

THE DUTCH OVEN:
MORMON FOODWAYS FROM NAUVOO TO THE SALT LAKE VALLEY
1846 TO 1869

by

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to those who went before me and most gratefully to my wife whose patience and understanding has been my foundation.

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ABSTRACT

Mormon pioneer foodways were defined by the Word of Wisdom, the Mormon experience on the overland trail, European food traditions, and the isolated Utah environment. The combination of these components created unique overland trail foodways. Joseph Smith, the beginnings of Mormonism, and the conception of the Word of Wisdom laid the foundation for Mormon foodways. After leaving Nauvoo, Illinois to journey westward, the Mormon pioneers' experiences strengthened the bond of community between the various nationalities that were present amongst the Mormon pioneers. Upon entering the Salt Lake Valley, the Mormons endeavored to establish viable settlements in the bleak environment of the Utah territory. After the passing of a few years in the valley, Brigham Young, the leader of the Mormon Church after the death of Joseph Smith, pushed for a renewed commitment to the Word of Wisdom. The Mormons were a part of the thousands of overland pioneers who left the eastern United States to begin new lives in the western United States. Pioneers on the Oregon Trail, the California Trail, and the Mormon Trail shared many similar experiences while on the trail, but I argue that Mormon foodways were created and defined as multiple nationalities came together, unified by the Word of Wisdom and by their religious beliefs.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Warren Belasco wrote, “Food identifies who we are, where we came from, and what we want to be.”¹ This statement truly captures the spirit of the Mormon foodways. By studying Mormon foodways we can identify who the Mormons were, where they came from, and who they wanted to be. Mormon foodways were defined by the Word of Wisdom, the Mormon experience on the overland trail, European food traditions, and the arid isolation of the Utah environment. The Mormon Word of Wisdom is a commandment for Mormons that restricts the foods and liquids they consume.² Before the westward migration, Mormon foodways were influenced by the Word of Wisdom’s implementation as a religious tenet in Kirtland, Ohio, the Mormon settlements in Missouri, and in Nauvoo, Illinois. On the trail westward Mormon foodways were influenced by food scarcity, food adaptation, and the lax observation of the Word of Wisdom. The Mormon religion brought people from the Eastern United States, Great Britain, Germany, Scandinavian countries, and other regions to the Salt Lake Valley in Utah to unite as one people. Upon settling in the Salt Lake Valley in Utah, Mormon foodways were transformed again as an outcome of a renewed commitment to the Word of Wisdom, the ongoing influence of emigrants, and the isolation of the Salt Lake Valley.

¹ Warren Belasco, *Food: The Key Concepts* (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 1.

² The Word of Wisdom is the Mormon Church’s law concerning food, tobacco, and alcohol. It is found in Section 89 of the Doctrine and Covenants and in its entirety in appendix A of this thesis. For a more in-depth reading of the Word of Wisdom please see Clyde Ford, “The Origin of the Word of Wisdom” *Journal of Mormon History* 24, no. 2 (Fall 1998): 129-154.

These circumstances created unique overland foodways that give Mormon foodways a distinctive place in the annals of overland trails history.

The Mormon pioneer foodways are unique in that most foodways are created by cultural foods or religious foodways. The Mormon pioneer foodways combined elements of both. Mormons are multicultural with various cultural foodways in their church. These various cultures are united by religion and by the Word of Wisdom. Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell argue this point in their work, *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity*, when they state, “Foodways bind individuals together, define the group’s outreach and identity, distinguish in-groups from out-group, celebrate cultural cohesion, and provide a context for performance of group rituals.”³ Mormons are bound by foodways that define their identity, distinguish them from others, and show cultural cohesion through the Word of Wisdom.

In their respective countries they are identified by the foods they eat. Throughout the world, people are identified by the foods they eat. From national identity to regional identities, food identifies the people who live there. Some examples of national food identities are French, Chinese, Indian, Italian, Mexican, and American. When these nationalities are mentioned, certain foods come to mind, French sauces, Indian curries, Italian pastas, Mexican moles, or Chinese rice dishes. These foods have been repeated and repeated until foodways were created. Foodways were structured by class, gender, ethnic, and regional identities that identify a nation to the world.⁴ Each of these food

³ Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell, eds., *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Groups Identity* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 5.

⁴ E. N. Anderson, *Everyone Eats: Understanding Food and Culture*, 2nd ed. (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 5.

types can be used to identify a nation as a whole, but upon traveling a country, one finds great regional variance in their foods. In the United States, there is Southern cuisine, Southwestern Tex-Mex, Creole food in the Louisiana bayous, and many others that can be examples of regional identity cuisines. Similar regional variations exist in countries around the world.

Regional foodways create unique communities that differ from other regional communities in the same country. For example, in the Southern region of the United States, I use the South because that is where I am from, one can find foods that are instantly recognized as being southern, foods such as biscuits and gravy, shrimp and grits, barbeque bologna, fried green tomatoes, collard greens, fried okra, and southern fried chicken are just a few of foods that are identified as southern.⁵ Food is used to identify a people nationally or regionally. Food brings people together to create a communal identity that identifies who these people are and where they are from.

Just as food can identify a people, religion can do the same. In *Pilgrims in Their Own Land* Martin E. Marty wrote that religion “helps form bonds of traditions that root people within specific landscapes and near familiar people.”⁶ Religion creates communities in neighborhoods, cities, states, and countries. Religion brings people of all nationalities and cultures together under the umbrella of shared beliefs. Catholics, Muslims, Christians, and Mormons are found around the world, in countries as varied as

⁵ The evidence I use here is anecdotal: A friend of mine from California had never eaten biscuits and gravy until she moved to Tennessee in her mid-twenties.

⁶ Marty, Martin E., *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), ix.

