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Article Summary: In 1846 Mormons established temporary winter settlements in Iowa and what would become Nebraska. Some stayed for years, but the Mormon population diminished as the railroad carried emigrants west toward Utah.

Cataloging Information:

Names: Brigham Young, Orson Hyde, George A Smith, Joseph Ellis Johnson, Thomas B Cuming, Joseph Smith, John Fitch Kinney, Joseph E Johnson, John A Ahmanson

Place Names: Council Bluffs, Iowa; Winter Quarters, Indian Territory; Omaha, Bellevue, Florence, Nebraska City, Genoa and Wood River, Nebraska; Great Basin

Keywords: Mormon Battalion; *Frontier Guardian; Omaha Arrow; Nebraska Palladium; Council Bluffs Bugle; Huntsman's Echo; Omaha Times;* handcarts; Russell, Majors and Waddell; Utah War; John Fitch Kinney

Photographs / Images: George Simons sketch of steamer *Omaha* landing Mormons at Florence in 1854, Chief Justice John Fitch Kinney

After Winter Quarters and Council Bluffs: The Mormons in Nebraska Territory, 1854-1867

By Michael W. Homer

While enroute to the Great Basin in the summer of 1846, Brigham Young and the Mormons stopped in the Missouri River Valley to build temporary winter settlements. Not only had the recruitment of the Mormon Battalion drained the movement of some of its sturdiest pioneers, but in addition the many difficulties encountered while crossing Iowa had convinced Young that it was advisable to regroup and organize before continuing farther west. The main settlements, established in Council Bluffs, Iowa, and across the Missouri River at Winter Quarters, Indian country (later Nebraska Territory), although temporary, were well laid out and had an appearance of permanence. This alarmed the Indian agents west of the river, who reminded the Mormons that settlement on Indian lands was illegal and demanded that they abandon Winter Quarters following the second winter encampment.[1]

Brigham Young responded to the demands of the Indian agents in the fall of 1847 shortly after returning to Winter Quarters from the Great Basin by instructing his followers who would not travel to the Salt Lake Valley in 1848, to recross the river into Iowa. Despite this action he was unhappy with the agents' treatment of Mormons in the Missouri River Valley, and previous to his departure, recounted with some anger the government's persecution of his people in other locations and cursed the gentiles [non-Mormons] in Iowa for their treatment of the Mormons in Winter Quarters.[2] This episode reinforced the Mormons' already antagonistic feelings toward the federal government and made the gentiles more skeptical of Mormon designs. It also presaged an uneasy relationship between the Mormons and gentiles who would settle Nebraska six years later.

Orson Hyde and George A. Smith were appointed by Young to remain in Iowa to conduct the affairs of the church and to "push the Saints westward." Despite Young's curse the Mormons were initially welcomed by the state's residents, who actively solicited their political support. After some bargaining the Mormons eventually aligned themselves with the Whigs, and it wasn't long until they dominated politics in Pottawattamie County. They established a newspaper, the *Frontier Guardian*, and set up commercial enterprises to outfit emigrating pioneers. Partly because of their success in establishing themselves as a force in the community, animosities similar to those in Missouri and Illinois developed between the Mormons and other settlers. These problems eventually led to the abandonment of Council Bluffs as an outfitting location for emigrating Mormon pioneers and the departure of Orson Hyde in 1852.[3] With the departure of Hyde, there ceased to be a high profile church representative in the area.

Most of those who came to Nebraska after territorial status was achieved in 1854 were Iowans looking to improve their economic opportunities and political clout. The most prominent towns established during this early period, including Omaha, Bellevue, Florence, and Nebraska City, were all located a short distance from the Missouri River. These four towns became fiercely competitive, since the residents of each desired their town to become the most economically prosperous and politically prominent in the territory.[4] Mormons from Iowa participated significantly in the events which decided which towns would ultimately become most prominent by the time statehood was achieved in 1867.

An example of Mormon participation in territorial events is the role played by *Arrow* editor Joseph Ellis Johnson in the choice of Omaha as the territorial capital. As in many frontier territories, newspapers were established in rival towns to attract settlers and stimulate economic growth. The earliest papers distributed in Nebraska Territory, including the *Omaha Arrow* and the *Nebraska Palladium* of Bellevue, were printed and distributed in Iowa and were partisan in support of their towns.[5] Johnson was a Mormon polygamist who had joined the church in Kirtland, Ohio, and followed it to Nauvoo, Illinois, and Council Bluffs. In 1852 after Orson

Hyde's departure from Iowa, Johnson purchased the *Council Bluffs Bugle* from Almon Babbitt, who had started the paper in 1850 and combined it with Hyde's *Frontier Guardian* in 1853. When Nebraska became a territory in 1854, Johnson became interested in Omaha and advocated its settlement through the *Arrow*, published in the office of the *Bugle*.

