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Article Summary: Rhoads led a large family group from Missouri to California in 1846. Eventually he settled in Utah, where he held several public and Mormon Church offices. He is said to have been responsible for the secret acquisition of gold for the Mormon mint.

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Photographs / Images: St. Joseph, Missouri; Thomas Rhoads in the 1850s

# Thomas Rhoads, Forgotten Mormon Pioneer of 1846

*By J. Kenneth Davies*

While the Mormons were making their exodus from Nauvoo, Illinois, in early 1846, other Latter-day Saints were also in the process of leaving their homes at the behest of their new leader, Brigham Young. Their Zion was now someplace in the West, its exact location still uncertain. Oregon Territory, Texas, the Rocky Mountains, the Great Basin, and the Pacific slope of the ill-defined Upper California were all under consideration.

The Pacific slope of California appears to have been a favorite, as shown in a poem<sup>1</sup> written by Mormon Apostle John Taylor, Brigham Young's successor three decades into the future. Selected verses read:

The Upper California, O! that's the land for me  
It lies between the Mountains and great Pacific Sea;  
    The Saints can be supported there;  
    And taste the sweets of liberty,  
In Upper California, O! that's the land for me.

We'll go and lift our standard, we'll go there and be free,  
We'll go to California and have our jubilee,  
    A land that blooms with endless spring,  
    A land of life and liberty.

We'll reign, we'll rule, and triumph, and God shall be our King,  
The plains, the hills and valleys shall with hosannas ring,  
    Our tow'rs and temples there shall rise  
    Along the great Pacific Sea.

In view of Taylor's reference to "a land that blooms with endless spring" and "tow'rs and temples . . . along the great Pacific Sea," there can be little question that he was referring primarily to the west coast of Upper California rather than the Great Basin (between the Sierra Nevada and Rocky Moun-

tains), the usual assumption of Mormon historians.<sup>2</sup> The location was envisioned as a permanent one as he also planned to enjoy a jubilee, or 50-year celebration (1880), in the "land of endless spring," a far cry from Utah. Another point may be drawn from the rhetoric of the poem. It could well be concluded from the third verse cited that the Mormons intended to "reign," "rule," and "triumph." Little wonder that there was concern over the apparent paramilitary operations of the Saints in the spring of 1846.

There was a three-pronged approach to California made by Mormons which would cause even greater concern than Taylor's poem. The first prong, consisting of over 200 persons, had already left New York by sea on the *Brooklyn*—destination, Yerba Buena, the future San Francisco. Their military-like preparations aboard ship caused consternation on the part of the ship's captain.<sup>3</sup> The second and largest contingent, the Mormon Battalion, was the subject of negotiations in Washington, DC, that spring. With the successful conclusion of those negotiations, close to 500 men and a few women, with mostly Mormon officers, would be recruited by the US Army from the camps strung along the southern border of Iowa, reaching San Diego by way of a route along the border of present-day Mexico with New Mexico and Arizona.<sup>4</sup>

The third element was scheduled to strike west from the temporary Mormon community of Winter Quarters situated on the Missouri River near present-day Omaha, move up the Platte River, join the Oregon Trail east of Fort Laramie, and thence to the coast. They were to be joined someplace in Indian country by a company made up largely from the southern states—later referred to as the Mississippi Saints—led by their mentor, John Brown. Ordered west by Brigham Young, the latter group was not at full complement, a number of their family members having been left behind because of sickness. En route to Independence, Missouri, they were joined by the large Robert Crow family group from southern Illinois. Both groups had common roots in Kentucky.<sup>5</sup> This combined contingent, fearful of persecution, attempted unsuccessfully to travel incognito as it crossed Kansas in the wake of the cumbersome and impermanent Russell train out of Independence. Associated with this latter group was the ex-governor of Missouri, Lilburn W. Boggs, hated by the Mor-

mons as the author of the infamous extermination order.<sup>6</sup> Also intending to join the overland emigrants was a large Rhoads family group from Crooked River in Ray County, Missouri. It was led by the prolific, aging, and now almost forgotten patriarch Thomas Rhoads. It is with Rhoads that this paper will primarily deal.