Russia, Thailand, Ecuador, France, and the Ivory Coast. No matter their nationality they are unified religious communities. The members of the early Mormon Church were a community of cultures brought together by shared beliefs. They came from the eastern states of the United States, England, Germany, Scandinavia, and other countries to unite with fellow Mormons in the settling of the Salt Lake Valley. They were a community united by religion and they were also a community united by the Word of Wisdom.

As a religious tenet for Mormons around the world, the Word of Wisdom creates an identifier based on religious foodways. One could visit a Mormon household in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, or in Jipijapa, Ecuador, and they would not be offered coffee, tea, tobacco, or an alcoholic drink. The food in these household will be different, because of the cultural differences, but the Word of Wisdom identifies the food they do not partake of and identifies them as Mormon not only in Utah but in every country in which the Mormon Church is established. Just as it is argued by Meredith E. Abarca in *Food Across Borders*, the food choices we make say something of who we are. Likewise, with the foods we consume, we demonstrate how we present and represent ourselves to others.⁷ Mormons are identified by food items they do not partake of and it demonstrates how they want to represent themselves. These two elements, religion and the Word of Wisdom, united to create a unique community that came together to settle the Salt Lake Valley.

In 1846 Mormon pioneers left their home of Nauvoo, Illinois, to move westward, finally settling in the Salt Lake Valley. Mormon pioneer men, women, and children

⁷ Matt Garcia, E. Melanie DuPuis, and Don Mitchell, eds., *Food Across Borders* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University, 2017), 25.

traveled, most of them walked, over a thousand miles to a new home. The emigrant European Mormons traveled even further, as they crossed the Atlantic Ocean and then most of the continental United States to join with the Mormons in the Salt Lake Valley. More than twenty years later the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 effectively ended the need to travel by wagon or handcart to the Salt Lake Valley. This migration of close to 70,000 Mormons, both American and European, was unlike anything that had occurred in the history of the United States. Their story is filled with loss, hardships, and joy. It is a story of personal sacrifice and faith that a home would be found far away from the persecution that followed the Mormons from New York to Kirkland, Ohio, then Missouri and finally Nauvoo, Illinois. Within the stories of loss, sacrifice, and joy, the story of the Mormon pioneer is also a story of food.

Food's place of importance has often been overlooked in the annals of history. However, the emergence of food studies has revealed to historians and other academic fields the new understanding that can be gained by studying historical foodways. Foodways is the study of food processes and their cultural context, including but not limited to gardening, harvests, butchering, cookery, dining, festivals, and ethnic celebrations.⁸ Folklorist Jay Anderson in an interview with Brock Cheney, succinctly

⁸ Food studies entered the academic mainstream with the rise of social history in the 1960s and 1970s. Food studies became a window into the lives of common people. Seminal works in food studies include Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970); Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Praeger Publishers, 1972); Reay Tannahill, *Food in History* (New York: Stein and Day, 1973). The 1980s saw an emergence of works that focused on women and food, cultural foodways, the commercialization of food, politics and food, and food as a commodity. For examples, see Barbara Ketchum Wheaton, *Savoring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300 to 1789* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1983); and Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986); Laura Shapiro, *Perfection Salad: Women and Cooking at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1986); and Harvey Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); and Carole Counihan,

defined foodways as “from seed to shit and everything in between.”⁹ The study of foodways is the study of culture, historical peoples, gender, and religion.¹⁰ Food can

“Female Identity, Food, and Power in Contemporary Florence,” *Anthropological Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (1988): 51-62. For a look at food’s relationship with the counterculture, see Warren Belasco, *Appetite for Change: How the Counterculture Took on the Food Industry, 1966-1988* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989). Recent works from the 1990s and the 2000s delve into the social impact of food, food and gender, and religion and food. For examples, see Harvey Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of eating in Modern America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Melanie E. Dupuis, *Nature’s Perfect Food: How Milk Became America’s Drink* (New York: New York University Press, 2002); Arlene V. Avakian and Barbara Haber, “Feminism Food Studies: A Brief History” In *From Betty Crocker to Food Studies: Critical Perspectives on Women and Food* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005); Warren Belasco and Roger Horowitz, eds. *Food Chains: From Farmyard to Shopping Cart* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Tracey Deutsch, *Building a Housewife’s Paradise: Gender, Politics, and American Grocery Stores in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Thomas G. Alexander, “Brigham Young and the Transformation of the Utah Wilderness, 1847-58” *Journal of Mormon History* 41, no. 1 (January 2015): 103-124. For an examination of food studies in the classroom, read Daniel Bender, Rachel Ankeny, Warren Belasco, Amy Bentley, Elias Mandala, Jeffrey M. Pilcher, and Peter Scholliers “Eating in Class” *Radical History Review* no. 110 (Spring 2011): 197-216.

⁹ Jay Anderson, interview by Brock Cheney, Providence, Utah, September 18, 2006, **quoted in** Brock Cheney, *Plain but Wholesome: Foodways of the Mormon Pioneers* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 2012), 9. Brock Cheney’s book *Mormon Foodways* is the starting point of my research and I draw heavily from his work as Cheney’s book is the first book to look exclusively at Mormon foodways. There have been a great many books written about Mormon pioneers but their food is only mentioned in passing and is not given the time or space it truly deserves. Cheney writes that his book is not a comprehensive study of the Mormon foodways but a starting point from which future historians can begin their research. Cheney limits the scope of his work to Mormons in Utah during the 1846 to 1869 timeframe choosing to leave the trail experiences of the pioneers to future historians. Cheney gives great insight into the types of food the pioneers had upon settling in the Salt Lake Valley. He includes the recipes of many of the dishes mentioned by pioneer cooks knowing that modern cooks cannot replicate authentic pioneer food or flavor. Cheney feels that an attempt to replicate authentic pioneer food is needed so that we today can gain a greater appreciation for the pioneers and their lives. He acknowledges that an authentic replication of pioneer food will be hard to produce owing to the fact that their food differed so much from the food that we have today.