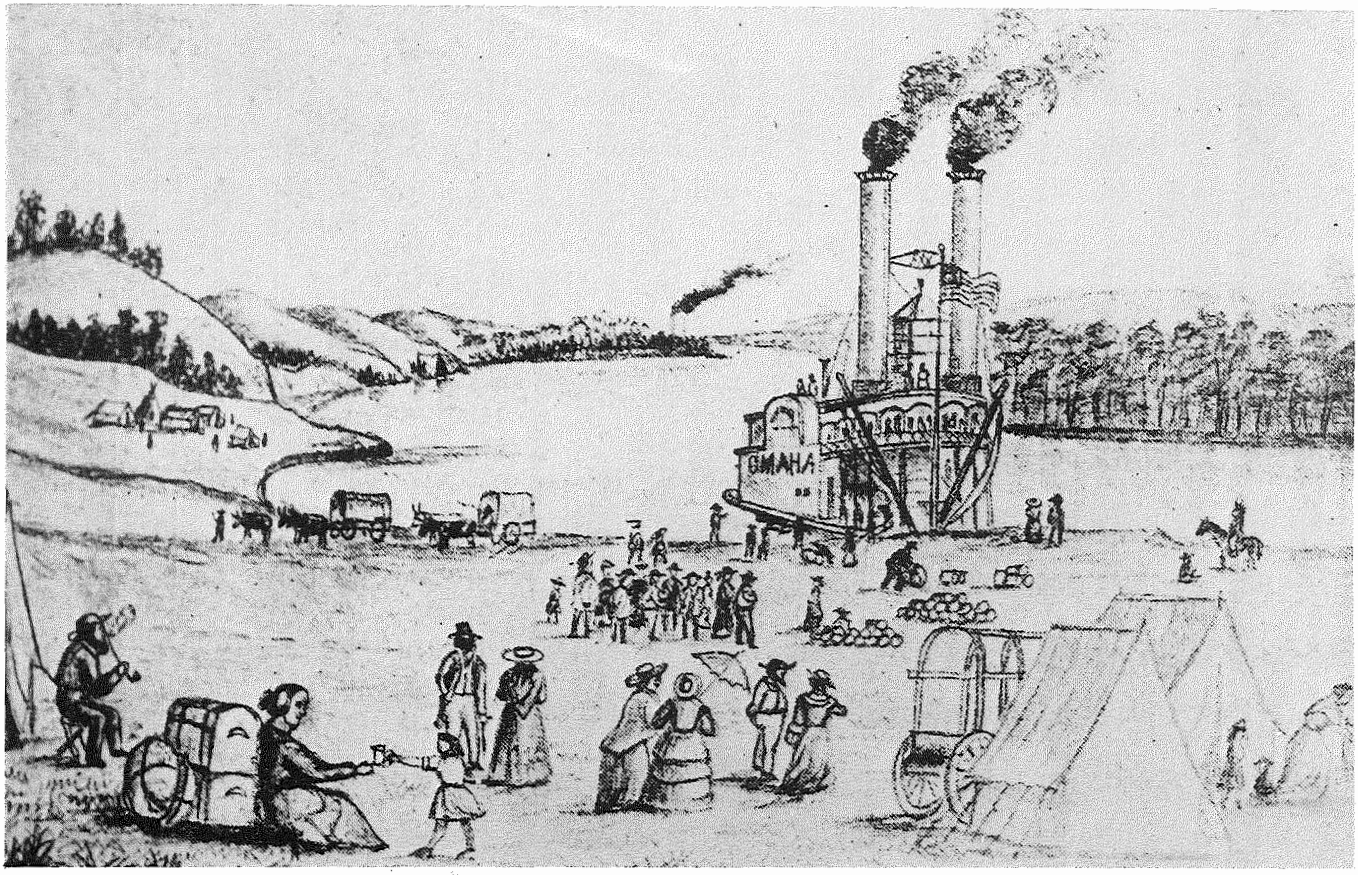
Unlike the *Frontier Guardian*, it was not obvious from the contents of either the *Bugle* or the *Arrow* that the editor was a Mormon. The emphasis of the *Arrow* was on territorial news, advantages of settlement in Omaha, and the reasons it should become the territorial capital. However, on occasion the paper did advocate policies favorable to the Mormons, including the reappointment of Brigham Young as governor of Utah Territory in 1854 and holding that territories (including Nebraska and Utah) should elect their own governors.[6]

The *Nebraska Palladium* (Bellevue) was the chief rival of the *Arrow*. Gentile in ownership, it advocated Bellevue as "the only town in the territory suitable for the building of a great city."[7] Not surprisingly, it regarded the *Arrow's* advocacy of Omaha with scorn. Although the *Arrow* was discontinued in November, 1854, Johnson continued to advance the interests of Omaha through the *Bugle*, and the war of words with the *Palladium* over the selection of a capital continued.

After several months of debate on the capital issue, Acting Governor Thomas B. Cuming in December, 1854, selected Omaha for the first session of the territorial Legislature. The *Palladium* sarcastically suggested that Johnson and the *Bugle* may have been responsible for convincing the governor to select Omaha and made them scapegoats for the selection.