Born in Muhlenberg, Kentucky, about 1794, Rhoads had married Elizabeth Forster and, following service on the western frontier in the War of 1812, moved to east central Illinois in 1820, pioneering in Edgar County. He eventually became involved in surveying and constructing the national pike as it threaded its way toward the Mississippi. Zion's army, under the leadership of Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith passed through the area in 1834<sup>7</sup> on its way from Kirtland, Ohio, to render aid to beleaguered brethren in Jackson County, Missouri, on the western frontier.

While the ragtag Mormon army accomplished little in the frontier state, they evidently opened up missionary work on the way, for the following year Rhoads joined the church. Shortly thereafter he moved to Missouri, taking up land in the Crooked River area of Ray County and acquiring a number of slaves to assist in his agricultural efforts.<sup>8</sup> Before leaving Edgar County a son was born and named Caleb Baldwin after the prominent Mormon missionary who helped convert them. Baldwin was one of those imprisoned with Joseph Smith in 1839 at the Liberty, Missouri, jail.

Rhoads was ordained an elder of the church on December 16, 1837, as certified in a document witnessed by David Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, and Oliver Cowdery,<sup>9</sup> the Mormon leaders in Missouri, all of whom would at least temporarily leave the church in the turmoil of 1838-1839. Rhoads himself apparently remained free of the internal dissension preceding the expulsion of the Saints from that inhospitable state over the winter. With the above exception his presence and association with the church remained unchronicled until July of 1845 when he wrote the "Brethren at the City of Joseph"; "I am well and heat [heart] is with you. Let this out if anyone there can believe I say friend Simson is our friend and is well off. Do not for God sake have his feelings hurt. Farewell god blez you al, Thos. Rhodz."<sup>10</sup> On the back of this letter is the cryptic note from some unknown supporter: "This is to give you full

confidence in what I say. Rhodz as you are well [aware?] is wealthy and honorable. He has stood the fire and never flinches. You no doubt know he left home and went to Nauvoo at the fatal catastrophe at the death of Joseph. I think this last will compel him to leave this state."<sup>11</sup>

While Rhoads had gone to Nauvoo after the prophet's death, it was apparently only to visit, for he maintained his farm in Missouri. How he was able to remain in the state from which the Mormons had been driven is a mystery. It is a chapter in Mormon history not yet written. He may well have been left purposely behind, a faithful but publicly unknown Mormon, to keep an eye on developments in that misbegotten land. Perhaps the fact that he was a reasonably well-to-do slave owner exempted him from "expulsion or annihilation."

Rhoads might well have received the same orders as John Brown, leader of the Mormon southerners, who wrote of their departure: "We are instructed by President Young to leave our sick families here and take those families that are ready to go west with them through Missouri and fall in with the companies from Nauvoo, in the Indian country."<sup>12</sup>

The Rhoads family headed west, crossed the Missouri River at St. Joseph on May 6-7, 1846, possibly hoping to join the Crow family from Illinois and the Mississippi Saints, with whom there were close ties in Kentucky. The meeting place would have been somewhere along the Oregon Trail.

Historian Francis Parkman, collecting data and impressions for a projected book on the westward migration of 1846, was en route from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Laramie about the same time as the Rhoads company. As he neared the Big Blue River, he sighted some parties that he was convinced were much hated and feared Mormons heading west from St. Joseph. Reportedly the Mormons were sending thousands of emigrants in the conquest of the West. He describes the leader of one of the parties camped near him:

About dark a sallow-faced fellow descended the hill on horseback, and splashing through the pool, rode up to the tents. He was enveloped in a huge cloak, and his broad felt hat was weeping about his ears with the drizzling moisture of the evening. Another followed, a stout, square-built, intelligent-looking man who announced himself as leader of an emigrant party encamped a mile in advance of us. About twenty wagons, he said were with him; the rest of this party were on the other side of the Big Blue, waiting for a woman who was in the pains of childbirth, and quarreling meanwhile among themselves.<sup>13</sup>

As the Parkman group overtook the emigrants the next day, he records that the group of Missourians were cursing and shouting among themselves. "Children's faces were thrust out from the white coverings . . . while the careworn, thin-featured matron, or the buxom girl . . . were engaged to stare at us. . . . It was easy to see that fear and dissension prevailed among them."<sup>14</sup>

There is no assurance that any of the parties encountered by Parkman was the Rhoads company, but there is some possibility that one of them was. At least the historian's rather negative word pictures are consistent with his assumption that the Mormons were in the vicinity and, of course, they were.

As the Parkman party proceeded up the Platte, they came upon another party of emigrants. He recorded:

A party of them came out to meet us, looking upon us at first with cold suspicious faces . . . . They had taken us for the van of the much-dreaded Mormons, whom they were very apprehensive of encountering. We made known our true character, and then they greeted us cordially.<sup>15</sup>

It is little wonder that both the Mississippi Saints and the Rhoads company attempted to keep their Mormon identity unknown.

Amanda Esrey Rhoads, wife of Thomas' son Daniel, wrote<sup>16</sup> to her family in the east on June 15 from Fort Laramie, describing their trip to that point. After crossing the Missouri River at St. Joseph on May 6 and 7, they had camped three days later at Wolf River, where the Sioux Indians stole several of their cattle. However the animals were replaced by the Indian agent in the area.

Traveling for a period in a company of 16 wagons, they eventually broke off with their own 10 wagons, traveling alone through Pawnee Indian country. They overtook a company bound for California (totaling 30 wagons), joining and traveling westward with them. The company, evidently moving faster than many caravans, had overtaken five or six Oregon-bound companies. They joined the California company probably near the juncture of the Independence-Oregon and St. Joe Roads, and moved northwestward up the valley of the Little Blue. They reached the Platte River on May 26. While camped there, many of their horses were frightened off by the Indians, who pursued and captured them. Four men from the Rhoads company, including Thomas, pursued the Indians—about 100 in number—who turned to fight. Rhoads

and his men escaped with their lives but lost 11 head of horses in the melee. Amanda reported that most companies had similar experiences with the Indians. She also reported snow the last day of May as they traveled up the south fork before crossing over to Ash Hollow and going up the north fork.

Nearing Fort Laramie, on June 12 the company met an east-bound company from Oregon and California, members of which maintained that Oregon had the best climate on the west coast, California being too hot. On the same day Parkman's company met the same east-bound company. He reached Fort Laramie on June 15, the day Amanda wrote to her parents. The fact that Parkman was aware and wary of the Mormons, reportedly on their way west, and yet was unaware of the fact that he was traveling in close proximity with the Rhoads company, attests to the relative success of Thomas Rhoads in keeping his religious affiliation secret.

However, John Kershaw (Reshaw), who would a few weeks later meet the Mississippi Saints and escort them to Pueblo, informed the latter group that he had heard the Mormons were going up the South Fork.<sup>17</sup> The timing would make it likely that he was referring to the Rhoads company. If so, Rhoads had failed in his attempt to retain anonymity.

The weather extremes experienced by the pioneers are illustrated by the account of the Taylor company traveling five days ahead of the Rhoads group. They experienced the same snow storm as the Rhoads company, reporting it for June 1. Ten days later at Fort Laramie, the temperature was 100 degrees.<sup>18</sup>

The Rhoads family arrived at Fort Laramie two weeks in advance of the ill-fated Donner party and three weeks ahead of the Mississippi Saints. Their arrival coincided approximately with that of Parkman. Rhoads' movement west is not recorded by name in any of the known journals of the day,<sup>19</sup> evidence of his relative ability to remain incognito—something at which the Mississippi Company was not so successful.