¹⁰ For an early historiography of foodways see: Charles Camp, “Foodways in Everyday Life,” *American Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (1982): 278-289. For works on foodways, see: Hasia R. Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Marion Nestle, “Writing the Food Studies Movement” *Food, Culture, and Society* 13, no. 2 (June 2010): 161-170; Carole Counihan and P. Williams-Forson, *Taking Food Public: Redefining Foodways In A Changing World* (Routledge, 2011); Jeffery Pilcher, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Food History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). For good examples of food and cultural studies, see E.N. Anderson, *Everyone Eats: Understanding Food and Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2005); and Alan H. Goodman, Darna Dufour, and Gretel Peltó, *Nutritional Anthropology: Biocultural Perspectives on Food and Nutrition* (Mountain View, California: Mayfield Press, 2000); and Carole Counihan, *A Tortilla is Like Life: Food and Culture in the San Luis Valley of Colorado* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009); and Bee Wilson, *Consider the Fork: A History of How We Cook and Eat* (New York: Basic Books, 2012) and Jeffrey M. Pilcher, *Planet Taco: A Global History of Mexican Food* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

bring cultures together, no matter the simplicity or extravagance of the food preparation. Food is culturally and socially important to us today and it held cultural and social significance to the pioneers of the westward trails. Food unites and binds cultures together. As stated by Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik in *Food in Culture*, “Food links body and soul, self and other, the personal and the political, the material and the symbolic.”¹¹ Mormons were bound together first by religion and then by the Word of Wisdom, their law pertaining to certain foods.

This topic is of significance to me, as the author, because I am Mormon. This is part of the story of the founders of my religion and the early pioneers hold a special place in Mormon lore. They laid the foundation for future generations to build upon. I feel this must be addressed at this point because at times my writing can be read as coming from an insider’s view. It is difficult at times to separate my views from the narrative, but every attempt has been made to do so in order to present a fair and objective study of the Mormon foodways. I argue that Mormon foodways were created under the influence of the Word of Wisdom, the emigrant foodways, the overland trail, and by the Salt Lake Valley they settled. There are a great many similarities between the Mormon trail foodways and the foodways of other overland pioneers who traveled to Oregon or California, but I argue that the Word of Wisdom and the isolated Salt Lake Valley place a distinct difference between these overland trail foodways. For many Mormons the influence of the Word of Wisdom began in 1833 and its influence on Mormon foodways

¹¹ Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik, eds., *Food and Culture: A Reader*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 2.

continues today. Around the world Mormons have changed their foodways to accommodate the Word of Wisdom's tenets in their lives.

I will in the next chapters show how Mormon foodways were created and how they were unique in overland trail history. Chapter two, through an explanation of the historical context of the Mormon Word of Wisdom, will give the reader a better understanding of its emergence and implementation. Chapter two also examines historical interpretations of the emergence of the Mormon Word of Wisdom first as a commandment or suggestion and eventually as a requirement for membership. Chapter three tells the story of the Mormon pioneers on the trail from Nauvoo, Illinois to the Salt Lake Valley. Chapter three highlights Mormon foodways on the trail, the similarities they shared with other overland trail foodways, and how the Word of Wisdom was, enforced on the trek to the west. It also addresses the passage of the European Mormons across the Atlantic Ocean to the Salt Lake Valley. Chapter four describes the settlement of the Salt Lake Valley, explains how the Mormon settlers dealt with the arid isolation of the valley, and explores how church leadership pushed for a greater commitment from church membership to the Word of Wisdom. This thesis highlights the distinctiveness of Mormon foodways and the implications for Mormons and overland trail historians alike.

CHAPTER 2: BEGINNINGS

And all saints who remember to keep and do these sayings, walking in obedience to the commandments, shall receive health in their navel and marrow in their bones; And shall find wisdom and great treasures of knowledge, even hidden treasures; - Doctrine and Covenants 89: 18-19¹

The history of the Mormons is one of tragedy and accomplishment as the church moved from New York to Ohio, then to Missouri, then to Illinois, and finally to the Salt Lake region in the Utah territory. Facing persecution in each place they settled, the Mormons moved from place to place looking for a home. In 1844 their prophet and leader Joseph Smith was killed in Carthage, Illinois. Two years after Smith's death the Mormons left Nauvoo, Illinois. Forced from their homes, the Mormons headed west. From 1847 until 1869 more than 70,000 Mormon pioneers, consisting of U.S. citizens and European immigrants, crossed the plains of the United States to settle in Utah. The Mormons chose to leave behind homes, businesses, and sometimes family, to heed the call for church members to gather in the west.

In their journey westward, Mormons developed distinctive foodways that were shaped equally and significantly by life on the trail and the Word of Wisdom. Evidently received as a revelation by Smith, the Word of Wisdom went through three phases of implementation. The first phase was characterized by a strict adherence to its principles, the second phase saw a more relaxed enforcement, and the last by a return to the strict adherence to its principles. From Kirtland, Ohio across the plains of the United States to

¹ B. H. Roberts, ed., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints: Period I. History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet by Himself*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, UT: The Deseret Book Company, 1978), 1:327-29. The Doctrine and Covenants is a compilation of revelations received by Joseph Smith intended for the church as a whole. This book is accepted as scripture by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This is part of the blessing promised to the members of the Mormon Church who follow the Word of Wisdom which can be found in section 89 of the Doctrine and Covenants.

