	Ruth Sawyer
Drury, Permelia Handmore	1821	1892	Joel Drury	Tirzah Winters

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Drury, Ruth Sawyer	1819	1871	Joel Drury	Tirzah Winters
Durfee, Elizabeth	1828	1850	Perry Durfee	Ruth McBride
Durfee, Ether	1836	1910	Perry Durfee	Ruth McBride
Durfee, Hannah	1833	1864	Perry Durfee	Ruth McBride
Durfee, Miles	1843		Perry Durfee	Jane Denmon
Durfee, Moroni	1838	1896	Perry Durfee	Ruth McBride
Durfee, Perry	1797	1872	Perry Durfee	Annie Salisbury
Durfee, Perry III	1830	1847	Perry Durfee	Ruth McBride
Durfee, Ruth	1847		Perry Durfee	Jane Denmon
Durfee, Tamma	1813	1885	Edmond Durfee	Magdalena Pickle
Egbert, Corilla	1820	1854	John Egbert	Susannah Hahn
Egbert, Elvira	1822	1908	John Egbert	Susannah Hahn
Evans, Arial	1842		Horace Evans	Candace Judd
Evans, Horace	1810			
Evans, John	1842		Horace Evans	Candace Judd
Evans, Laura M.	1847		Horace Evans	Candace Judd
Evans, Merrill	1844		Horace Evans	Candace Judd
Evans, Oscar Marion	1837	1919	Horace Evans	Candace Judd
Ewing, Elizabeth Ann	1830	1908	Alexander Ewing	Sarah Ann Lehman
Ewing, Thomas Bradford	1828	1908	Alexander Ewing	Sarah Ann Lehman
Farrer, Margaret	1832	1861	Roger Farrer	Mary Stubbs
Farrer, Mary	1844	1852	Roger Farrer	Mary Stubbs
Farrer, Roger	1795	1887	Thomas Farrer	Jane Graveson
Farrer, Roger	1838	1914	Roger Farrer	Mary Stubbs
Farrer, Thomas	1829	1909	Roger Farrer	Mary Stubbs
Fenton, Eunice	1767	1848	Ebenezer Fenton, Jr.	Sarah Dunham
Foutz, Catherine	1831	1918	Jacob Foutz	Margaret Mann
Foutz, Elizabeth	1827	1910	Jacob Foutz	Margaret Mann
Foutz, Jacob	1800	1848	John Foutz	Elizabeth Hinkle
Foutz, Jacob	1844	1917	Jacob Foutz	Margaret Mann
Foutz, Joseph Lehi	1837	1907	Jacob Foutz	Margaret Mann
Foutz, Margaret D.	1839	1890	Jacob Foutz	Margaret Mann
Foutz, Nancy Ann	1826	1896	Jacob Foutz	Margaret Mann
Fowkes , Susannah (Houghton)	1821	1858	Samuel Fowkes	Martha Houghton
Fowler, Keziah	1815	1899	George H. Fowler	Rebecca Stillwell
Fullmer, David*	1803	1879	Peter Fullmer	Susannah Zerfass
Fullmer, David	1847	1922	David Fullmer	Rhoda Ann Marvin
Fullmer, Elvira Martha	1839	1915	David Fullmer	Rhoda Ann Marvin
Fullmer, Eugene Bertrand	1833	1899	David Fullmer	Rhoda Ann Marvin
Fullmer, Hannibal Octavius	1837	1909	David Fullmer	Rhoda Ann Marvin
Fullmer, Hortensia Jane	1842	1853	David Fullmer	Rhoda Ann Marvin
Fullmer, Junius Sextus	1835	1888	David Fullmer	Rhoda Ann Marvin
Fullmer, Rhoda Ann	1846	1917	David Fullmer	Rhoda Ann Marvin
Fullmer, Sarah Jane	1847	1883	David Fullmer	Sarah S. Oysterbanks
Fullmer, Susannah	1844	1916	David Fullmer	Rhoda Ann Marvin
Gates, Mary Ann	1810	1898	James Gates	Marcia Westover
Gaulter, Lewis (Louis)	1817	1913	Loren Gaulter	
Gaylord, Altamira	1816	1883	John Gaylord	Joanna Bagg
Gibson, Amy	1838	1898	Benjamin Gibson	Phoebe Whipple

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Gibson, Benjamin	1805	1887	Henry Gibson	Diana Pearson
Gibson, Jane	1842	1929	Benjamin Gibson	Phoebe Whipple
Gibson, Mary Jane	1840	1902	Benjamin Gibson	Phoebe Whipple
Green, Elizabeth	1848	1849	Job Edward Green	Florette Pierce
Green, Ellen	1849	1850	Job Edward Green	Florette Pierce
Green, Ephraim	1848	1922	Job Edward Green	Florette Pierce
Green, Job Edward	1812	1876	William Greene	Nancy Wright
Green, Julia M.	1843	1846	Job Edward Green	Florette Pierce
Green, Sanford	1851	1933	Job Edward Green	Florette Pierce
Green, William Riley	1836	1912	Job Edward Green	Florette Pierce
Gregg, Urania	1826	1867	John Gregg	Elizabeth Roberts
Gregory, Sarah Ann	1823	1908	William Gregory	Electa Ann Fellows
Griffith, George Andrew	1849	1934	Patison Delos Griffith	Elizabeth Carson
Griffith, Patison Delos	1824	1901	Judah Griffeth	Maria Rockwell
Griffith, Phebe Ann	1847	1891	Patison Delos Griffith	Elizabeth Carson
Griffiths, Elizabeth	1843	1872	Joseph Griffiths	Ann Roberts
Griffiths, Joseph	1816	1860	William Griffiths	Elizabeth Parry
Griffiths, Mary	1845	1917	Joseph Griffiths	Ann Roberts
Griffiths, William	1845	1847	Joseph Griffiths	Ann Roberts
Haight, Catherine Adelia	1820	1866	Caleb Haight	Keturah Horton
Hale, Mary Ann*	1827	1910	Samuel Hale	Mary Ann Cook
Hales, Charles Henry	1817	1889	Stephen Hales	Mary Ann Hales
Hales, Charles Henry	1848	1907	Charles Henry Hales	Julia Ann Lockwood
Hales, Eliza Ann	1840	1899	Charles Henry Hales	Julia Ann Lockwood
Hales, George	1822	1907	Stephen Hales	Mary Ann Hales
Hales, George Gillett	1844	1907	Charles Henry Hales	Julia Ann Lockwood
Hales, Harriet Electa	1846	1937	George Hales	Sarah Ann Gregory
Hales, Henry William	1829	1909	Stephen Hales	Mary Ann Hales
Hales, Joseph	1845	1849	Stephen Hales, Jr.	Eveline Lydia Carter
Hales, Joseph Lockwood	1851	1923	Charles Henry Hales	Julia Ann Lockwood
Hales, Julia Ardence	1842	1919	Charles Henry Hales	Julia Ann Lockwood
Hales, Lorain	1848	1850	Stephen Hales, Jr.	Eveline Lydia Carter
Hales, Mary Ann	1799	1851	Henry Hales	Hannah Kitney
Hales, Mary Ann	1844	1870	George Hales	Sarah Ann Gregory
Hales, Mary Isabella	1846	1866	Charles Henry Hales	Julia Ann Lockwood
Hales, Olive Isabella	1848	1848	George Hales	Sarah Ann Gregory
Hales, Sara Jane	1850	1852	George Hales	Sarah Ann Gregory
Hales, Stephen Jr.	1820	1881	Stephen Hales	Mary Ann Hales
Hales, Stephen	1849	1916	Stephen Hales, Jr.	Eveline Lydia Carter
Hales, Stephen Alexander	1851	1927	Henry William Hales	Elizabeth Ann Ewing
Hall, David	1829	1903	William Hall	Anna Copeland
Hall, Elijah	1803	1886	William Hall	Anna Copeland
Hall, Miles William	1825	1906	William Hall	Anna Copeland
Harris, Rebecca	1845	1929	Emmer Harris	Polly Chamberlain
Harvey, Melvina*	1811	1882	Joel Harvey	Betsy Bowen
Harvey, Susan*	1808		Joel Harvey	Betsy Bowen
Hawkes, Amos	1838	1911	Joseph Bryant Hawkes	Phoebe Ann Baldwin
Hawkes, Joseph Bryant	1799	1862	Joshua Hawkes	Lucy Bryant
Hawkes, Joshua	1836	1914	Joseph Bryant Hawkes	Sophonra Alvord