It appears that the Rhoads family remained at Fort Laramie for a week or two, possibly waiting for the Mississippi Saints to catch up with them, or for Brigham Young's expected advance company from Winter Quarters to arrive, or for time to give an ailing wife and mother, Elizabeth, the opportunity to recruit her strength.

In the meantime the expected advance Mormon units from Winter Quarters were not to materialize that season for at least two reasons. As strong a leader as was Brother Brigham, he had not been able to pull or push the Saints along fast enough. The poor, wanting to stay with him, were a dead weight around his neck. In addition, 500 or so of the most able men had been recruited into the Mormon Battalion. The body of the Saints would have to await the next year before proceeding.

The Rhoads family was in a quandary. They were not about to return to Missouri, and Fort Laramie was not the most ideal place to spend the winter. Since it was early enough that they were confident they could make it to the West Coast before winter, they decided to continue west. The Donner-Reed party, which included a few Mormons, would move on to tragedy in the Sierra Nevada's October snows. The Mississippi Saints, a few weeks later, would wisely head south to winter at Pueblo in present-day Colorado.

There is conflicting evidence as to the Rhoads family route after they reached South Pass in Wyoming country. Elements of their party apparently took the Sublette Cutoff almost due west to Fort Hall.<sup>20</sup> Others probably went southwest to Fort Bridger and then down Echo Canyon to the valley of the Great Salt Lake, much of it roughly the route mapped by L. W. Hastings earlier that year. This latter element of the Rhoads family, apparently including Father Thomas Rhoads, traveled in close connection with the Harlan-Young company.<sup>21</sup> The latter company crossed the Salt Flats and eventually connected with the traditional route into California along the Humboldt (Mary's) River. It entered California the first part of October, well in advance of the Donner-Reed party, as did that portion of the Rhoads family going by way of Fort Hall and the Humboldt.

Arriving in California, the Rhoads family joined the small Anglo-Saxon community in John Sutter's New Helvetia with its capital at Sutter's Fort,<sup>22</sup> the future Sacramento. Two of Thomas' sons, John and Daniel, participated in the heroic but only partially successful attempt to rescue the survivors of the Donner tragedy. At least one member of the family, probably the younger Thomas, participated in the Bear Flag revolt of that winter. The bevy of Rhoads' daughters was a welcome

addition to the white community, where a dearth of women existed. Several of them married prominent bachelors and remained residents of the incipient state.<sup>23</sup>

Rhoads himself received a land grant between Dry Creek and the Cosumnes River southeast of the fort, which family members frequently visited.<sup>24</sup> They were in place when elements of the discharged Mormon Battalion visited them on their eastward move to join the body of the Saints in the early summer of 1847.<sup>25</sup> Rhoads evidently also established connections with the Brooklyn Saints, visiting the Mormon satellite colony at New Hope, near the juncture of the Stanislaus and San Joaquin Rivers to the south.<sup>26</sup>

Utah family tradition claims that Jemima Powell, a member of the Rhoads domestic household, discovered gold in 1847 as she did the family wash in the stream running through the Rhoads camp, but in agreement with Sutter, the reported discovery was kept a secret.<sup>27</sup> The truth of this claim has not been established.

When the first documented discoveries of gold took place at Coloma in January of 1848, and at what became known as Mormon Island in February, the Rhoads family was well positioned. They established major claims on the prairie near present-day Folsom, as well as in the foothills several miles south of what became Hangtown or Placerville. That same year the fruitful Elizabeth died. She had given birth to over 20 children, a number of them twins.