Utah the Word of Wisdom created a set of principles that set the Mormons apart from contemporary society.²

Joseph Smith Jr. was born in the year 1805 on the 23rd of December in the town of Sharon, Vermont to Joseph Smith Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith.³ In Smith's tenth year his father moved the family, consisting of nine brothers and sisters and parents, to Palmyra, New York and then four years later to nearby Manchester, New York.⁴ During this time in western New York there was a great religious excitement among the various Protestant denominations, which earned the region the name "the burned-over district" because of the many energetic preachers traveling the region to visit religious camp meetings and

² My work is located in the context of an extensive historiography of the Mormon Church and its origins. See for instance, William Alexander Linn, *The Story of the Mormons: From the Date of Their Origin to the Year 1901* (1902; repr., New York: Russell and Russell Inc, 1963); Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1950); Robert Mullen, *The Latter-day Saints: The Mormons Yesterday and Today* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966); Russell R Rich, *Ensign to the Nations: A History of the LDS Church from 1846-1972* (Provo, UT: BYU Publications, 1972); B. H. Roberts, ed., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints: Period I. History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet by Himself*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, UT: The Deseret Book Company, 1978); Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984); Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987); George W. Givens, *In Old Nauvoo: Everyday Life in the City of Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1990); Richard E. Bennett, *We'll Find the Place: The Mormon Exodus, 1846-1848* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997); Paul K. Conkin, *American Originals: Homemade Varieties of Christianity* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Claudia Lauper Bushman and Richard Lyman Bushman, *Building The Kingdom: A History of Mormons in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005).

³ Roberts, *History of the Church*, 1:2. The History of the Church was written between 1838 and 1856. Most of the manuscript was written by scribes rather than Smith. Twenty scribes or authors have been identified as participating in the writing of the manuscript. The work was written by those closely associated with Smith and corroborated with journals of other church leaders such as Wilford Woodruff, who known for his meticulous journal writings. This work was first published in 1902 as a seven-volume set. This work is especially important to my interpretation of the Mormon history as it contains a compilation of primary sources.

⁴ Ibid., 1:2.

lead revivals.⁵ The Smith family was courted by the Baptists, the Methodists, and the Presbyterians. By the time Smith was fourteen, four of his family members, including his mother had joined the Presbyterian congregation in Manchester. Smith attended many church meetings and felt himself leaning toward joining the Methodists. Smith wrote of his persistent confusion caused by the discord among the different churches, “It was impossible for a person young as I was, and so unacquainted with men and things, to come to any certain conclusion who was right and who was wrong.”⁶ While reading the Bible Smith came upon a passage of scripture in the Epistle of James that helped him make his choice. The passage states, “If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraidth not; and it shall be given him.”⁷ Smith decided to ask God which church to join. What occurred in the spring of 1820 is widely regarded as the “first episode of Mormon history.”⁸ Smith went to the woods near his home to pray and received an answer to his prayer. At first, he told only his father and immediate family and later religious leaders in the region, Smith claimed he had seen God and Jesus

⁵ Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1950. For more readings about the religious happenings of western New York and the environment in which Joseph Smith was able to establish the Mormon Church see Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984); Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989); John Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990); Lawrence Foster, *Women, Family, and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1991); Paul K. Conkin, *American Originals: Homemade Varieties of Christianity* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005).

⁶ Roberts, *History of the Church*, 1:3-4.

⁷ James 1:5 (King James Bible).

⁸ Shipps, *Mormonism*, 9.

Christ in answer to his prayer about which church to join. Smith announced that he had been told “that I must join none of them, for they were all wrong.”⁹

Smith continued to live his life as any typical farm boy of the early 1800s might have done, working and playing on the family farm. Then in 1823, Smith claimed to be visited three times over the course of one night by the angel Moroni. Moroni revealed to Smith the calling that God had in store for him: Smith was to restore the church of Christ once more upon the earth.¹⁰ Smith was told by Moroni to go to a hill near his home to unearth a box that held golden plates. Upon Smith’s arrival at the spot he had been instructed to visit, the angel Moroni again appeared to Smith. Moroni told Smith that the plates contained the story of a people who had come to America from the land of Jerusalem. Upon the plates was the 1,000-year history of this people, which culminated in the visitation of Jesus Christ to the people in America after his death and resurrection in Jerusalem. Smith was not allowed to take the plates at that time, but was told to return to the same place every year for further instruction.¹¹ From 1820 until 1827, the year when Smith was allowed to take the plates, Smith was persecuted by local religious leaders for insisting that he had had a vision.¹² In 1828, the translation of the plates, into what would be known as the Book of Mormon, began. After various stops and starts to the work of the translation of the plates, including the loss of 116 pages of the manuscript, Smith

⁹ Roberts, *History of the Church*, 1:6.

¹⁰ Shipps, *Mormonism*, 3.

¹¹ Roberts, *History of the Church*, 1:16.

¹² Shipps, *Mormonism*, 9.

published the Book of Mormon in early 1830 in E.B. Grandin's Palmyra, New York print shop.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was established by Joseph Smith Jr. on April 6, 1830 in Fayette, Seneca County, New York. There were six members of the church, better known as the Mormon Church, on the original charter so as to fulfill the requirements of New York state law when establishing a new church.¹³ Having established a church according to the laws of the state of New York, the Mormons were still considered a fringe religion by contemporaries and by religious historians alike. Where did Smith and the Mormon Church fit into American religious history? Religion was not seen as important to the study of the history of America. When historians began studying religion in America, they looked at its part in the historical narrative as a triumph of the Protestant consensus making America a godly nation. Early religious historians did not look past mainstream religions in their various studies to see the impact the fringe groups had on American history. The narrative of Protestant consensus changed with the emergence of social history, multi-culturalism, feminism, and the civil rights movement influencing the new generation of historian. These new histories looked at conflict, diversity, and pluralism outside the umbrella of the perceived Protestant sphere to highlight the true influence of other religious groups.