In a fabricated letter written by the editor from Joseph Smith to Joseph Johnson (addressed "to Brother Joseph on Earth" and written from "down below"), Smith congratulated Johnson for practicing "my qualities and characteristics . . . humbug, hypocrisy, deceit and flattery." Comparing Johnson with himself, the *fictional* Smith said:

> I pronounced Nauvoo the resting place of God's elect, the New Jerusalem, the Mecca of pilgrim Mormons . . . you with equal truth declare all Nebraska to be a barren, uninhabited wilderness, but Omaha that there, are the only accommodations for the Territorial Legislature, the very sacred ground for those whose God is Mammon.[8]



George Simons sketch of steamer Omaha *landing Mormons at Florence in 1854.*

For this accomplishment the imaginary Smith proclaimed that his mantle had fallen on Johnson's shoulders to convert Cuming to Mormonism, and to continue to advance the interests of Omaha:

> Go on Joseph, let the gentiles be your dupes. Let no lies however large stay you (I have no fears), pronounce Kanesville and Omaha City the only towns worthy of notice between Pisgah and Salt Lake and T. B. Cumming [*sic*] the only person fit to be Governor of Nebraska and the name of Mormon, through you will never lose its reputation and when you have done with Saints and Gentiles on earth, you can follow me.[9]

Finally, the author of the letter suggested that Johnson continue to devote his attention to influencing the governor:

> Your two wives are sufficient, take unto yourself no more, lest young Joseph's crying for bread will rise up, like thieves, in the night and thus distract your attention from young Thomas, who at this time stands so much in need of your assistance.[10]

The same issue of the *Palladium* contained a letter from a *Bugle* subscriber, who complained about the editor's "barbarous mutilations of the English language," as well as his "base and unwarranted misrepresentations and reiterated falsehoods." Such rhetoric against Johnson and his church is not surprising, considering the volatile nature of politics and the dislike some residents had toward Mormons, who had influenced for so many years the politics in Pottawattamie County, Iowa. Johnson seemed to revel in this controversy and continued to publish newspapers in various locations in Iowa and Nebraska until 1861. Even after Johnson sold the *Bugle* in 1856, other newspapers continued to refer to it as a "Mormon organ," much to the consternation of its new owner.[11]

The selection of Omaha for the first Legislature did not end the competition among the towns on the Missouri River. Each continued to promote itself as the logical terminus for the projected railroad because of "superior" geographical location. Mormons became entangled in this phase of the competition as well.

When territorial status was achieved, promoters from Council Bluffs purchased the Winter Quarters site and, even though several were Mormons, changed its name to Florence, and touted its "superior" location. Johnson regretted in the *Arrow* that "the good old significant name (Winter Quarters) has been changed."[12] But Mormonism's historical ties remained,

and Mormons became an important part of Florence's ambitious plan to become a terminus for the railroad and an outfitting point for westbound pioneers. The town's founders improved the Mormon cemetery and in November, 1854, authorized the tender of half share of company stock to John Taylor in order to lure the church back into the Missouri Valley after an absence of two years.[13]

These initiatives may have encouraged Brigham Young's decision to utilize Florence as a stopover location for the rest and recuperation of handcart companies in 1856, and during the next four years 10 handcart expeditions passed through the town. By 1859 Florence replaced Iowa City as the main outfitting post for westbound pioneers. Throughout this period the rapidly increasing Mormon population and Mormon merchants contributed to the economic growth of the region[14] but were unsuccessful in convincing the railroad of its importance.

Although the founders of Florence may have sought the Mormon presence in their community for selfish reasons, the Mormons returned to Florence in part to extend their influence in Nebraska Territory. Another opportunity to further this goal presented itself in 1857 when a Mormon agent was awarded a contract by the federal government to transport mail between Salt Lake City and Independence, Missouri. In order to perform this contract, the Mormons planned to establish more than 40 settlements along the route which could also serve as resting spots for handcart pioneers.[15] Several were established in Nebraska in 1857, including Genoa, the most significant Mormon settlement in Nebraska prior to the Utah War. Located approximately 100 miles west of Florence at Loup Fork, it was settled by more than 100 families from the vicinity of St. Louis in May, 1857. Its historian, who referred to it as the "Nebraska Mission," boasted that there were approximately 850 acres under cultivation and that the city consisted of 400 acres, 10 acres to a block, 8 lots in a block.[16] Genoa was clearly intended to be both a permanent settlement and a place of refuge for pioneers.

Brigham Young's plan to establish settlements along the Mormon trail was unnerving to some Nebraskans, who saw in it an attempt, reminiscent of Missouri and Illinois, to control the region's politics, transportation routes, and trade with the Indians. But before the full extent of Brigham Young's plans could be realized, the mail contract was canceled, and an Ar-

my was sent to Utah. This prompted Brigham Young to order the dismantling of most Mormon stations between Fort Laramie and the Missouri River, but he retained Genoa.