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Hawkes, Lucy Alvord	1829	1888	Joseph Bryant Hawkes	Sophronia Alvord
Hawkes, Seth P.	1846	1847	Joseph Bryant Hawkes	Phoebe Ann Baldwin
Hawkins, Harriet	1805	1887	Calib Hawkins	Sarah Griffiths
Helser, Amelia Harriet	1847	1934	Joshua Helser	Mary Matilda Clinger
Helser, Joshua	1812	1904	John Helser	Lydia
Helser, Lovina M.	1843	1928	Joshua Helser	Mary Matilda Clinger
Helser, Lydia Ann	1842	1940	Joshua Helser	Mary Matilda Clinger
Henderson, John Marr	1810		Samuel Henderson	Mary (Polly) Goforth
Henderson, Joseph S.	1845		John Marr Henderson	Elizabeth Jane O'Haver
Henderson, Male	1846	1846	Samuel Goforth Henderson	Marietta Coray
Henderson, Mary (Polly)*	1832	1910	Samuel Henderson	Elizabeth Harris
Henderson, Mary Jane	1848		John Marr Henderson	Elizabeth Jane O'Haver
Henderson, Phillip	1833	1887	John Marr Henderson	Elizabeth Jane O'Haver
Henderson, Rachel	1839	1922	John Marr Henderson	Elizabeth Jane O'Haver
Henderson, Samuel F.	1835		John Marr Henderson	Elizabeth Jane O'Haver
Henderson, Samuel Goforth	1820	1904	Samuel Henderson	Mary (Polly) Goforth
Hendrickson, Cornelius	1796	1869	Nicholas Hendrickson	Catherine Mechann
Hendrickson, Cornelius M.	1835	1863	Cornelius Hendrickson	Elizabeth Mary Thomas
Hendrickson, Elvira Eliza	1850	1926	Nicholas Hendrickson	Diana Elizabeth Kelsey
Hendrickson, Frances Anna	1848	1925	Nicholas Hendrickson	Diana Elizabeth Kelsey
Hendrickson, James Thomas	1822		Cornelius Hendrickson	Elizabeth Mary Thomas
Hendrickson, Lucinda	1835		Cornelius Hendrickson	Elizabeth Mary Thomas
Hendrickson, Nicholas	1820	1897	Cornelius Hendrickson	Elizabeth Mary Thomas
Hendrickson, William	1816		Cornelius Hendrickson	Elizabeth Mary Thomas
Hickman, Brennetta Walters	1847	1941	William Adams Hickman	Brenetta Burckhart
Hickman, Caroline	1834		William Adams Hickman	Brenetta Burckhart
Hickman, Edwin Thomas	1839		William Adams Hickman	Brenetta Burckhart
Hickman, Elizabeth Ellen	1833	1914	William Adams Hickman	Brenetta Burckhart
Hickman, Ellen	1837		William Adams Hickman	Brenetta Burckhart
Hickman, Henry	1846		William Adams Hickman	Brenetta Burckhart
Hickman, Joshua	1843		William Adams Hickman	Brenetta Burckhart
Hickman, Sarah Catherine	1835	1914	William Adams Hickman	Brenetta Burckhart
Hickman, William Adams*	1815	1883	Edwin Temple Hickman	Elizabeth Adams
Hickman, William George	1844	1912	William Adams Hickman	Brenetta Burckhart
Hite, Mary A.	1839	1930	William Hite	Nancy Irvin
Hite, Miss	1822		William Hite	Nancy Irvin
Hoke, Juliana	1798	1864	Lorenz Hoke	Christina F.Hartmann
Holcomb, Delucia*	1813	1850	Nathan Davis Holcomb	Daphne Clark
Holland, John	1836	1925	William Holland	Sarah Tomlinson
Hollister, Johanna	1835	1916	John Hollister	Lavina Clearwater
Hollister, Rachel Catherine	1831	1921	John Hollister	Lavina Clearwater
Hoopes, Elisha	1813	1887	Jonathan Hoopes	Rebecca Watts
Hoopes, Father				
Hoopes, Joseph Christian	1842	1906	Elisha Hoopes	Elizabeth Whan Treep
Hoopes, Rebecca Jane	1845	1910	Elisha Hoopes	Elizabeth Whan Treep
Hoskins, Cynthia	1805	1886	Jeremiah Hoskins	Mary Scott
Hoskins, Josiah	1849	1933	Oliver Cromwell Hoskins	Lucinda Howell
Hoskins, Oliver Cromwell	1827	1905	Elza Ebray Hoskins	Mary Hall
Hoskins, Susannah	1813		Jeremiah Hoskins	Mary Scott

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Howell, Lucinda	1825	1913	James Howell, Sr.	Jane Copeland
Hoyt, Israel	1828	1883	James Hoyt	Beulah Sabin
Huff, Lydia	1789	1874	Isaac Huff	Sarah Tripp
Huff or Hough, Ann	1794	1869	Jonathan Hough	Ann Barton
Hunt, Benoni Smith	1837	1918	Daniel Durham Hunt	Nancy Davis
Hunt, Daniel Durham	1797	1866		
Hunt, Daniel Whitamon	1840	1919	Daniel Durham Hunt	Nancy Davis
Hunt, James Wiseman	1832		Daniel Durham Hunt	Nancy Davis
Hunt, John Alexander	1830	1913	Daniel Durham Hunt	Nancy Davis
Hunt, Levi Bunyan	1835	1890	Daniel Durham Hunt	Nancy Davis
Hunt, Nancy Johanna P.	1842	1909	Daniel Durham Hunt	Nancy Davis
Hunt, Susan Jane	1829	1908	Daniel Durham Hunt	Nancy Davis
Hunter, Agnes	1811	1886	David Hunter	Ann Collins
Jackson, Abigail Mindwell	1808	1883	James Jackson	Deborah Hendricks
Jackson, Emaline	1799		James Jackson	Deborah Hendricks
Janes, Henrietta	1835	1917	Josiah Janes	Asenath Slafter
Jarman, Catherine	1804			
Jewett, Cynthia Jane	1844	1933	Samuel Jewett	Sophia Lance
Johnson, Aaron*	1806	1877	Didymus Johnson	Ruhama Stevens
Johnson, Benjamin Franklin*	1818	1905	Ezekiel Johnson	Julia Ellis Hills
Johnson, Benjamin Franklin, Jr.	1842	1884	Benjamin Franklin Johnson	Melissa B. Le Baron
Johnson, Emma Marie	1836	1897	Aaron Johnson	Polly Zerviah Kelsey
Johnson, Eunice Lucinda	1835	1873	Lorenzo Johnson	Mary Lyman
Johnson, Harriet Fidelia	1837	1919	Lorenzo Johnson	Mary Lyman
Johnson, John Wesley	1839	1891	Lorenzo Johnson	Mary Lyman
Johnson, Julia Dedamia	1845	1918	Benjamin Franklin Johnson	Melissa B. Le Baron
Johnson, Julia Maria	1842	1915	Lorenzo Johnson	Mary Lyman
Johnson, Lorenzo	1813	1871	Didymus Johnson	Ruhama Stevens
Johnson, Louisa	1814			
Johnson, Marilla Lucretia*	1830	1918	Aaron Johnson	Polly Zerviah Kelsey
Johnson, Mary Ann*	1831	1915	Lorenzo Johnson	Mary Lyman
Johnson, Melissa Almera	1843	1926	Benjamin Franklin Johnson	Melissa B. Le Baron
Johnson, Sarah Mariah*	1824	1850	Lorenzo Johnson	Mary Lyman
Johnson, William Didymus	1833	1910	Lorenzo Johnson	Mary Lyman
Johnson, Willis Kelsey	1828	1850	Aaron Johnson	Polly Zerviah Kelsey
Johnston, Sarah	1816	1892	Arthur Johnston	Sarah McGee
Judd, Candace	1820			
Judd, Mary	1817	1886	John Judd	Rhoda Shepherd
Karren, Catherine	1836	1910	Thomas Karren	Ann Ratcliff
Karren, Charles Hopkins	1849	1929	Thomas Karren	Ann Ratcliff
Karren, Hyrum	1844	1928	Thomas Karren	Ann Ratcliff
Karren, John	1834	1904	Thomas Karren	Ann Ratcliff
Karren, Lydia	1838	1865	Thomas Karren	Ann Ratcliff
Karren, Thomas	1810	1876	Thomas William Karren	Catherine Clark
Karren, Thomas	1840	1903	Thomas Karren	Ann Ratcliff
Kellogg, Eugene Ozro	1841	1854	Ozro Northrup Kellogg	Harriet Newell Clark
Kellogg, Florence	1852	1931	Ozro Northrup Kellogg	Harriet Newell Clark
Kellogg, Homer Pearl	1838		Ozro Northrup Kellogg	Harriet Newell Clark
Kellogg, Josephine	1849	1940	Ozro Northrup Kellogg	Harriet Newell Clark