The works of these historians suggested that the early 1800s was not a time of religious consensus, but a time of upheaval and change that created an context conducive for the rise of the Mormon Church and other religions. Historian Whitney Cross was

¹³ "Lds.org," June 12, 2018, www.lds.org/ensign/1971/01/april-6-1830-the-day-the-church-was-organized?lang=eng.

ahead of his time in 1950 by studying the Mormons, feminists, spiritualism, and communal living experiments in Western New York of the early 1800s, even though Cross then came full circle to say that Protestant white men made and shaped the moral foundation of their time.¹⁴ Historians, such as Timothy Smith and Sydney Ahlstrom, who followed Cross, continued to highlight the Protestant narrative that white men made America great. Historian Mary Ryan's 1983 *Cradle of the Middle Class* went against this narrative to highlight the influence of women particularly in western New York. Ryan described the role of women in the home as having changed as the nation changed from a market economy to an industrial economy. Ryan defined the woman of the early 1800s as the leader of family religious affairs and the first of her family to join a church with the rest to follow, such as Joseph Smith's mother Lucy Mack Smith who took her children to religious services while her husband stayed at home. These women were not just members of a church but they were socially active in movements for temperance, moral reform, and abolition.¹⁵ Historian Martin Marty's 1984 *Pilgrims in Their Own Land* continued the trend moving away from the Protestant narrative by focusing on the men and women who were pathfinders in religious movements of the early 1800s. Marty would claim that America was a complex mix of peoples, religious beliefs, and that non-denominational Protestantism dominated the 19th century. Marty also contended that America gave its citizens the freedom of religion and more importantly the freedom of

¹⁴Cross, *The Burned-Over District*, 1950.

¹⁵Ryan, Mary, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, NY, 1790-1865*. NY Cambridge University Press, 1983.

religious choice. In this interpretation these religious pathfinders created their own churches and became catalysts of change in their time.¹⁶

In his 1989 work, *The Democratization of American Christianity* historian Nathan Hatch explained how so many churches were able to rise from nothing in the early 1800s. Before this time religious leadership came from the educated elite social classes. Hatch argued that during this period the common man rose to become leaders of religious movements that affected hundreds, even thousands, of people. Hatch showed that in emerging religions the common man was elevated to positions of leadership based on the belief of individual potential and worth. Hatch argued that as social status or education ceased to be a requirement for church leadership positions, this belief spilled over to other aspects of everyday life.¹⁷ This environment of religious pluralism and individual belief created the ideal situation in which Joseph Smith could form the Mormon Church in 1830. Smith was uneducated, he was from a poor family, and was born in a time that religious groups were being formed by men and women looking for the way to live a better life. Because of the religious environment of the time, men and women were able to choose to join an established church or create their own. Smith believed that he was led by God and this direction led him and the Mormon Church eventually to the Salt Lake Valley.

¹⁶Marty, Martin E., *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984).

¹⁷ Hatch, Nathan O., *The Democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989.

In the fall of 1830, Smith received a revelation that instructed him to move the Mormon Church and its members to Ohio. Smith and the members of the Mormon Church were promised great blessings and knowledge upon relocating to Kirtland, Ohio.¹⁸ The members in New York sold their homes and farms to follow Smith to Ohio. Smith and his wife Emma relocated to Ohio in January of 1831 and the remainder of the church followed in the spring. The time that Smith and the church spent in Kirtland, Ohio laid the foundation for church doctrine and worship that distanced the church from traditional Protestantism. At this time in Kirtland missionaries were sent west to preach the gospel and baptize those willing to be baptized. Church leaders were told through revelation received by Smith to “build up my church in every region - until the time shall come when it shall be revealed unto you from on high, when the city of the New Jerusalem shall be prepared, that ye may be gathered in one, that ye may be my people and I will be your God.”¹⁹

As part of building a New Jerusalem, church members were instructed by Joseph Smith to follow divine principles as a godly society, in preparation for the second coming of Jesus Christ.²⁰ The members of the Mormon community were to come together in a united order to eradicate inequality. Wherever they settled the Mormons believed that

¹⁸ Roberts, *History of the Church*, 1:140-143. The revelation states, “There will I give unto you my law; and there you shall be endowed with power from on High.”

¹⁹ *Doctrine and Covenants* 42:8-9.

²⁰ “Guide to the Scriptures,” New Jerusalem, lds.org, accessed July 2, 2018, www.lds.org/scriptures/gs/new-jerusalem. New Jerusalem is the place where Mormons believe they will gather and Christ will personally reign with them during the Millennium. Zion (the New Jerusalem) will be built upon the American continent, and the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiacal glory (Article of Faith 1:10). It also refers to a holy city that will come down out of heaven at the beginning of the Millennium.

they were destined to establish a community that would grow into the New Jerusalem. The non-Mormon population that lived in the regions of Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois did not agree with Mormon beliefs and their practice of gathering their followers together in one place. This led to tense relationships between the church and established settlers in these regions. In June of 1831, Smith left Kirtland and headed west with a group of missionaries. When the Mormons reached Independence, Missouri in July Smith received a revelation that Independence was to be a gathering place for the Mormons and that the Mormons were to purchase surrounding lands and build a temple.²¹ Smith saw this as the place of Zion, the New Jerusalem, and converts to Mormonism across the country settled in areas surrounding Independence. At this point in their history Mormons began to gather together in one place rather than practicing their newfound faith where they lived. As missionaries were sent across the country and overseas to Europe, Mormon converts were encouraged by these missionaries to leave their homes and gather with other Mormons, first in Missouri, then Illinois, and finally Utah.