During the Utah War, when James Buchanan sent the Army to Utah to replace Brigham Young as governor, some Nebraskans were influenced by the increasingly anti-Mormon rhetoric directed against Young and the Utah church, and became even more suspicious of Mormon motives in the territory. Newspaper accounts of 1858 demonstrate this feeling. Recalling the curse that Brigham Young had pronounced on the gentiles of Pottawattamie County, some of whom later settled Omaha, one writer for the *Omaha Times* predicted:

> When our army in Utah shall proceed to enter the valley of Salt Lake, the Mormons, *en masse,* will rise in hostile array, for they are sworn to resist. At that moment let the good people west of us look well to their safety. We hesitate not to say that those one thousand Mormons, near Loup Fork, armed and equipped as they are, can and will sweep from existence every *Gentile village and soul* west of the Elkhorn. As to Omaha City, the nursling of a Government hostile to Mormon rule—the rival of Mormon towns, and the victim of sworn Mormon vengeance, how shall she fare in this strife? In the space of one night, the one hundred saints now here could lay in ashes every home in our city, whilst the armed bands in our vicinity should pillage, and revel in our blood.[17]

Those perceiving the Mormons in this way often advocated strong military action. For instance, the *Advertiser* called for a solution chillingly similar to one tried 20 years earlier in Missouri: "To call a large volunteer force, let them enter Utah at three principal points, and exterminate the whole abominable horde."[18]

Not everyone in the area held such extreme views. A more moderate solution was suggested by the *Weekly Bugle,* which argued that Utah should be admitted as a state, the Army withdrawn, and the money appropriated to build a railroad to the Pacific. According to this paper this would

> afford the means of pouring into Utah an enlightened and industrious people, whose moral influence would do a great deal towards eradicating the errors of Mormonism, free the region from incompetent federal officials resulting in the maintenance of "the honor and dignity of the government," . . . a great expenditure of the public treasury saved, and the spilling of human blood and the loss of many valuable lives avoided.[19]

This solution appears to have been premised on the notion that Nebraska and Iowa Mormons were unlike those living in Utah

because they were not controlled by Brigham Young. An example of this view was expressed by an Iowa congressman, who in March, 1858, observed:

> When they mingle and live with our own citizens, they are quiet, law-abiding and generally worthy citizens. But when aggregated together, as they were in Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and as they now are at Salt Lake, they become bigoted, fanatical, vain-glorious; and regarding the exterior world as "gentiles."[20]

Similarly, the editors of the *Omaha Times*, whose correspondent had warned about a potential Mormon uprising in Nebraska, wrote that they differed "with him in some of the views expressed in it." In particular, the paper questioned the correspondent's apprehension about Mormons residing in Florence and Genoa:

> The numbers of that sect in this vicinity are too few and too completely under the subjection of the more numerous "Gentiles," to cause any uneasiness in regard to a rising among them . . . the slightest attempt at which would be the signal for their extermination or their banishment.[21]

In a subsequent issue a resident of Elkhorn concurred that the "correspondent has overrated the danger to be feared from the Mormons," but also suggested:

> A body of U.S. troops [should] be stationed at this point immediately, with directions to examine all [Mormon] trains proceeding west, and to detain such as might seem to be endeavoring to give "aid and comfort" to the Mormon rebels.[22]

Another reader also doubted that Nebraska Mormons were dangerous and cautioned the paper that "in order that people may not be deterred from immigrating here, it is necessary to keep down all fear of future molestation from whatever cause." This writer also felt that "[t]here are too many Mormons settled permanently in Western Iowa and in Nebraska, who would, in event of any such consummation as imagined by your correspondent, share the same fate of the gentiles."[23]

Another Nebraskan, who at the outbreak of the Utah War knew the Mormons very well and had no reasons to fear them, was John Fitch Kinney of Nebraska City.[24] Kinney, a New York native, had become acquainted with the Mormons in Lee County while serving on the Iowa State Supreme Court. Because of his association with Mormons and apparent ability to get along with them, he was appointed chief justice of the

Utah Territorial Supreme Court by President Franklin Pierce in 1853. Although Kinney occasionally found himself in conflict with the Mormons, he refrained from criticizing them in public. Even so, on occasion he incurred the wrath of Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and others,[25] but was never thought of in the same category as his fellow justices Stiles and Drummond, who were detested by the Mormon leadership.[26]

Nevertheless, Kinney covertly disliked the Mormons and sent a number of letters to the United States attorney general complaining about their disregard for civil authority and the need for the appointment of a new non-Mormon governor.[27] After serving for less than two years, Kinney left the territory in 1856, complaining that he was the victim of "sagebrushing," a practice of territorial legislatures whereby unpopular judges were deprived of jurisdiction or given jurisdiction over unpopulated areas.[28] Kinney traveled to Washington to solicit another appointment through the help of his brother-in-law, Congressman Augustus Hall of Iowa, but Hall was defeated for reelection before he could secure an appointment for Kinney. Subsequently, Hall and Kinney moved to Leavenworth, Kansas, and engaged in speculative land deals with William Russell. In April of 1857, they traveled to Nebraska to search for a townsite and seek other economic opportunities. Kinney began practicing law and speculating in land in Nebraska City. Hall was appointed the chief justice of the territorial Supreme Court.[29]