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Kellogg, Murray Mirabeau	1846	1912	Ozro Northrup Kellogg	Harriet Newell Clark
Kellogg, Ozro Northrup	1816	1855	Pearl Kellogg	Lucy Maria Northrup
Kelly, Frances	1816	1871	Samell Kelly	Miss Cross
Kelsey, Diana Elizabeth	1827	1900	Samuel Alexander P. Kelsey	Jennett Averett
Kelsey, Polly Zerviah*	1808	1850	Jonathan Kelsey	Polly Parmelee
King, Catherine S.	1829			
King, John				
Kington, Eleanor Caroline	1848	1866	Thomas Kington	Margaret Pisel
Kington, Mary Ann	1846	1846	Thomas Kington	Margaret Pisel
Kington, Ruthy Ann	1844	1850	Thomas Kington	Margaret Pisel
Kington, Thomas	1794	1874	Thomas Kington	Elonor Bowen
Kington, Thomas Emmanuell	1849	1849	Thomas Kington	Margaret Pisel
Kinney, Elizabeth	1805	1892	Aaron Kinney	Mary Pearce
Klingensmith, Moroni	1845	1867	Phillip Klingensmith	Hannah Henry Creamer
Klingensmith, Phillip	1815		Phillip Klingensmith, Sr.	Mary Anderson
Klingensmith, Sarah Ann	1842	1899	Phillip Klingensmith	Hannah Henry Creamer
Knapp, Charles Maurice	1835		Zelotus W. Knapp	Anne Baker
Knapp, Edward Young	1838		Zelotus W. Knapp	Anne Baker
Knapp, Lucretia	1841		Zelotus W. Knapp	Anne Baker
Knapp, Mary	1850	1879	Zelotus W. Knapp	Anne Baker
Knapp, Samuel Baker	1836		Zelotus W. Knapp	Anne Baker
Knapp, Thomas Jefferson	1833		Zelotus W. Knapp	Anne Baker
Knapp, Zelotus W.	1804			
Knowlton, Ruhama B.	1817	1886	Sidney Algernon Knowlton	Harriet Burnham
Lake, Elisha	1823		Johnson Lake	Mary Willis
Lake, Eliza	1825	1908	Johnson Lake	Mary Willis
Lake, Esther	1833		Johnson Lake	Mary Willis
Lake, Johnson	1785			
Lake, Lucretia	1831		Johnson Lake	Mary Willis
Lake, Sarah	1838		Johnson Lake	Mary Willis
Lake, Solomon	1836	1926	Johnson Lake	Mary Willis
Lake, Johnson Jr.	1826		Johnson Lake	Mary Willis
Lamb, America	1835	1893	Benjamin P. Lamb	Carlotta Atkins
Lamb, Benjamin P.	1801	1876	Henry F. Lamb	Ruth Pendington
Lamb, Erastus	1804	1852	Daniel Lamb	Prudence Fox
Lamb, Harriet Laura	1830	1899	Erastus Lamb	Abigail M. Jackson
Lamb, Henry Franklin	1833	1853	Benjamin P. Lamb	Carlotta Atkins
Lamb, Hiram	1831	1914	Benjamin P. Lamb	Carlotta Atkins
Lamb, James Jackson	1835	1896	Erastus Lamb	Abigail M. Jackson
Lamb, John	1846		Benjamin P. Lamb	Olive West
Lamb, Josiah Marshall	1843		Benjamin P. Lamb	Carlotta Atkins
Lamb, Laura M.	1847	1916	Benjamin P. Lamb	Olive West
Lamb, Leonadus Taylor	1847	1900	Benjamin P. Lamb	Olive West
Lamb, Marietta	1845		Benjamin P. Lamb	Olive West
Lamb, Matilda Jane	1841		Benjamin P. Lamb	Carlotta Atkins
Lamb, Polly Emaline	1842	1908	Erastus Lamb	Abigail M. Jackson
Lamb, Suel J.	1833	1913	Erastus Lamb	Abigail M. Jackson
Lamb, Thomas Jefferson	1839	1920	Benjamin P. Lamb	Carlotta Atkins
Lamb, William	1837	1879	Benjamin P. Lamb	Carlotta Atkins

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth</u> <u>Year</u>	<u>Death</u> <u>Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Lampard, Hannah Maria	1800	1868	William Lampard	Hannah Steadman/Little
Lance, Sophia*	1825	1861	Samuel Lance	Marie Louise Allard
Langley, Johnson	1799			
Langley, Solomon J.	1830		Johnson Langley	Emaline Jackson
Lazell, Nancy Mason	1805		John Lazell	Lydia Burk
Le Baron, Melissa Bloomfield*	1817	1860	David Le Baron	Lydia Ann Batchelder
Lehman, Sarah Ann	1803	1867	Joseph Leighman	Anna Streegaper
Lewis, Ellen	1818	1910		
Lewis, Philip Bessom	1804	1877	Edmond Lewis	Abigail
Lightener, Mary Ann Little	1803		James Lightener	Mary Ann
Littlefield, Lyman Omer	1822			
Lockwood, Julia Ann	1824	1903	George or Joseph Lockwood	Annis Gillett
Losee, Lydia Margaret	1837	1921	David Loosee	Lydia Huff
Losee, Matilda	1837	1921	David Loosee	Lydia Huff
Losee, Sarah	1831	1909	David Loosee	Lydia Huff
Loveridge, Fanny Marilla	1823	1856	Ambrose Loveridge	Phylinda Marsh
Loveridge, Phylinda Sylvia	1819	1851	Ambrose Loveridge	Phylinda Marsh
Luce, Sarah Elizabeth* Luke	1828	1909	Stephen Luce	Mary Ann Wheeler
Lyman, Mary	1811	1904	Samuel Lyman	Hannah Mitchell
Mackley, Elizabeth	1833		John Mackley	Elizabeth West
Mackley, John	1796	1871	John Mackley	Deborah Reed
Mackley, Julia Ann	1792		John Mackley	Deborah Reed
Mahoney, Bartholomew	1803	1863	Jeremiah Mahoney	Eleanor Owens/Beaston
Mann, Margaret	1801	1896	David Mann	Mary Rock
Marriott, John	1817	1899	John Marriott	Frances Parish
Marriott, John	1846	1927	John Marriott	Susannah Fowkes
Marriott, Lorenzo	1844	1922	John Marriott	Susannah Fowkes
Marvin, Rhoda Ann*	1813	1892	Zera Marvin	Rhoda Williams
Mathews, Anna	1803	1891	Benjamin Mathews	Maritable Miller
McArthur, Duncan*	1796	1864	John McArthur	Margaret Aiken
McArthur, Emeline Jannette	1832	1850	Duncan McArthur	Susan McKeen
McArthur, Joseph Smith	1846	1846	Duncan McArthur	Susan McKeen
McArthur, Suzan Armanda	1843	1913	Duncan McArthur	Susan McKeen
McArthur, Washington Perry	1824	1879	Duncan McArthur	Susan McKeen
McBride, Amos Evans	1802	1885	Thomas White McBride	Catherine John
McBride, Amos M.	1838		Amos Evans McBride	Hannah Johnson
McBride, Catherine	1840		Amos Evans McBride	Hannah Johnson
McBride, James	1830		Amos Evans McBride	Hannah Johnson
McBride, Thomas	1832	1911	Amos Evans McBride	Hannah Johnson
McBride, William	1836		Amos Evans McBride	Hannah Johnson
McBroom, James G.	1852	1886	Robert M. McBroom	Susanna Winters
McBroom, Robert M. McCaney, James	1824			
McCann, Brigham	1846	1868	Thomas Ravenhill McCann	Sarah Johnston
McCann, Joseph Nephi	1844	1889	Thomas Ravenhill McCann	Sarah Johnston
McCann, Thomas Ravenhill	1814	1882	Bernard or Barnabus McCann	Jane Ravenhill
McEvers, Harriet	1808	1876	Charles McEvers	Tamma Knapp