By 1832 more than 800 Mormons had settled in the area surrounding Independence. Smith did not join the saints in Independence. Instead he stayed in Kirtland for six more years. During this time, he received many more revelations that established church

²¹ Shipps, *Mormonism*, 16. The actual revelation received by Smith recorded in D&C section 57:1-5 states: 1 Hearken, O ye elders of my church, saith the Lord your God, who have assembled yourselves together, according to my commandments, in this land, which is the land of Missouri, which is the land which I have appointed and consecrated for the gathering of the saints. 2 Wherefore, this is the land of promise, and the place for the city of Zion. 3 And thus saith the Lord your God, if you will receive wisdom here is wisdom. Behold, the place which is now called Independence is the center place; and a spot for the temple is lying westward, upon a lot which is not far from the courthouse. 4 Wherefore, it is wisdom that the land should be purchased by the saints, and also every tract lying westward, even unto the line running directly between Jew and Gentile; 5 And also every tract bordering by the prairies, inasmuch as my disciples are enabled to buy lands. Behold, this is wisdom, that they may obtain it for an everlasting inheritance.

doctrine and organized the church hierarchy. While in Kirtland, Smith oversaw the start of construction on the Kirtland temple. In February of 1833, Smith received by revelation the Word of Wisdom.²² The Word of Wisdom was a law of health revealed to Smith, as he claimed, for the spiritual and physical benefit of mankind. Mormon foodways were about to change starting in Kirtland. As this was happening in Kirtland, Mormons continued to move to Missouri.

As the Mormon population increased in Independence, Missouri, dislike of the Mormons increased as well. The new settlers were blamed for the rise in land prices. The stores Mormons opened were perceived as increasing competition and lowering profits for non-Mormon businesses. Moreover Mormon opposition to slavery threatened the established settlers and the pro-slavery population. The old settlers were afraid that the political balance of the state would shift towards becoming a free state. By 1833 Mormons made up one-third of the population of Jackson County, where Independence was located, and their numbers increased almost daily. Non-Mormons feared the Mormons would soon be a majority and would elect fellow Mormons to positions of influence and power. Historian Jan Shipps has argued that Mormons created trouble for themselves by publicly claiming that God had prepared the land for their inheritance.²³

In August 1838 conflict broke out in Far West, Missouri when non-Mormons tried to block Mormons from voting and the Mormons refused to back down. As tensions mounted, mobs burned Mormon cabins and beat the men as they dragged them from their

²² Shipps, *Mormonism*, 156.

²³ *Ibid.*, 21-22.

homes. The Mormons wanted to defend themselves and so established a militia that ended up engaging Missouri troops, with both sides suffering losses. When Governor Boggs received reports of the skirmish, he issued an order to drive the Mormons from the state. In a letter to General John B. Clark, dated October 27, 1838, the governor ordered “The Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the state if necessary for the public peace—their outrages are beyond belief.”²⁴ General Clark and three other generals of the Missouri state militia were commanded to lead a combined force of 1,800 men against the Mormons and to cut off their retreat to the north. Three days later, a force of 200 Missouri soldiers attacked the small Mormon settlement of Haun’s Mill and murdered eighteen Mormons, including a seventy-year-old man and a ten-year-old boy.²⁵ Days later, Smith ordered Mormon forces to surrender. Following these conflicts Smith was arrested in Missouri and charged with treason. Smith was sentenced to death by firing squad. Saved by a Missouri militia officer, Smith was instead sent to jail in Liberty, Missouri. As Smith sat in the Liberty jail, the Mormons, having been driven from their homes, were led by Brigham Young, eastward across the state, across the Mississippi River, and into Illinois in early 1839. Mosiah Hancock was five at the time and remembers having to walk 200 miles from Far West

²⁴ “The Missouri Mormon War Executive Orders,” Missouri State Archives, accessed June 13, 2018, <https://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/resources/findingaids/miscmormonrecords/eo>. The order given by Governor Boggs, named Executive Order Number 44, was not rescinded until Missouri Governor Christopher S. Bond’s executive order on June 25, 1976 one hundred and thirty-eight years later.

²⁵ William G. Hartley, “‘Almost Too Intolerable a Burden’: The Winter Exodus from Missouri, 1838-39,” *Journal of Mormon History* 18, no. 2 (Fall 1992): 9.

with no shoes. “Oh! What a cold night that was!” he recalled as his family and other church members crossed an ice-covered Mississippi River into Illinois.²⁶

The Mormons’ withdrawal from Missouri and their arrival in Illinois did not ease their burdens, as much work was required to make their new home livable. The land upon which the city would rise was marsh land and had to be drained of water. The land was unwelcoming, but the Mormons were welcomed by the people and local politicians of Illinois.²⁷ Their welcoming attitude did not last long as the Mormons came to be seen as a political power in Illinois, and the many concessions made to them had a lot to do with finally driving them to the Salt Lake Valley.²⁸ Smith, still in Missouri, escaped while being moved from jail to jail and joined the main group of Mormons in Nauvoo in the spring of 1839.²⁹ In 1839 Smith sent eight of the twelve apostles to Great Britain as missionaries. Under the leadership of Brigham Young, these eight missionaries, as well as others who followed, converted thousands of British citizens to the Mormon Church.³⁰ The first of the British converts began to arrive in Nauvoo in 1840. With more arriving every year the city of Nauvoo was, by 1846, the second largest city in Illinois, behind Chicago.

²⁶ Ibid., 6.

²⁷ Linn, *The Story of the Mormons*, 221-222. The Mormons were greeted with resolutions condemning their treatment in Missouri and with offers to buy 20,000 acres at \$2 per acre.

²⁸ Ibid., 221.

²⁹ Richard Abanes, *One Nation Under Gods: A History of the Mormon Church* (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2002), 168-169.

³⁰ Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 389.

Upon his arrival in Nauvoo, Smith once again planned a great Mormon city on the banks of the Mississippi River. Smith also had plans for the local government to be in Mormon hands to protect the saints settling in Nauvoo. In 1839 Smith visited President Martin Van Buren to seek assurances of protection. President Van Buren cited the principle of states' rights in the matter and gave no promise of protection for the Mormons.³¹ Smith returned home from Washington D.C. convinced that the Mormons had to have the power to protect themselves from mobs and persecution. Without a promise of protection from the federal government, the Mormons worked diligently to obtain a city charter that would give them the power to protect themselves. In February of 1841 they obtained a city charter from the Illinois legislature that provided the desired safeguards. The charter allowed for a militia of 5,000 men, to be known as the Nauvoo Legion, to be created and led by newly appointed Lieutenant-General Joseph Smith. Smith was also chosen to be the mayor of Nauvoo. This combination of state and church power offended many local Illinois residents and ultimately led to Smith's demise.