Shortly after his arrival in Nebraska City, the military expedition, which Kinney had tacitly encouraged the government to undertake, finally departed for Utah. Kinney, always a pragmatist, did not denounce the Mormons to curry local favor but instead perceived in the conflict an opportunity to induce Russell, Majors and Waddell, which had a government contract to supply goods to the Army in Utah, to utilize Nebraska City as the departure point for government supply trains. Perhaps because of Kinney's familiarity with Utah and his previous speculative dealing with Russell, he was elected chairman of a meeting convened to convince Majors that Nebraska City was the best departure point. Even though other Nebraska towns, including Omaha, were under consideration, Kinney and his fellow townsmen convinced Majors to select Nebraska City.[30] This was a major gain for Nebraska

City, and its residents were jubilant at the economic prospects of their selection. On February 27, 1857, the *Nebraska News* proclaimed:

> Fraud located the Seat of Government of Nebraska at Omaha and gave that place a temporary advantage over all others in the Territory; but the shrewd judgment of sagacious and careful businessmen derived from a personal examination of its geographical position and natural advantages, has finally secured for Nebraska City a prominence and prospect for the future unquestionably fairer than those of any other point in the territory.[31]

The newspaper in Omaha, as despondent as the *News* was jubilant, observed:

> We all know that the route north of the Platte is superior to the South. We have men of capital and influence, and yet when we all knew that a point was to be selected for a military depot, Omaha had not a friend at court; she was not represented and the result we have seen.[32]

Although the Utah War was of short duration, it created the opportunity both Nebraska City and Kinney needed. From that beginning Nebraska City became a major outfitting location for Russell, Majors and Waddell, and Kinney profited as a purchasing agent for the shippers.

As short-lived as the Utah War was, it did make Mormons in the territory uneasy about their situation. The conflict did not result in the devastation anticipated by some Nebraskans but did heighten the tension between Mormons and non-Mormons. The sending of Johnson's Army also caused many Mormons to become increasingly anxious to immigrate to Utah. A missionary visiting Florence in January, 1858, wrote:

> The Saints around here begin to feel anxious about emigration; all appear very anxious to go this spring, though to all human appearance the prospect is very poor. The public feeling is becoming much excited against us.[33]

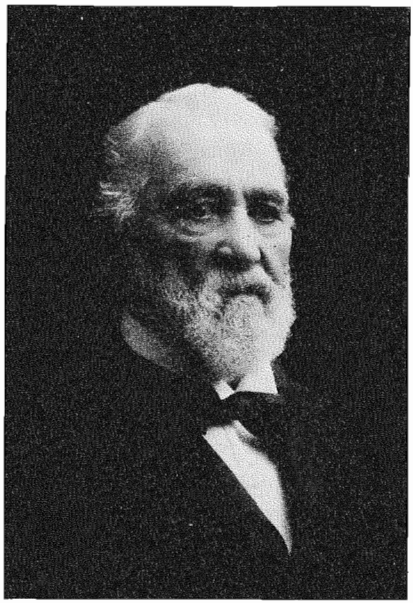
The Mormons complained that the city's mayor was a "notorious villain" and a "bitter enemy to the saints" who had "tried his best to obtain permission from headquarters to raise a volunteer regiment of scoundrels like himself to go to Utah this spring." The mayor was accused of having frequently indulged "in the most bitter deprecations against the Mormons" and "did his best to have every Mormon expelled from the city."[34] The *Omaha Nebraskian* wrote that it was glad to hear that the Mormons were unhappy in Florence and desired to

leave, and took the opportunity to degrade its rival town as well.

> There is little or no use for them in Nebraska, and Brigham needs all the saints he can muster. When the Mormons get out of Florence, that interesting hamlet will be deserted. Some of our enterprising citizens would do well to purchase that town site for a sheep or hog pasture.[35]

Genoa also experienced problems which resulted in intense internal dissension. When the war ended, conditions did not improve; an Indian agent conspired to have the Mormons removed from Genoa because he claimed the Pawnee Indians were entitled to the land by treaty. Despite Mormon appeals to the federal government and efforts to compromise with the Pawnee the agent forced the Mormons to leave in 1859 and to sell their possessions for discounted prices. Many left for locations other than Salt Lake City, and some became attracted to the reorganization which was gathering converts among disenchanted Brighamites in the Midwest.[36] It is interesting that throughout this period Kinney continued to maintain contact with the Mormons in Nebraska and in March, 1858, visited a missionary who wrote that Kinney "offered to render essential service to any of our brethren that needed, and assured me that I might fully depend on his integrity toward us."[37] Two years later Kinney was reappointed chief justice of the Utah Territorial Supreme Court by President Buchanan.