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
McKeen, Susan*	1801	1866	Daniel McKeen	Sarah Libby
McKinney, Hugh	1803	1885	James McKinney	Mary
McKinney, Hugh	1840		Hugh McKinney	Sarah Ann Lehman
McKinney, Jacob Lehman	1843	1920	Hugh McKinney	Sarah Ann Lehman
McKinney, James	1835	1862	Hugh McKinney	Sarah Ann Lehman
McKinney, Joseph Edson	1846		Hugh McKinney	Sarah Ann Lehman
McKinney, Sarah Jane	1838	1915	Hugh McKinney	Sarah Ann Lehman
McKinney, Thomas Henry	1837		Hugh McKinney	Sarah Ann Lehman
McKinney, William	1833		Hugh McKinney	Sarah Ann Lehman
Meacham, Brigham	1847	1920	Lewis Meacham	Lydia Knight Wells
Meacham, Elmira Ann	1844	1919	Lewis Meacham	Lydia Knight Wells
Meacham, Emeline or Julia	1837	1898	Lewis Meacham	Lydia Knight Wells
Meacham, Emma Maria	1840	1923	Ephraim Meacham	Polly Derby
Meacham, Ephraim	1808	1891	Joshua Meacham	Permelia Chapman
Meacham, Hyrum Moroni	1842	1917	Ephraim Meacham	Polly Derby
Meacham, Joshua Josiah	1842	1923	Lewis Meacham	Lydia Knight Wells
Meacham, Lewis	1812	1895	Joshua Meacham	Permelia Chapman
Meacham, Lewis	1835	1907	Ephraim Meacham	Polly Derby
Meacham, Lydia Knight	1849	1928	Lewis Meacham	Lydia Knight Wells
Meacham, Margaret Maria	1840	1909	Lewis Meacham	Lydia Knight Wells
Meacham, Martha Jane	1852	1927	Lewis Meacham	Lydia Knight Wells
Meacham, Melissa	1845	1846	Lewis Meacham	Lydia Knight Wells
Meacham, Permelia	1832	1911	Ephraim Meacham	Polly Derby
Meacham, Sarah Ann	1844	1847	Ephraim Meacham	Polly Derby
Meeks, Margaret E.	1804	1889	Athe Meeks	Margaret/Virginia Sneed
Merrell, Alonzo Clark	1831	1906	Hosea Merrell	Mary Amy Saxton
Merrell, Edna Maria	1828	1896	Hosea Merrell	Mary Amy Saxton
Merrell, Hosea	1802	1864	Simeon Merrell	Ruth Webster
Merrell, John Elwin	1841	1909	Hosea Merrell	Mary Amy Saxton
Merrell, Joseph Jackson	1832	1853	Hosea Merrell	Mary Amy Saxton
Merrell, Porter William	1846	1884	Hosea Merrell	Mary Amy Saxton
Merrell, Sarah Jerusha	1827	1897	Hosea Merrell	Mary Amy Saxton
Merrell, Silas Jerome	1843	1915	Hosea Merrell	Mary Amy Saxton
Middleton, Charles Franklin	1834	1915	William Middleton	Mary Heady Butler
Middleton, Joseph	1844	1853	William Middleton	Mary Heady Butler
Middleton, Lucinda	1841	1847	William Middleton	Mary Heady Butler
Middleton, Rachel Jane	1838	1890	William Middleton	Mary Heady Butler
Middleton, Reuben	1832		William Middleton	Mary Heady Butler
Middleton, William	1810	1889	Reuben Washburn Middleton	Elizabeth Morgan
Miller, Elizabeth	1849	1920	John Miller	Jenette Crooks
Miller, George S.	1844		William Miller	Phebe Scott
Miller, Heber C.	1845		William Miller	Phebe Scott
Miller, Henry	1845	1923	John Miller	Jenette Crooks
Miller, John	1820	1856	Henry Miller	Mary Adamson
Miller, Mary Jane	1850	1912	John Miller	Jenette Crooks
Miller, Rebecca Scott	1846		William Miller	Phebe Scott
Miller, Thomas	1846	1900	John Miller	Jenette Crooks
Miller, William*	1814	1875	Seth Miller	Martha Tilden
Miner, Alma Lindsay	1841	1912	Albert Miner	Tamma Durfee

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Miner, Don Carlos Smith	1843	1902	Albert Miner	Tamma Durfee
Miner, Matilda	1840	1909	Albert Miner	Tamma Durfee
Miner, Mormon	1837	1918	Albert Miner	Tamma Durfee
Miner, Moroni	1835	1935	Albert Miner	Tamma Durfee
Miner, Orson	1833	1851	Albert Miner	Tamma Durfee
Miner, Polly	1832	1896	Albert Miner	Tamma Durfee
Moffet, Alfred W.	1824	1905	Zelotus Moffet	Sophronia Brocket
Moffet, Asenath Jane	1848	1866	Alfred W. Moffet	Lydia Ann Wright
Moffet, Irene	1849		Alfred W. Moffet	Lydia Ann Wright
Moffet, William Zelotus	1851	1907	Alfred W. Moffet	Lydia Ann Wright
Monroe, Joshua R.	1819			
Monroe, Mrs. Amanda	1821			
Morehead, Sarah Ann Jane	1817	1902	Joseph Morehead	Jane Storey Jenkins
Morgan, Harriet Eliza	1824	1922		
Morgan, Josiah	1805	1866	Uriah Morgan	Sarah Prickett
Morgan, Josiah	1850	1926	Josiah Morgan	Susannah Hoskins
Morgan, Nancy E.	1839		Josiah Morgan	Susannah Hoskins
Morgan, Phylene	1842		Josiah Morgan	Susannah Hoskins
Morgan, Uriah	1834		Josiah Morgan	Susannah Hoskins
Morgan, Wickford	1837	1914	Josiah Morgan	Susannah Hoskins
Morgan, Zadock Springer	1845		Josiah Morgan	Susannah Hoskins
Morrill, Horatio	1845	1888	Laban Morrill	Permelia H. Drury
Morrill, John	1848	1939	Laban Morrill	Permelia H. Drury
Morrill, Laban	1814	1900	Abner Morrill	Mary Carpenter
Munro, Elen Almira	1844		Henry Munro	Lovina or Jane Palmer
Munro, Esther Ann	1839	1910	Henry Munro	Lovina or Jane Palmer
Munro, Fanny Lucinda	1842	1909	Henry Munro	Lovina or Jane Palmer
Munro, Henry	1792	1847		
Munro, Henry Brigham	1846		Henry Munro	Lovina or Jane Palmer
Munro, Phoebe Malissa	1841		Henry Munro	Lovina or Jane Palmer
Munro, William Charles	1835	1901	Henry Munro	Lovina or Jane Palmer
Murdock, Daniel Hall	1839	1911	Levi Murdock	Elizabeth Campbell
Murdock, Electa	1841	1887	Levi Murdock	Elizabeth Campbell
Murdock, Elizabeth	1835	1902	Levi Murdock	Elizabeth Campbell
Murdock, Eunice	1831	1912	Levi Murdock	Elizabeth Campbell
Murdock, Harvey	1833	1912	Levi Murdock	Elizabeth Campbell
Murdock, John William	1829	1882	Levi Murdock	Elizabeth Campbell
Murdock, Levi	1790	1879	Hezekiah Murdock	Martha Henry Pettingail
Murdock, Lorena	1845	1901	Levi Murdock	Elizabeth Campbell
Nebeker, Peter	1822	1885	George Nebeker	Susannah Meredith
Newcomb, Ester	1826	1872	Obadiah Newcomb	Molly Bearce
Nicholas, Cynthia*	1800			
Noble, Cynthia	1806	1873		
Norris	1846	1846	David Norris	Sarah Louisa Ambler
Norris, Benjamin Abner	1841	1921	David Norris	Sarah Louisa Ambler
Norris, Mary Jane	1831	1899	David Norris	Sarah Louisa Ambler
Norris, Nathaniel S.	1829		David Norris	Sarah Louisa Ambler
Norris, Sarah Louisa	1824		David Norris	Sarah Louisa Ambler
Norton, Winnie Elizabeth	1810	1870	Mr. Norton	Rebecca