In the fall of 1848, a large number of the discharged members of the Mormon Battalion reached the Mormon village on the south shore of the Great Salt Lake after a spring and summer of panning gold. They brought with them gold dust and nuggets which in an unrefined condition were difficult to use in domestic trade. The Mormon leaders established a crude minting operation but after issuing a few coins, the crucibles broke. In January, having sent for more professional equipment for minting, they began issuing hand-printed paper currency to be backed by 100 percent gold reserves from the deposits of gold dust with Brigham Young. However, by the end of February the amount of currency issued exceeded the gold reserves. The church leaders consequently sent stalwart Mormon Apostle Amasa Lyman to California to gather up all of the gold possible from the

Brooklyn Saints, the Mormon Battalion boys and others, and send it as fast as possible back to the struggling pioneer community.<sup>28</sup>

Upon arriving in California Apostle Lyman collected tithing from as many of the Saints as possible, including Rhoads. He also recruited Rhoads to take some of his gold accumulation and to serve as the captain of a Mormon train being formed to leave for Salt Lake. All told there was about \$25,000 in gold and an array of silver coins in the wagon train. The Mormon gold train created quite a stir among the gold-hungry 49ers headed west across the Nevada wastes. The 49ers could hardly help wondering why someone would leave the gold diggings of California for the barren wastes of the Great Basin.<sup>29</sup>

The Mormon gold train reached Salt Lake on September 28, 1849. There was as yet no newspaper to herald their arrival. Even the church's *Journal History*, while announcing the arrival, did not identify the members of the company. Fortunately, a letter of the Mormon leadership to Elder Lyman, and the subsequently written memoirs of William Glover, a leader of the Brooklyn Saints, as well as those of Levi Riter and Thomas Grover, two Mormon leaders sent to California over the winter of 1848-1849, give some details of this trip.<sup>30</sup>

The receipt of the California gold made possible the reopening of the Mormon mint. The new gold coins would replace the inadequately backed Mormon paper currency while breathing new life into the Mormon monetary system. It could also be used to settle up external trade deficits, to finance capital expenditures, and to provide for expenditures of the church-civic leadership.

While Brigham Young would later refer to "Father Rhodes" and his \$17,000 in gold dust, Rhoads (now usually spelled Rhodes) deposited a recorded \$10,826 to the gold dust accounts maintained by Brigham Young. His deposit, the largest, was significant enough to warrant his own account.<sup>31</sup>

Most of the disbursements from the Rhodes account were for the construction of a home, probably on the lot assigned to him at the southwest corner of West Temple and First South. He was neighbor to most of the church leaders<sup>32</sup> and became prominent in Salt Lake and Deseret's<sup>33</sup> affairs. He was appointed treasurer of the first grand jury appointed in 1851. He accompanied Brigham Young on his tour into the southern

part of Deseret, and was nominated as county judge. In addition, he was named a school regent, *pro tem*, to help select the state superintendent of schools and the librarian. He also received his "endowments"<sup>34</sup> that year. In 1852 Rhodes was "sealed"<sup>35</sup> to the deceased Elizabeth and to Mary Miranda Rogers White, the widow of a Mormon gold miner in California whom he had married in the winter of 1849-1850. He was also sent east on a church mission to Missouri with John Brown, leader of the Mississippi Saints in 1846. Mary died in childbirth while he was gone.

Upon the return from his mission in the fall of 1852, Rhodes was to enter into polygamous marriages, taking three women as wives that fall and two more in 1853. He added two more in 1855 or 1856. These marriages disturbed the members of his family who had remained in California. Embarrassed by his perceived disloyalty to their mother and involvement in what they considered an immoral practice, most disowned both their father and the Mormon religion.<sup>36</sup>

In October of 1853, Rhodes was sustained as first counselor to the Salt Lake Stake President<sup>37</sup> David Fullmer, with Brigham Young's brother, Phineas Young, serving as second counselor. He retained that position until October of 1856, when he was sustained as second counselor to the new stake president. He retained that position until the following April, when he was released.<sup>38</sup>