Despite the negative impact the Utah War had on Mormon settlements, it does not appear to have discouraged Brigham Young from his original plan of establishing settlements from the Missouri River to Salt Lake. In fact, there is evidence to suggest that Brigham Young continued to see settlements and the Mormon presence in Nebraska Territory as vital to the interests of the church. On October 17, 1858, he wrote to Joseph E. Johnson and asked him to leave Genoa to take charge of a settlement at Deer Creek, Nebraska Territory (now Wyoming), and even suggested that Johnson become a candidate for the Nebraska territorial Legislature.[38] During that same year in correspondence to Johnson and others, he expressed his desire that Genoa be strengthened.[39] In 1859 Young continued to show interest in re-instituting his prior plans to claim and establish settlements at sites originally surveyed for the Brigham Young Express and Carrying Company set up by Young to service the mail contract of 1856.[40]



Chief Justice
John Fitch Kinney

However, in a letter written to Johnson in 1860, shortly after the abandonment of Genoa, Young became cautious about making further settlements in the territory. He stated that experience had shown it unsafe to make investments in permanent settlements between Utah and the Missouri River.[41] Subsequent correspondence that same year indicates, however, that Young was still willing to keep stations in operation and in 1860 directed Elder William Pyper of Florence to arrange for families to man stations at Deer Creek, Wood River, and near Fort Laramie.[42] He stipulated that the people at the stations would associate with non-Mormons in a neighborly way and that they should neither be too zealous nor lapse as Mormons.[43]

After 1860, Brigham Young's vision of establishing major settlements in Nebraska became more dream than reality, and the Mormon profile in the territory dropped considerably from what it had been prior to the Utah War. Despite this lower profile newspapers continued to call attention to Mormons passing through the territory on their way to Utah and to those who had become disaffected in Utah and were returning east.[44] In fact, some Mormons who returned to the Midwest were eager to publicize what they considered the wrongs of Mormonism. One such Mormon to take up residence in the territory was John A. Ahmanson, a Danish convert

who fled Utah in the spring of 1857. Two years after leaving Utah he signed a complaint against Brigham Young in Omaha and sought to attach church property, claiming that some of the personal effects which he had left in Nebraska on his way to Utah had not been returned to him and that he had not been compensated for acting as captain of a handcart company with which he had traveled to Utah in 1856. Young's attorneys answered Ahmanson's complaint by stating that the church president was not responsible for any goods left by Ahmanson in Nebraska and that the Danish convert had never been employed by the church but had been chosen by the other immigrants for their own protection. The first jury to hear the evidence was discharged because it would not agree on a verdict. But Ahmanson was eventually awarded damages in the amount of $1,297.50 in November, 1861. Although the case was appealed to the territorial Supreme Court, it was never argued and settled out of court for $1,000.[45]

As the Ahmanson episode demonstrates, Mormons were not soon forgotten even if their numbers decreased after the Utah war. In 1860 a Democratic newspaper in Omaha published an uncomplimentary article about the Mormons in Utah, including accounts of "avenging angels." There was nothing unique about the story; its general theme had been published many times before. But the *Nebraska Republican* looked upon it as an opportunity to attract Mormon voters. It asked its readership to evaluate the effect such attacks would have on an upcoming election:

> It will not be four weeks before the men who stand behind the editor of that paper will be around electioneering Mormons to vote the Democratic ticket. What will be their answer? Will they go to the polls and vote for men whose organ cannot find epithets offensive enough to apply to them, and who endorses a prayer that "God in his wrath may speedily damn" them. We shall see.[46]

The editor of the *Nebraskian* replied by claiming that the *Republican* apparently "approves of those crimes attributed to the 'destroying angel' of Utah, by our correspondent, and more than intimates that we place all Mormons in the same category." The *Nebraskian* denied that it intended to attack Nebraska Mormons and pointed out that "as a class, they will probably compare favorably in point of virtue with the same

number of other churches." Furthermore, the paper pointed out that if the reported activities of the "destroying angels" of Utah were true, "the Mormons hereabouts will condemn them as heartily as we do."[47]

During the Civil War, Mormon immigrants continued to travel through the territory, but few remained as permanent residents. Even the Mormons who were long-time residents of Nebraska began to emigrate to Utah or leave the church. While many of the residents of Genoa left the church, Joseph E. Johnson answered Brigham Young's call to establish a settlement at Wood River. As in other areas in which he had resided, Johnson started a newspaper in Wood River, but unlike his previous papers, the *Huntsman's Echo* contained sectarian articles about the revelations of Joseph Smith, including the so-called Civil War prophecy, as well as frequent notices concerning people traveling to and from Utah. But by August 1, 1861, Johnson wrote that he was leaving the territory and would probably become a citizen of Utah to get away from turmoil, strife, and bloodshed, to seek quiet in the "happy, peaceful vales of Utah." Furthermore, he alleged:

> This Republican reign of terror, blood tyranny and oppression is too much for our Democratic style of free thought, free speech and freedom, where men who may chance to differ in opinion with blood-thirsty fanatics, are threatened and sometimes despoiled or murdered.[48]

Like many contemporary Mormons, including Brigham Young, Johnson was pessimistic about the future, especially after the Utah conflict and the Civil War, and looked upon Utah as a place of refuge.[49]

Johnson's attitude was not unique. The Mormons had been instructed to "come to Zion" since 1848. Even so, the Mormon leadership had flirted with the idea of maintaining settlements along the trail to the Mormon mecca, many of which were in Nebraska Territory. In the process the Mormons had contributed to the growth and prosperity of the territory. However, in the late 1860s this idea, at least as far as permanent settlements were concerned, became less attractive because of resistance by Nebraskans to Mormon presence in the territory.