By 1841 the Missouri government regretted having allowed Smith to slip through their fingers. The state government now planned to charge him with resisting the Missouri militia and with acting as an accomplice in an attempt on the life of Lilburn Boggs, the governor who had given the Mormon extermination order. Smith spent most of 1842-43 hidden from those who wanted him to face justice for these charges. In Illinois Whig politicians and their supporting newspapers began a campaign against the Mormons for switching their support to the Democratic Party after they received support

³¹ Roberts, *History of the Church*, vol. 4, p. 203. Van Buren is quoted as having said, "Gentlemen, your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you. ... If I take up for you I shall lose the vote of Missouri."

from Democrat Stephen A. Douglas, then a justice of the Illinois State Supreme Court.³² Thomas C. Sharp as owner, editor, and publisher used the newspaper *The Warsaw Signal* to voice his opposition to the Mormons by arguing Illinois citizens were, “bound to oppose the concentration of political power in a religious body, or in the hands of a few individuals.”³³ *The Sangamo Journal* of Springfield published an editorial on January 14, 1842 that accused Smith of forsaking religion for politics, and its issue of June 10 charged collusion between Democrats and Mormons in state politics.³⁴

The final act that led to the demise of Smith came in 1844. In 1843 a few church leaders had started a group opposing Smith and new doctrine that he had introduced in the church. This group wanted to reform the church by returning to earlier church teachings and rejected Smith’s most recent and controversial teachings of eternal marriage, polygamy, and the idea that human beings could become like God. The leaders of this dissenting group were excommunicated in April of 1844 for dissension. After their excommunication, they bought a printing press to publish a newspaper, the *Nauvoo Expositor*, in opposition to Smith.³⁵ This group printed one edition of the newspaper calling Smith a tyrant and claiming that he had introduced teachings that were contrary to the original teachings of the Mormon Church. The *Nauvoo Expositor* was ordered shut down by the city council for what they felt was a threat to the city’s peace and security. Smith, backed by the Nauvoo city council, ordered the city marshal to destroy the press

³² Roberts, *History of the Church*, 4:357.

³³ *Warsaw Signal*, May 19, 1841.

³⁴ George R. Gayler “The Mormons and Politics in Illinois: 1839-1844,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society (1908-1984)* 4, no. 1 (Spring, 1956): 53.

³⁵ Linn, *The Story of the Mormons*, 291.

and any available copy of the newspaper.³⁶ This outraged Sharp, and he called for Smith to be brought to justice for the destruction of personal property and abuse of authority. Sharp used his newspaper, *The Warsaw Signal*, to convince some Illinois citizens that Smith should be assassinated.³⁷ After giving himself up to the authorities, Smith was taken to Carthage jail. The governor of Illinois personally assured Smith that he would be safe there. Instead on June 27, 1844 Smith and his brother Hyrum were killed by a mob of over 250 men.³⁸ Nine men were indicted for the murder, including Thomas C. Sharp, but their trial ended with no convictions. Soon after the trial a mob burned more than 200 Mormon houses as well as barns and crops.³⁹ Less than two years after the death of Smith the Mormons left Nauvoo and headed west to the Salt Lake Valley.

On February 5, 1846, the first Mormons left Nauvoo and crossed the Mississippi. Forced out by a mob, the last of the Mormons left on September 17, 1846. There were now 14,000 homeless Mormons. In the sixteen years since the organization of the Mormon Church, the Mormons had moved from New York to Ohio, then from Ohio to Missouri, then from Missouri to Illinois. In settlement after settlement local citizens drove them out and forced them to leave behind houses and farms. The reasons for driving them away were political and religious. Mormon beliefs and practices, such as polygamy and redemptive work for the dead, as well as their bold claim to being God's people and the one true church upon the earth with a divine right to land in Missouri,

³⁶ Ibid., 293-295.

³⁷ Ibid., 297.

³⁸ Abanes, *One Nation Under Gods*, 198-201.

³⁹ Ibid., 210.

stretched the line of tolerance past the breaking point. Newspaper editors and local politicians waged smear campaigns uniting local citizens against the Mormons. Looking for a reprieve from what they believed to be unjust persecution, the Mormons turned their gaze westward. In 1846, forced from Nauvoo, IL, the Mormons began their journey west across the plains of the United States, a journey that over 70,000 Mormon pioneers made.

The Mormons seemed to be a people scorned and mistrusted by local citizens and ignored by national leaders. At the same time, more and more Mormon converts came to America from Great Britain, Germany, Scandinavian countries, and many other countries. They left behind homes and family to be united under the Mormon faith. Mormon immigrants came because they heeded the call of the leader of an American religion. Most had no plans to go to America until Mormon missionaries came to their country, towns, and homes. They believed in the *Book of Mormon* and that the revelations received by Smith were true instructions given to the church and that they were to be followed faithfully. One such revelation that set the Mormon faith apart from other contemporary Christian faiths was the Word of Wisdom.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ For examples of Word of Wisdom scholarship that range in scope from economic studies to the discussion of whether the Word of Wisdom was intended as a commandment to Brigham Young's role the implantation of the Word of Wisdom, see Leonard J. Arrington, "An Economic Interpretation of the 'Word of Wisdom'" *BYU Studies* 1, no. 1 (Winter 1959): 37-49; Lester E. Bush Jr., ed. "The Word of Wisdom in Early Nineteenth-Century Perspective" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): 47-65; Thomas G. Alexander, "The Word of Wisdom: From Principle to Requirement" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): 78-88; Robert J. McCue, "Did the Word of Wisdom Become a Commandment in 1851?" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): 66-77; Paul H. Peterson and Ronald W. Walker, "Brigham Young's Word of Wisdom Legacy" *BYU Studies* 42, nos. 3 & 4 (2003): 29-64; Paul Y. Hoskisson, "Different and Unique: The Word of Wisdom in the Historical, Cultural, and Social Setting of the 1830s" *Mormon Historical Studies* 10, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 41-61; Paul Y. Hoskisson, "The Word of Wisdom in its First Decade" *Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 1 (Winter 2012): 131-200. Most of these authors are Mormon themselves, asking questions about the Word of Wisdom, its implementation, whether or not it was meant to be a commandment or a suggestion when it was first introduced to the members of the Mormon Church, and its lasting legacy for the Mormon Church.