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Notson, Henry Bowen	1815	1854		
O'Haver, Elizabeth Jane	1813	1894	Phillip O'Haver	Jane Henderson
Osborn, David	1807	1893	David Osborn	Mary Harrah
Osborn, David	1838	1917	David Osborn	Cynthia Butler
Osborn, Elizabeth	1833	1856	David Osborn	Cynthia Butler
Osborn, Harriet Jane	1847	1932	David Osborn	Cynthia Butler
Osborn, Mary Eleanor	1831	1906	David Osborn	Cynthia Butler
Osborn, Nancy Margaret	1840	1906	David Osborn	Cynthia Butler
Osborn, Rebecca Ann	1842	1920	David Osborn	Cynthia Butler
Osborn, Thomas Jefferson	1829	1861	David Osborn	Cynthia Butler
Overlin, American Jane	1824	1874	William L. Overlin	Maria Wilson
Owen, Belinda*	1822	1847	Abel Owen	Elizabeth Davis
Owen, Emeline	1832	1921	Abel Owen	Elizabeth Davis
Owen, Francis Marion	1830	1889	Abel Owen	Elizabeth Davis
Owens, Camera Olga	1824	1867	Ephraim Owens III	Mary M. Kerns
Owens, Lucinda*	1812	1893	Abel Owen	Elizabeth Davis
Oysterbanks, Sarah Sophronia*	1822	1906	Moses Oysterbanks	Margaret Phillips
Paine, Andros			Elias Paine	Ester Newcomb
Paine, Ann Eliza	1845	1864	Elias Paine	Ester Newcomb
Paine, Arethusia Adelaide	1848	1849	Elias Paine	Ester Newcomb
Paine, Elias	1810	1861	Abner Paine	Annie Andrus
Palmer, Lovina or Jane	1816	1887	George Palmer	Phoebe Draper
Parker, Miriam	1799	1883	Solomon Parker	Susan Beedle
Parker, Solenda Eastman	1836	1884	Zadock Parker	Miriam Parker
Parker, Zadock	1804	1885	Isaac Parker	Esther Fisk
Pearsons, Elanore	1835			
Peck, Hezekiah	1820	1859	Benjamin Peck	Phebe Crosby
Peck, Margaret Smoot	1846	1910	Hezekiah Peck	Jemima Smoot
Peck, Phoebe Ann	1841	1917	Hezekiah Peck	Jemima Smoot
Penrod, Catherine	1794	1853	Emanuel Penrod	Polly
Perdun, Amanda	1840		David Perdun	Hannah Blue
Perdun, David	1789	1875		
Perdun, Hosea Blue	1834	1902	David Perdun	Hannah Blue
Perdun, John M.	1827	1882	David Perdun	Hannah Blue
Perdun, Martha	1831	1920	David Perdun	Hannah Blue
Perdun, Mary Ellen	1829	1902	David Perdun	Hannah Blue
Perdun, Oliver Ephraim	1836	1890	David Perdun	Hannah Blue
Perry, Brother				
Perry, Sister				
Phillips, Lucy	1813	1887	Samuel Phillips	Mary
Phillips, Margaret*	1800	1890	Joseph Philips	Sarah Farrington
Phipps, Polly A.	1839		John D. Phipps	Eliza Jane Hall
Phipps, William J.	1836		John D. Phipps	Eliza Jane Hall
Pierce, Florette	1816	1857	Benom Pierce	Polly
Pisel, Margaret	1813	1883	John Pisel	Sarah
Pond, Abigail Augusta	1828	1846	Stillman Pond	Almira E. Whitmore
Pond, Elizabeth Almira	1827	1899	Stillman Pond	Almira E. Whitmore
Pond, Harriet Miranda	1835	1846	Stillman Pond	Maria Louise Davis
Pond, Hyrum	1846	1846	Stillman Pond	Maria Louise Davis

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Pond, Joseph	1846	1846	Stillman Pond	Maria Louise Davis
Pond, Lowell Ansen	1837	1846	Stillman Pond	Maria Louise Davis
Pond, Lyman	1840	1847	Stillman Pond	Maria Louise Davis
Pond, Stillman	1803	1878	Preston Pond	Hannah Rice
Porter, Mary	1793	1855	Nathaniel Porter	Abigale
Potter, Rhoda Emeline*	1828	1909	Ransom Robert Potter	Rhoda E. Farrell
Ratcliff, Ann	1815	1886	John Ratcliff	Lydia Fairclough
Reynolds, Patsy Minerva*	1810			
Reynolds, Warren Ford	1823	1900	Asa Douglas Reynolds	Betsy Artlip
Rice or Royce, Charlotte	1778	1868	Jonathan Rice or Royce	Mabel Bristol
Richardson, Jerusha Ann*	1818	1861	Samuel Richardson	Hannah Hobbs
Ring, James M.	1831		Thomas J. Ring	Margaret
Ring, John	1829		Thomas J. Ring	Margaret
Ring, Margaret Ann	1840		Thomas J. Ring	Margaret
Ring, Maroni	1834		Thomas J. Ring	Margaret
Ring, Mary Jane	1838		Thomas J. Ring	Margaret
Ring, Mrs. Margaret	1804			
Ring, Thomas J.	1804			
Roberts, Adelbert	1847	1919	Daniel Roberts	Delucia Holcomb
Roberts, Ann	1819	1895	David Roberts	Mary Thomas
Roberts, Bolivar	1831	1893	Daniel Roberts	Eliza Aldula Clark
Roberts, Byron	1843	1879	Daniel Roberts	Eliza Aldula Clark
Roberts, Charles Daniel	1843	1848	Horace Roberts	Harriet McEvers
Roberts, Daniel*	1798	1868	Ephraim Roberts	Huldah Gibbs
Roberts, Don Carlos	1826	1878	Daniel Roberts	Eliza Aldula Clark
Roberts, Ephraim Horace	1838	1911	Horace Roberts	Harriet McEvers
Roberts, Harriet Emily	1841	1852	Horace Roberts	Harriet McEvers
Roberts, Homer	1842	1873	Daniel Roberts	Eliza Aldula Clark
Roberts, Horace	1807	1868	Ephraim Roberts	Huldah Gibbs
Roberts, Jane Cecelia	1836	1910	Horace Roberts	Harriet McEvers
Roberts, Maria Louisa	1829	1903	Horace Roberts	Harriet McEvers
Roberts, Orville Clark	1833	1912	Daniel Roberts	Eliza Aldula Clark
Roberts, Roland	1848	1850	Daniel Roberts	Delucia Holcomb
Roberts, Rollin K.	1850	1910	Daniel Roberts	Delucia Holcomb
Roberts, Susan McEvers	1834	1920	Horace Roberts	Harriet McEvers
Roberts, William DeWitt	1835	1912	Daniel Roberts	Eliza Aldula Clark
Robinson, Anna Eliza	1819	1873	George Robinson	Mary B. McCarroll
Rogers, Lilly Ann	1810	1875	Eli Rogers	Mary
Ruggles, Cynthia	1794	1847		
Saxton, Isabell Adeline	1819	1908	Joseph Saxton	Ann Hoskins
Saxton, Mary Amy	1808	1869	Joseph Saxton	Ann Hoskins
Saxton, Rebecca Ann	1809	1897	Joseph Saxton	Ann Hoskins
Scott, Jane*	1822	1880	George Scott	Rebecca Robinson
Scott, Phebe*	1816		George Scott	Rebecca Robinson
Searle, Breed	1803	1879	John Searle	Mary Williams
Searle, Charles Decater	1836	1909	Breed Searle	Rebecca Ann Saxton
Searle, James Lafayette	1841	1897	Breed Searle	Rebecca Ann Saxton
Searle, John Courtland	1828	1920	Breed Searle	Rebecca Ann Saxton
Searle, Joseph Saxton	1833	1896	Breed Searle	Rebecca Ann Saxton