Despite this resistance there remained a sizable transient Mormon community in Nebraska from the end of the Utah

War until 1866, due largely to the in-migration of immigrants from church missions. The main Mormon settlement remained in Florence until 1864, when the site of Wyoming, Nebraska, near Nebraska City, was chosen for outfitting. Wyoming was used for approximately two years, after which emigrants traveled by rail to the farthest western point then completed. By the time Nebraska became a state in 1867, there was no longer a need to outfit emigrants in the area and, therefore, no significant Mormon population. By the time the railroad finally reached Utah in 1869, Mormon presence and influence in Nebraska had become a thing of the past.[50]

NOTES

1. The history of the Winter Quarters period is discussed by E. Widtsoe Shumway, "Winter Quarters, Nebraska, 1846-1848," *Nebraska History*, 25 (June, 1954), 115; 26 (March, 1955), p. 43; A. Russell Mortensen, "Mormons, Nebraska and the Way West," *Nebraska History*, 46 (December, 1965), p. 259. The conflict with the Indian agents is discussed by Robert A. Trennert Jr., "The Mormons and the Office of Indian Affairs: The Conflict Over Winter Quarters, 1846-1848," *Nebraska History*, 53 (Fall, 1972), p. 381.

2. For a description of Brigham Young's discourse, see "Diary of Oliver B. Huntington," May 14, 1848, II, p. 17, Utah State Historical Society; Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, ed., "A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876," Vol. I (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1955), p. 27; "Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," May 8, 1848 (herein after J. H.); Joseph Smith, "History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," Vol. VII (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1950), p. 625. See also B. H. Roberts, "Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Vol. III (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), p. 320.

3. The history of the Council Bluffs period is discussed by J. Keith Melville, *Conflict and Compromise: The Mormons in Mid-Nineteenth Century Politics* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1974), pp. 1-37.

4. Previous to that time the west side of the Missouri was unoccupied by white settlers except at Fort Kearny and at Bellevue, at the Indian Agency, the Presbyterian Mission, and at Peter A. Sarpy's Trading Post. But by the time of the Nebraska-Kansas Act most Indian claims had been ceded to the federal government and opened for settlement. See James C. Olson, *History of Nebraska* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), p. 80.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

6. *Omaha Arrow*, November 10, 1854, p. 3, col. 1; December 29, 1854, p. 4, col. 1. For details of Johnson and his newspapers see Charles H. Babbitt, "Early Days at Council Bluffs" (Washington, DC: Press of Byron S. Adams, 1916), p. 88; Charles Aldrich, ed., "The Annals of Iowa," II (Des Moines: Historical Department of Iowa, 1895-1897), p. 598; *Ibid.*, IX, p. 167; George W. Johnson, "Jottings By The Way," (St. George: C. E. Johnson, 1882), pp. ix-x; *Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska Historical Society*, Second series, V (Lincoln: Jacob North, 1902), pp. 52-53; James W. Savage and John T. Bell, *History of the City of Omaha* (New York: Munsell & Co.,

1894), p. 157; Thomas Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra* (New York, 1890), pp. 539-552; Kate B. Carter (ed.), *Heart Throbs of the West*, Vol. VII (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1946), pp. 368-369.

7. *Nebraska Palladium*, November 29, 1854, p. 2, col. 2.

8. *Ibid.*, January 3, 1855, p. 1, cols. 2-3.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *See e.g., Council Bluffs Bugle*, July 21, 1857, p. 3, col. 3; *Weekly Council Bluffs Bugle*, July 20, 1859, p. 2, col. 4.

12. *Omaha Arrow*, November 10, 1854, p. 2. For details on the settlement of Florence, see Donald F. Danker, "The Nebraska Winter Quarters Company and Florence," *Nebraska History*, 37 (March, 1956), p. 27-50. Like the other Nebraska towns struggling for prominence, Florence hoped to become the territorial capital and an outfitting center for western-bound immigrants. The owners of the claim noted that Florence was the proper location for a bridge linking Iowa and Nebraska because the river "here is something less than 300 yards wide with a solid rock bottom!! from shore to shore at a depth of from five to twelve feet." *Ibid.*, p. 31. The local paper was appropriately named the *Rock Bottom*. The *Nebraska Palladium* responded by noting that its rival paper "arrogates itself, the claim of being established upon a rock." *Nebraska Palladium*, November 29, 1854, p. 2., col. 3.