In the meantime Rhodes is reported to have been involved in an important but secret calling. Both family and Utah folklore identify him as the key man in the acquisition of more gold for the benefit of the kingdom. The flow of gold from California having been reduced to a dribble in 1851, as the story goes, Rhodes was called by Brigham Young, with the concurrence of Chief Walker (the recently baptized Ute Indian chief), to secure from an ancient Spanish gold mine in the High Uintahs, safeguarded by the Utes, all the gold that the church needed. Rhodes was supposedly the only white man permitted at the time to go into the forbidden Indian country. The location of the mine was reportedly passed on to his youngest son, Caleb Baldwin, when Thomas became ill. The younger Rhodes carried the secret to his grave, reportedly taking periodic trips there during his late lifetime to secure more gold for the church and himself. No record has been found of the church

receiving any gold from any Rhodes family member other than the original deposit of Thomas. The legend of the "Lost Rhodes Mine" is still popular among 20th century residents of Uintah country.<sup>39</sup>

Unproven as the story may be, in September of 1855 Rhodes Took W. W. Phelps<sup>40</sup> into what became Kamas or Rhodes Valley at the base of the Uintahs to survey its possibilities as a place of settlement. In December he was granted in partnership with Brigham Young the "whole of Kamas Prairee" for a cattle ranch.<sup>41</sup> The first recorded settlement in the valley took place in the spring of 1857,<sup>42</sup> but Rhodes might well have pioneered the area the previous year. The valley was an ideal base for the reported yearly gold trips into Indian country. In February of that year, he had been selected again to accompany Brigham Young into Salmon River country in Idaho,<sup>43</sup> a further sign of his continued favor with the Mormon prophet.

In the 1860 census, Rhodes, with as many as four wives,<sup>44</sup> was listed as a resident and trader in Summit County, in which lay Rhodes Valley. In 1861 he served as a guide to Jesse W. Fox and J. W. Cummings, who were sent into the Uintah Basin in the Indian country of eastern Utah (the general area of one of the reported sites of his gold mine) to survey its possibilities as a place of settlement. Their report was negative.<sup>45</sup> The following year he was a delegate from Summit County to the constitutional convention of the Mormon provisional state of Deseret and was elected as a representative to the first General Assembly of that body, serving on the "committee for Roads, Bridges, Ferries and Kanyons."<sup>46</sup> This was his last documented public service.

Rhodes' importance to the high mountain country is further attested to by the several points and areas named after him: Rhodes Valley, Rhodes Plateau, Rhodes Peak, and Rhodes Creek. The latter three were near Wolf Creek Pass, close to the entrance to the present-day Uintah-Ouray Indian Reservation.<sup>47</sup>

About 1864, Rhodes moved with two of his wives to the Minersville area west of Beaver in southern Utah.<sup>48</sup> It was the location of Utah's first and its only developed silver-lead-copper-mining operation at the time. He was possibly involved in the abortive effort to establish Mormon mining claims in the Pahrnagat Valley, just west of the border of present-day Utah

and Nevada. He also served as a missionary among the Yaqui Indians along the Colorado River.<sup>49</sup>

On February 29, 1869, Rhodes died at Minersville, unheralded outside the local community. While an obituary was written, it remained unpublished but filed in the Mormon Church archives. While there was no public notice, his contribution to the Mormon community, especially monetary, was well known among Mormon leaders. However, his unpublished obituary makes no mention of the gold or even of his past mining activity, referring to him simply as "a mighty hunter of grizzly bears" and a settler of Rhodes Valley.<sup>50</sup>