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Sherman, Ira Sedgewick	1805	1845		
Sherman, Joseph	1833		Ira Sedgewick Sherman	Phoebe Wilder
Sherman, Justus Poole	1830	1904	Ira Sedgewick Sherman	Phoebe Wilder
Sherman, Lydia Ann	1841	1904	Ira Sedgewick Sherman	Phoebe Wilder
Sherman, Ruby	1828		Ira Sedgewick Sherman	Phoebe Wilder
Sherman, Samuel	1836		Ira Sedgewick Sherman	Phoebe Wilder
Shurtleff, Angeline Almeda	1844	1910	Elisha Shurteff	Cynthia Noble
Shurtleff, Cynthia Ann	1837	1903	Elisha Shurteff	Cynthia Noble
Shurtleff, Haskell Vincent	1830	1906	Elisha Shurteff	Cynthia Noble
Shurtleff, Melissa Adeline	1833	1905	Elisha Shurteff	Cynthia Noble
Shurtliff, Elizabeth Hatch	1843	1916	Luman Andrus Shurtliff	Eunice Bagg Gaylord
Shurtliff, Elsemina Emergene	1831	1881	Luman Andrus Shurtliff	Eunice Bagg Gaylord
Shurtliff, Jane Narcessess	1840	1924	Luman Andrus Shurtliff	Eunice Bagg Gaylord
Shurtliff, Lewis Warren	1835	1922	Luman Andrus Shurtliff	Eunice Bagg Gaylord
Shurtliff, Luman Andrus	1807	1884	Noah Shurtleff	Lydia Brown
Shurtliff, Lydia Amanda	1837	1922	Luman Andrus Shurtliff	Eunice Bagg Gaylord
Shurtliff, Mary Eliza	1832	1914	Luman Andrus Shurtliff	Eunice Bagg Gaylord
Shurtliff, Noah Luman	1846	1892	Luman Andrus Shurtliff	Altamira Gaylord
Slafter, Asenath	1796	1867	Eleazer Slafter	Eunice Fenton
Smith, Abigail	1806	1889	James Smith	Lydia Lucina Harding
Smith, Caroline L.	1831			
Smith, Elizabeth Martha	1831		John Smith	Elizabeth M. Koons
Smith, Hyrum	1844	1897	John Smith	Sarah Winegar
Smith, John	1799	1870	Joseph Smith	Hannah Brown
Smith, Lydia Rhoda	1834	1913	John Smith	Elizabeth M. Koons
Smith, Rhoda Ann	1841	1875	John Smith	Sarah Winegar
Smith, Samuel Carlos (Lot)	1846	1901	John Smith	Sarah Winegar
Smith, Samuel Joseph	1838	1867	John Smith	Elizabeth M. Koons
Smith, Stephen	1836	1907	John Smith	Elizabeth M. Koons
Smoot, Jemima	1818	1908	George Washington Smoot	Nancy or Ann Rowlett
Snow, Almira Marie	1846	1846	Willard Trowbridge Snow	Melvina Harvey
Snow, Amanda Melvina	1838	1898	Willard Trowbridge Snow	Melvina Harvey
Snow, Charles Henry	1844	1846	Erastus Fairbanks Snow	Artimesia Beeman
Snow, Erastus Fairbanks*	1818	1888	Levi Snow	Lucina Streeter
Snow, James	1842	1850	Erastus Fairbanks Snow	Artimesia Beeman
Snow, Sarah Lucina	1841	1928	Erastus Fairbanks Snow	Artimesia Beeman
Snow, Willard Lycurgus	1842	1920	Willard Trowbridge Snow	Melvina Harvey
Snow, Willard Trowbridge*	1811	1853	Levi Snow	Lucina Streeter
Spicer, Brother				
Standley, Ellen	1833	1861	Alexander Schoby Standley	Philinda Upson
Stanley, Jonathan	1820		John Stanley	Mary Hatfield
Stephens, Cynthia	1811	1892	Thomas Stevens	
Stevens, Abraham	1818	1850		
Stevens, John Hyrum	1846	1846	Abraham Stevens	Christina Zimmerman
Stevens, Sarah Juliann	1848		Abraham Stevens	Christina Zimmerman
Stewart, Alvin Franklin	1819	1904	Philetus Stewart	Susannah Ballard
Stewart, Oscar Marion	1846	1903	Alvin Franklin Stewart	Camera Olga Owens
Stoddard, Charles Henry	1827	1907	Israel Stoddard	Sarah Woodward
Stoddard, Frederick A.	1841	1901	Israel Stoddard	Sarah Woodward

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Stout, Allen Joseph	1815	1889	Joseph Stout	Anna Smith
Stout, Allen Joseph	1845	1917	Allen Joseph Stout	Elizabeth Anderson
Stout, Charles Heber	1844	1852	Allen Joseph Stout	Elizabeth Anderson
Stowell, William Rufus Rogers	1822	1901	Augustus Oliver A. Stowell	Mary Stephens Holmes
Stringham, Hyrum	1833		William Stringham	Esther Knight
Stringham, Mary Etta	1847	1897	William Stringham	Eliza Lake
Stringham, Walter	1837	1924	William Stringham	Polly Knight
Stringham, William	1788	1865	James Stringham	Martha (Polly) Willis
Stubbs, Mary	1800	1879	John Stubbs	Margaret Robinson
Taylor, Julia Ann*	1815	1898	William Warren Taylor	Elizabeth Patrick
Telford, Anna	1827	1918	John Telford	Jane Telford
Telford, Eliza Victoria	1835	1915	John Telford	Jane Telford
Telford, George	1829	1850	John Telford	Jane Telford
Telford, Jane	1795	1886	Robert Telford	Ann Conn
Telford, John	1802	1896	George Telford	Jane Dodds
Telford, John Dodds	1832	1884	John Telford	Jane Telford
Telford, Robert	1826	1879	John Telford	Jane Telford
Terman, Eliza Ann	1820	1896	Greenbury Terman	Mary Holland
Terry, Charles Alphonzo	1820	1908	Otis Terry	Cynthia Ruggles
Terry, Charles Wilford	1845	1871	Charles Alphonzo Terry	Phylinda S. Loveridge
Terry, Henry Algernon	1826	1909	Otis Terry	Cynthia Ruggles
Terry, Orson Merritt	1845	1907	Otis Lysander Terry	Fanny Maria Loveridge
Terry, Otis	1796	1887	John Terry	Sarah Ramsdell
Terry, Otis Lysander	1818	1899	Otis Terry	Cynthia Ruggles
Thomas, Daniel S.	1809	1849	John Pledger Thomas	Sarah
Thomas, Daniel William	1834	1858	Joseph Morehead Thomas	Mary Ann Thomas
Thomas, Elizabeth Mary	1796	1858	Reece Thomas	Margaret Shanon
Thomas, Frances Ann	1833	1918	Joseph Morehead Thomas	Mary Ann Thomas
Thomas, Harrison Ayers	1837	1904	Joseph Morehead Thomas	Mary Ann Thomas
Thomas, James Clayborne	1843	1921	Joseph Morehead Thomas	Mary Ann Thomas
Thomas, Jane Moorehead	1843	1926	Preston F. Thomas	Sarah Ann J. Morehead
Thomas, John				
Thomas, Martha M.	1846	1909	Preston F. Thomas	Sarah Ann J. Morehead
Thomas, Mrs. Margaret				
Thomas, Preston F.	1814	1877	Daniel Thomas, Jr.	Nancy Ann Morehead
Thomas, Samuel	1846			
Thompson, Daniel	1834	1912	William G. Thompson	Elizabeth Macaulay
Thompson, David	1831	1865	William G. Thompson	Elizabeth Macaulay
Thompson, Eunice Elizabeth	1824	1907	Thomas A. Thompson	Charlotte Rice or Royce
Thompson, Maria	1808	1893	Aaron Thompson	Rhoda Lamb
Thompson, Maria	1838	1911	William G. Thompson	Elizabeth Macaulay
Thompson, Orville Browning	1841	1881	William G. Thompson	Elizabeth Macaulay
Thompson, William	1836	1913	William G. Thompson	Elizabeth Macaulay
Thompson, William G.	1806	1876	David Thompson	Jean Wotherspoon
Thornton, Ephraim	1838	1858	Levi Thornton	Eliza Ann Terman
Thornton, Jane	1805	1887	William Thornton	Elizabeth Christian
Thornton, John Andrew Jackson	1842	1915	Levi Thornton	Eliza Ann Terman
Thornton, Levi	1819	1889	George Thornton	Mary Lowe
Thornton, Martha Jane	1840	1912	Levi Thornton	Eliza Ann Terman