13. Mormon emigrants outfitted in the Missouri River Valley from 1846-1852. In 1853 the main outfitting location was Keokuk, Iowa. In 1854 it was in the Kansas City area. In 1855 emigration began on the East Coast rather than in New Orleans. Finally, in 1856 the handcart pioneers were outfitted in Iowa City, Iowa.

14. Danker, p. 44; See also *Ibid.*, p. 36; Alfred Sorenson, *History of Omaha* (Omaha: Gibson, Miller & Richardson, 1889), p. 32.

15. Leonard Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge: Harvard Press, 1958), pp. 163-171.

16. Marguerette R. Burke, ed., "Henry Hudson and the Genoa Settlement," *Nebraska History*, 41 (September, 1960), p. 201, 222.

17. *Omaha Times*, April 29, 1858, p. 1, col. 1.

18. *Nebraska Advertiser* (Brownville), January 7, 1858, p. 2, col. 2-3.

19. *Weekly Bugle*, January 20, April 14, 1858; April 21, 1858.

20. *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, April 3, 1858, p. 1, col. 4-8.

21. *Omaha Times*, April 29, 1858, p. 2., col. 3.

22. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1858, p. 2., col. 3.

23. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1858, p. 3., col. 3-4.

24. For a history of Kinney see Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, Vol. 4 (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons Co., 1904); p. 668-671; A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Nebraska*, Vol. 2 (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1882), pp. 1220-1224; Editorial, "John Fitch Kinney," *Annals of Iowa*, 16 (October, 1927), p. 145.

25. See, e. g., *Journal History*, May 29, 1855, April 13, 1856; Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, "A Journey to Great Salt Lake City," Vol. I (London: W. Jeffs, 1861), pp. 206-207; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 290.

26. *Journal History*, July 11, 1857. For a reflection of this viewpoint *see* Joseph Fielding Smith, "Essentials in Church History" (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1947), p. 494.

27. Records relating to appointment of federal judges for Utah Territory, National Archives, Kinney to Cushing, March 1, 1855, Kinney to Cushing, April 1, 1855.

28. Records relating to appointment of federal judges for Utah Territory, National Archives, Kinney to Black, n.d.

29. *Ibid.*, Kinney to Hall, November 8, 1856; Hall to Jenny Hall, January 10, 1857, January 15, 1857.

30. For a history of Russell, Majors and Waddell, see Raymond W. and Mary L. Settle, "War Drums and Wagon Wheels," (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966).

31. William E. Lass, *From the Missouri to the Great Salt Lake: An Account of Overland Freighting* (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1972), p. 62.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

33. *Journal History*, January 24, 1858.

34. *Ibid.*, February 28, 1858.

35. *Omaha Nebraskian*, March 17, 1858, p. 2., col. 6.

36. See A. R. Blair, *Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: Moderate Mormonism*, in *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History* (Herald House: Independence, Missouri, 1979) (F. McKiernan, A. Blair and P. Edwards, eds.), pp. 216-217; Buddy Youngreen, "Sons of Martyrs' Nauvoo Reunion," *B. Y. U. Studies 20 (Spring, 1980)*, p. 368.

37. *Journal History*, March 27, 1858.

38. Letter, Brigham Young to Joseph Ellis Johnson, Brigham Young Letterbook, 4:449-450 (October 17, 1858), located at the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereinafter referred to as the B. Y. Letterbook).

39. *Ibid.*; Letter, Brigham Young to Joel H. Johnson, B. Y. Letterbook, October 17, 1858; Letter, from Brigham Young to H. S. Eldredge, B. Y. Letterbook, October 20, 1858.

40. Letter, Brigham Young to H. S. Eldredge, B. Y. Letterbook, May 6, 1859.

41. Letter, Brigham Young to Joseph Ellis Johnson, B. Y. Letterbook, April 19, 1860.

42. Letter, Brigham Young to William Pyper, B. Y. Letterbook, April 25, 1860.

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Omaha Nebraskian*, July 8, 1857, p. 2, col. 5-6; *Omaha Times*, May 6, 1858, p. 1, col. 4.

45. Territorial Judicial Records, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln; Charles W. Martin, "John Ahmanson vs. Brigham Young: A Nebraska Legal Controversy, 1859-1861," *Nebraska History*, 64 (Spring, 1983), pp. 1-20.

46. *Nebraska Republican* (Omaha), February 8, 1860, p. 2, col. 1.

47. *Omaha Nebraskian*, February 11, 1860, p. 2, col. 5.

48. *Huntsman's Echo* (Wood River Center, Nebraska), August 1, 1861, p. 2, col. 4-6.

49. For a description of Johnson's activities in Utah, see Andrew Karl Larsen, *I Was Called to Dixie* (St. George, Utah: 1961).

50. Andrew Jenson, "Latter-Day Saints Emigration from Wyoming, Nebraska, 1864-1866," *Nebraska History*, 16(April-June 1936), p. 113.