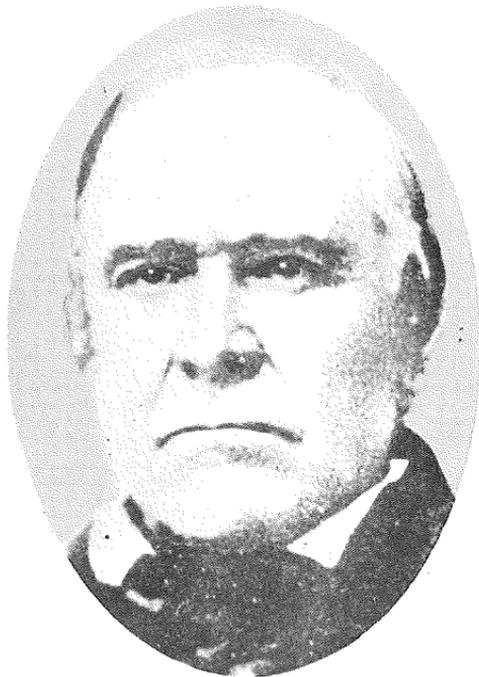
One cannot help but wonder why the death of a man of Rhodes' significance received no public notice and why he is not found in the more common Mormon historical works. It seems possible that the failure to gain public notice by the church newspaper, the *Deseret News*, resulted from a policy necessitated by the problems faced by the Mormon Church at that time.

The year of 1869 was probably the most critical one since the invasion of Deseret by Albert Sidney Johnston's Army in 1857-1858. Since 1864 Army General Patrick Connor, sent from California to pacify both the Indians and the Mormons, had been attempting to inundate Utah with non-Mormons by publicizing strikes of gold or silver ore by his soldier-prospectors sent throughout the territory for that specific purpose. He hoped, through that stratagem, to break the political and economic power of the Mormons. He was aided in his efforts by a substantial number of prominent Mormon Salt Lake businessmen who, in defiance of the church leadership and policy opposed to mining, advocated opening Utah's precious metal mines. Fearing an "invasion" of non-Mormons might well mean another Missouri or Illinois from both of which the Mormons had been driven, a policy was established by Brigham Young to keep publicity about mining to a minimum. This policy was enforced by the excommunication of several Mormon business leaders, often referred to as Godbeites, who continued to defy Church leaders.<sup>51</sup>

It would have been in keeping with such a policy to keep the story of Rhodes out of the news. The faithful Rhodes, little impressed by the limelight, would probably have concurred in this effort. An innocent victim of the Mormon effort to retain



*St. Joe as it was universally called, the main jumping-off place in 1849 and 1850. Courtesy of the St. Joseph Museum, St. Joseph, Missouri.*



*Thomas Rhoads in the 1850s.*

control in Utah, Rhodes was forgotten by subsequent generations of historians.

## NOTES

1. John Taylor, "The Upper California," copy in the author's files.
2. The view by Mormon historians that the Upper California referred uniquely to the Great Basin was repeated as recently as the spring of 1980. The poem, "The Upper California" was printed in its entirety in that issue of *Brigham Young University Studies* with editorial footnote, "The Great Basin, consisting of Utah and Nevada, where the Saints finally settled, was then known as the Upper California." Upper California actually included both the Pacific Slope and the Great Basin, east of the Sierra Nevadas.
3. See William Glover, "The Mormons in California," 1884, Brigham Young University Library for first-hand account. Hereafter referred to as BYU Library.
4. See Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War* (Chicago, 1886) for first-hand account. Also see John F. Yuritinus, "A Ram in the Thicket," PhD dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1976.
5. Leonard J. Arrington, "The Mississippi Saints," *Ensign*, June, 1977.
6. See any standard history of the Mormons for the 1830 period.
7. "Manuscript History of Illinois," Archives of the Mormon Church, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter referred to as LDS Church Archives.
8. Missouri, *US Census*, 1840.
9. "Far West Record," LDS Church Archives.
10. *Letter*, Thomas Rhoads, LDS Church Archives, July, 1845. Rhoads' name is variously spelled Rhodz, Rhoads, Roads, Rhodes, and Rhoades.
11. *Ibid.*
12. John Z. Brown, *Autobiography of Pioneer John Brown* (1941), 66. Copy in BYU Library.
13. Francis Parkman, *The Oregon Trail* (Little, Brown, and Co., 1902), I, 65.
14. *Ibid.*, 66.
15. *Ibid.*, 107.
16. *Amanda Esrey Rhoads Letter*, written from Fort Laramie, June 15, 1846. Copy in author's files. The letter was originally secured by Norma B. Ricketts from the Rhoads family in California.
17. Brown, *Autobiography*, 68.
18. Dale Morgan, *Overland in 1846* (Talisman Press, 1963), 118-131.
19. See Nos. 13 and 18 above as well as Roderic Korn's, "West from Fort Bridger," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 19 (1941).
20. *Daniel Rhoads Letter* written the summer of 1847. Secured by Norma B. Ricketts. Copy in author's files.
21. Korn's, "West from Fort Bridger," 154.
22. John A. Sutter, *New Helvetia Diary* (The Grabhorn Press, 1939). See Index.
23. H. H. Bancroft, *Pioneer Registers* (Reginal Publishing Co., 1964). Alphabetical listing.
24. Sutter, *New Helvetia Diary*. See map.
25. *Journal History*, LDS Archives, June 12, 1847.
26. Clint McCreedy, *New Hope* (Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1976), 84.
27. Gale R. Rhoades and Kerry Ross Boren, *A History of the Lost Rhoades Mines* (1971), 40.