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Thornton, Mary Catherine	1846	1871	Levi Thornton	Eliza Ann Terman
Tiffany, Almira Rebecca	1847	1914	George Tiffany	Almira Whipple
Tiffany, George	1807	1885	George Tiffany	Mary Mason
Tiffany, Ira Patchen	1835	1905	George Tiffany	Almira Whipple
Tiffany, Loyal Peck	1837	1903	George Tiffany	Almira Whipple
Topham, Elizabeth	1833	1918	John Topham	Jane Thornton
Topham, Hannah	1829	1913	John Topham	Jane Thornton
Topham, Jane	1838	1851	John Topham	Jane Thornton
Topham, John	1800	1884	Thomas Topham	Elizabeth Ingle
Topham, John	1825	1900	John Topham	Jane Thornton
Topham, Joseph	1835	1847	John Topham	Jane Thornton
Topham, Sarah	1831	1918	John Topham	Jane Thornton
Topham, Susannah Rosemary	1844	1918	John Topham	Jane Thornton
Topham, Thomas Thornton	1840	1919	John Topham	Jane Thornton
Topham, William	1826	1869	John Topham	Jane Thornton
Treep, Elizabeth Whan	1802		Christian Treep	Sarah
Tuttle, Almira	1848	1921	John Henry Tuttle	Sabra Ann Voorhees
Tuttle, John Henry	1821	1905	Terry Tuttle	Ellen or Eleanor Mills
Tuttle, Joseph Henry	1845	1879	John Henry Tuttle	Sabra Ann Voorhees
Tuttle, Mary Ellen	1844	1908	John Henry Tuttle	Sabra Ann Voorhees
Tyler, Eliza	1837	1850	Lummas Tyler	Lucinda Owens
Tyler, Lola Ann Amelia	1839	1910	Lummas Tyler	Lucinda Owens
Umphronour, Sarah E.	1832			
Vallier, Alexander	1807	1892	Alexander Vallier	Mary Marion
Vallier, Alexander	1848	1892	Alexander Vallier	Mary Caroline Draper
Vallier, Daniel	1850	1916	Alexander Vallier	Mary Caroline Draper
Vallier, Emily	1843	1911	Alexander Vallier	Mary Caroline Draper
Vallier, George Allen	1839	1850	Alexander Vallier	Mary Caroline Draper
Vallier, Hannah	1836	1899	Alexander Vallier	Mary Caroline Draper
Vallier, Mary Jane	1832	1911	Alexander Vallier	Mary Caroline Draper
Vallier, Rosilla	1845	1891	Alexander Vallier	Mary Caroline Draper
Vallier, Ruth	1838	1876	Alexander Vallier	Mary Caroline Draper
Vallier, Thomas	1834	1912	Alexander Vallier	Mary Caroline Draper
Van Buren, Andrew Cheney	1840	1917	Cheney Garrett Van Buren	Lucy Phillips
Van Buren, Cheney Garrett	1811	1850	Barnard Van Buren	Barbara Wood
Van Buren, Elmer	1837	1911	Cheney Garrett Van Buren	Lucy Phillips
Van Buren, Lucy Ellen	1846	1886	Cheney Garrett Van Buren	Lucy Phillips
Van Buren, Lydia Jane	1849	1854	Cheney Garrett Van Buren	Lucy Phillips
Van Buren, Mary Frances	1832	1869	Cheney Garrett Van Buren	Lucy Phillips
Van Buren, Samuel	1835	1901	Cheney Garrett Van Buren	Lucy Phillips
Vance or Vancel, Mary	1820	1918	Adam Vance or Vancil	Catherine Penrod
Voorhees, Sabra Ann	1824	1853	Elisha Voorhees	Nancy Ann Leek
Waggle, Alma	1839		Jacob John Waggle	Mary Vance or Vancil
Waggle, Cynthia	1837	1904	Jacob John Waggle	Mary Vance or Vancil
Waggle, Hannah	1842	1929	Jacob John Waggle	Mary Vance or Vancil
Waggle, John	1841		Jacob John Waggle	Mary Vance or Vancil
Waggle, Sarah	1844		Jacob John Waggle	Mary Vance or Vancil
Wagoner, Esther	1817	1902	Edward Wainwright	Mary Jones
Wagoner, Nancy Ann*	1810	1851	David Wagoner	Esarus/Thurna Barrett

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Wallace, Brice	1843		Enoch Wallace	Winnie E. Norton
Wallace, Elizabeth	1830	1883	Enoch Wallace	Winnie E. Norton
Wallace, Enoch	1804	1884	John Wallace	Jane Miller
Wallace, James	1836		Enoch Wallace	Winnie E. Norton
Wallace, Jane	1832	1904	Enoch Wallace	Winnie E. Norton
Wallace, Mary E.	1848		Enoch Wallace	Winnie E. Norton
Wallace, Melissa	1850		Enoch Wallace	Winnie E. Norton
Wallace, Rebecca	1829	1911	Enoch Wallace	Winnie E. Norton
Wallace, Sarah	1842		Enoch Wallace	Winnie E. Norton
Wallace, Sylvester	1836		Enoch Wallace	Winnie E. Norton
Wallace, William	1840		Enoch Wallace	Winnie E. Norton
Warren, James	1790			
Watkins, Henry Steadman	1840	1912	William Watkins	Hannah Maria Lampard
Watkins, Hiram	1844	1913	William Watkins	Hannah Maria Lampard
Watkins, Joseph Hilliard	1838	1910	William Watkins	Hannah Maria Lampard
Watkins, William	1798	1864	William Watkins	Ann Hillyard
Wells, Lydia Knight	1817	1890	Judah Wells	Temperance Meacham
Wescott, Nelson	1820		Joseph F. Wescott	Sarah Melzger
Wescott, Oscar R.	1851		Nelson Wescott	Catherine S. King
West, Elizabeth	1791			
West, Olive	1822	1905		
Wheaton, Jedediah	1837	1865	Miles B. Wheaton	Jane Denmon
Wheaton, William H.	1835	1917	Miles B. Wheaton	Jane Denmon
Whipple, Almira	1810	1889	Daniel Whipple	Mary Tiffany
Whipple, Gerua	1815	1848	Daniel Whipple	Mary Tiffany
Whipple, Maranda Jane	1847	1907	Nelson Wheeler Whipple	Susan Jane Bailey
Whipple, Nelson Wheeler	1818	1887	Daniel Whipple	Mary Tiffany
Whipple, Phoebe	1813	1846	Daniel Whipple	Mary Tiffany
Whitcomb, Alcana B.	1848		Joel Whitcomb	Catherine Jarman
Whitcomb, Caroline	1839		Joel Whitcomb	Catherine Jarman
Whitcomb, Joel	1797			
Whitcomb, Morilla	1842		Joel Whitcomb	Catherine Jarman
Whitcomb, P. C.				
Whitcomb, Sophronia Elsetta	1834	1925	Joel Whitcomb	Catherine Jarman
White, Lucy Hannah	1842	1900	Samuel Dennis White	Mary Hannah Burton
White, Mary Elizabeth	1846	1932	Samuel Dennis White	Mary Hannah Burton
White, Minerva*	1822	1896	Alden White	Achsah Wing
White, Samuel Dennis	1818	1868	John Griggs White	Lucy Maranda Bailey
White, Samuel Orson	1844	1925	Samuel Dennis White	Mary Hannah Burton
Wilder, Phoebe	1805			
Williams, Newman Bishop	1829	1915	Samuel Williams	Ruth Bishop
Williams, Samuel	1789	1855	Samuel Williams	Azubah Warner
Williams, Samuel Ely	1828	1918	Samuel Williams	Ruth Bishop
Willis, Mary	1804		Thomas Willis	Dorcas Windham
Wilson, Aaron C.	1834	1923	George Clinton Wilson	Elizabeth Kinney
Wilson, Almeda	1838	1927	Lewis Dunbar Wilson	Nancy Ann Wagoner
Wilson, Alvira	1834	1910	Lewis Dunbar Wilson	Nancy Ann Wagoner
Wilson, Atlas	1834	1908	Bradley Barlow Wilson	Agnes Hunter
Wilson, Bradley Barlow	1806	1874	Bradley Barlow Wilson	Mary (Polly) Gill