28. Not generally recognized, a careful examination of Brigham Young's Daily Transactions in Gold Dust Account reveals that by the end of February, 1849, the gold reserves behind the Mormon-issued paper money was insufficient. This account is found in the LDS Archives. Support for this conclusion is found in my forthcoming, *Mormon Gold*, as yet unpublished.

29. Helen S. Giffen, ed., *The Diaries of Peter Decker* (The Talisman Press, 1966), 283.

30. See William Glover, "The Mormons in California," MS, 1884 (BYU Library), *Journal History*, September 28, 1849. LDS Church Archives. Kate B. Carter, ed., *Heart Throbs of the West* (Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, Vol. 7), 402-408. Amasa Lyman, *Papers*, LDS Church Archives.

31. The gold receipts and disbursements including the Rhodes account are found in a second volume of Brigham Young's Gold Accounts, which begin in October of 1849. LDS Church Archives. Rhoads will hereafter be referred to as Rhodes.

32. A copy of the old map a portion of which is included and showing these locations is found in the BYU Archives. The author has a copy in his files.

33. "Deseret" is a unique Mormon term taken from the *Book of Mormon* meaning Beehive.

34. A special Latter-day Saint religious rite in which faithful Latter-day Saints make special religious covenants and are given special, eternal promises contingent on continued faithfulness to those covenants.

35. The "sealing" ordinance is a special Latter-day Saint religious rite sealing family members together for the eternities. These developments are all taken from *Journal History* entries. See *Journal History Index*, Church Archives.

36. Norma B. Ricketts, *Historic Cosumnes and the Slough House Pioneer Cemetery* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah Printing Company, 1978).

37. A Mormon stake president is somewhat analogous to a bishop in the Methodist, Episcopal and Catholic churches.

38. *Journal History* entries for the General Conferences of these years.

39. Rhodes-Boren, *A History*, 40.

40. *Journal History*, October 3, 1855. Phelps was one of the church leaders who had signed Rhoads' certificate in 1837. Phelps had returned to the fold following his earlier defection.

41. *Ibid.*, December 23, 1855.

42. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1857.

43. *Ibid.*, February 22, 1857.

44. Utah, *US Census*, 1860.

45. Brigham Young Correspondence, Rhodes to Brigham Young, LDS Church Archives.

46. *Journal History*, March 19, April 14, December 10, 1862.

47. These name places were gleaned from several older maps of Utah located in the BYU Library.

48. Interview, Ethel R. Pehrson, April 13, 1977.

49. Thomas Rhoads (Rhodes) obituary, LDS Church Archives.

50. *Ibid.*

51. See almost any Utah history book for the story of this so-called "Godbeite heresy."