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Wilson, Bradley Barlow	1837		George Clinton Wilson	Elizabeth Kinney
Wilson, Bushrod W.	1849	1919	Bradley Barlow Wilson	Agnes Hunter
Wilson, Bushrod Washington	1808	1877	Bradley Barlow Wilson	Mary (Polly) Gill
Wilson, Charles	1847	1919	Bushrod Washington Wilson	Catherine I. Anderson
Wilson, Clarissa	1836	1890	Bradley Barlow Wilson	Agnes Hunter
Wilson, Cyrus	1844	1908	Bushrod Washington Wilson	Catherine I. Anderson
Wilson, David Wagner	1842	1911	Lewis Dunbar Wilson	Nancy Ann Wagoner
Wilson, Emeline	1846	1910	Henry Hardy Wilson	Frances Kelly
Wilson, Emily	1846	1874	Bradley Barlow Wilson	Agnes Hunter
Wilson, Ephraim	1844	1908	Henry Hardy Wilson	Frances Kelly
Wilson, George Clinton	1800	1874	Bradley Barlow Wilson	Mary (Polly) Gill
Wilson, George Clinton	1838	1914	Bradley Barlow Wilson	Agnes Hunter
Wilson, George Miles	1849	1901	Lewis Dunbar Wilson	Nancy Ann Wagoner
Wilson, Henry Hardy	1803	1878	Bradley Barlow Wilson	Mary (Polly) Gill
Wilson, Henry Hardy	1832	1913	Bradley Barlow Wilson	Agnes Hunter
Wilson, Henry Hardy	1841	1903	Henry Hardy Wilson	Frances Kelly
Wilson, James	1840	1903	Bradley Barlow Wilson	Agnes Hunter
Wilson, John Gill	1829	1903	Bradley Barlow Wilson	Agnes Hunter
Wilson, Joseph Bushrod	1837	1899	Bushrod Washington Wilson	Catherine I. Anderson
Wilson, Lavina	1831	1901	Lewis Dunbar Wilson	Nancy Ann Wagoner
Wilson, Lemuel Green	1832	1903	Lewis Dunbar Wilson	Nancy Ann Wagoner
Wilson, Lewis Dunbar*	1805	1856	Bradley Barlow Wilson	Mary (Polly) Gill
Wilson, Lewis Dunbar	1840	1922	Lewis Dunbar Wilson	Nancy Ann Wagoner
Wilson, Lewis Kinney	1828	1911	George Clinton Wilson	Elizabeth Kinney
Wilson, Louisa Ann	1831	1903	Bradley Barlow Wilson	Agnes Hunter
Wilson, Mahala Jane	1844	1885	Bradley Barlow Wilson	Agnes Hunter
Wilson, Martha (Patty)	1832	1856	George Clinton Wilson	Elizabeth Kinney
Wilson, Mary Malinda	1842	1911	Bradley Barlow Wilson	Agnes Hunter
Wilson, Mary Malinda	1845	1846	Lewis Dunbar Wilson	Nancy Ann Wagoner
Wilson, Nancy	1839	1910	Bushrod Washington Wilson	Catherine I. Anderson
Wilson, Nancy Jane	1835	1910	George Clinton Wilson	Elizabeth Kinney
Wilson, Nancy Melissa	1847	1932	Lewis Dunbar Wilson	Nancy Ann Wagoner
Wilson, Polly	1829	1868	George Clinton Wilson	Elizabeth Kinney
Wilson, Thomas Jefferson	1832	1915	George Clinton Wilson	Elizabeth Kinney
Wilson, Whitford Gill	1839	1910	George Clinton Wilson	Elizabeth Kinney
Wilson, William B.	1845	1926	George Clinton Wilson	Elizabeth Kinney
Winegar, Alvin	1816	1874	Samuel Thomas Winegar	Rhoda E. Cummings
Winegar, Alvin	1845	1893	Alvin Winegar	Mary Judd
Winegar, John	1820	1888	Samuel Thomas Winegar	Rhoda E. Cummings
Winegar, John	1838	1914	Alvin Winegar	Mary Judd
Winegar, Samuel Thomas	1782	1874	Samuel Winegar	Susannah Thomas
Winegar, Samuel Thomas	1840	1921	Alvin Winegar	Mary Judd
Winegar, Sarah	1807	1880	Samuel Thomas Winegar	Rhoda E. Cummings
Wing, Achsah*	1786		Jabez Wing	Patience Mourney
Winters, Susanna	1834		Daniel Winters	Rebecca Lambert
Winters, Tirzah	1790	1875	Benjamin Winters	Hannah Humphrey
Withnell, R. W.				
Worden, Nathaniel Prentiss	1826	1907	Amos Prentiss Worden	Mary Case
Worden, Nathaniel Prentiss	1846		Nathaniel Prentiss Worden	Ann Cowley

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Death Year</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Wright, Lydia Ann	1825	1908	William Wright	Magdalene McCombs
Yeaman, John	1838		Michael Yeaman	Cynthia Stephens
Yeaman, Michael	1807	1865	Jarius Yeaman	Abigail Currier
Yeaman, Michael David	1846	1935	Michael Yeaman	Cynthia Stephens
Yeaman, Richard	1834	1866	Michael Yeaman	Cynthia Stephens
Yeaman, Sarah Ann	1843	1906	Michael Yeaman	Cynthia Stephens
Yeaman, Thomas	1836	1923	Michael Yeaman	Cynthia Stephens
Yeaman, William	1832		Michael Yeaman	Cynthia Stephens
Zimmerman, Christina A.	1818	1857	George Gotlieb Zimmerman	Juliana Hoke
Zimmerman, Elizabeth	1831	1911	George Gotlieb Zimmerman	Juliana Hoke
Zimmerman, George Erastus	1851	1935	John Zimmerman	Harriet Laura Lamb
Zimmerman, George Gotlieb	1781	1866	Johann Georg Zimmerman	Rosine M. Pregizer
Zimmerman, John	1820	1908	George Gotlieb Zimmerman	Juliana Hoke
Zimmerman, Julia Ann	1829	1915	George Gotlieb Zimmerman	Juliana Hoke
Zimmerman, Margaret	1836	1929	George Gotlieb Zimmerman	Juliana Hoke
Zimmerman, Rosanna	1841	1906	George Gotlieb Zimmerman	Juliana Hoke
Zimmerman, Susan	1838	1924	George Gotlieb Zimmerman	Juliana Hoke
Unknown Name				
Sister of Ruth Davis				
Woman from Poor Camp		1846		

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