The Word of Wisdom was a product of the first School of the Prophets which Smith established in January 1833, for the purpose of teaching doctrine to the early leaders of the church. The school was held in a small room on the second floor in the home of Bishop Whitney in Kirtland, Ohio. When the leaders were gathered together, one of the first things they did was light their pipes and when the pipe was exhausted, they would then commence chewing tobacco. While these leaders discussed church matters and doctrine, their pipe smoke filled the room and their tobacco juice covered the floor. Many times Smith entered the room to discover a fog of smoke. Smith's wife Emma complained to him about having to clean a floor covered in tobacco spit. Her complaints and his own thoughts about tobacco usage by the church elders led Smith to inquire of God regarding the use of tobacco.⁴¹ The revelation he received on February 27, 1833 was in response to his inquiry. This response came to be known as the Word of Wisdom. The Word of Wisdom was a law of health for the members of the Mormon Church and it contained guidelines for food and drink consumption. The Word of Wisdom forbade the drinking of alcohol and hot drinks, meaning coffee and tea, and defined what was good and bad for human consumption.⁴²

Not all Mormons immediately embraced the Word of Wisdom. Mormons at Kirtland adhered strictly to the Word of Wisdom. In Missouri, however, church members varied in how closely they followed its guidelines. In Nauvoo, Mormons took a more relaxed approach because the church had a dual responsibility there, civil and religious. In

⁴¹ Susan Easton Black and Andrew C. Skinner ed., *Joseph: Exploring the Life and Ministry of the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005), 165–75.

⁴² Roberts, *History of the Church*, 1:327-329.

Kirtland the implied standard for all members of the church from the time of the reception of the Word of Wisdom revelation was strict abstinence. The Kirtland church allowed only two exceptions to the Word of Wisdom. First, the church permitted the use of wine for the sacrament: “That inasmuch as any man drinketh wine or strong drink among you, behold it is not good, neither meet in the sight of your Father, only in assembling yourselves together to offer up your sacraments before him. And, behold, this should be wine, yea, pure wine of the grape of the vine, of your own make.”⁴³ Second, the church allowed the use of items that were otherwise prohibited if they were used for medicinal purposes. This exception persisted for many years as evidenced in the April 6, 1867 entry by the apostle Wilford Woodruff, who instructed, “Lay aside whisky, tobacco, tea, and coffee, and use none of them unless it be as a medicine.”⁴⁴ At the time of the first implementation of the Word of Wisdom, alcohol was believed to strengthen the heart, cure hydrophobia, reduce chills and fever, overcome general debility, restore the kidneys, fight off malaria, and cure palpitations.⁴⁵ When Mormon leadership put alcohol on the list of prohibited items, they were going against societal practices of the day, because by 1830 American consumption of alcohol, “had reached more than seven

⁴³ Doctrine and Covenants 89:5-6. The standard today is to use water for the sacrament.

⁴⁴ Wilford Woodruff, April 7, 1867, *Journal of Discourses*, 11:370. This usage of items as medicinal purposes has been restricted severely in today’s church.

⁴⁵ George W. Givens, *In Old Nauvoo: Everyday Life in the City of Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1990), 202.

gallons a year for every person over age fifteen.”⁴⁶ At the same time, Mormons were in agreement with many religious groups fighting for temperance.⁴⁷

Before the founding of the Mormon Church or the implementation of the Word of Wisdom other churches and societal groups created movements against alcohol consumption. In 1810 the temperance movement began in eastern New England towns and New York, where propertied Federalists wanted to reduce crime by controlling the alcohol consumption of the lower classes.⁴⁸ By 1812 religious groups began to move aggressively to ban the use of alcohol among their membership and to preach to others about the evils of liquor. Some temperance groups made concessions similar to those of the Mormon Church. For example, in 1816 the Presbyterian Synod of Pittsburgh stated that “ardent spirits ought never to be used, except as a medicine.”⁴⁹ Women were involved in the temperance movement. Their work was not on the frontlines, visible to the public, but their influence was used in firesides as they tried to sway people toward an

⁴⁶ W. J. Rorabaugh, “Alcohol in America,” *OAH Magazine of History* 6, no. 2, Drug Use in History (Fall, 1991), 17.

⁴⁷ Mormons were not the only groups against the use of alcohol at the time. There were many temperance movements in the New England states started before the Mormon Church was established. For a good example of works that address the temperance movements and alcohol use of the time, see Charles R. Keller, *The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut* (New Haven, 1942); William J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition* (New York, 1979); Robert L. Hampel, *Temperance and Prohibition in Massachusetts, 1813-1852* (Ann Arbor, 1982); David W. Conroy, *In Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1995). And for more background of the role of women in the temperance movement, see: Scott C. Martin, *Devil of the Domestic Sphere: Temperance, Gender, and Middle-class Ideology, 1800-1860* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2008).

⁴⁸ James R. Rohrer, “The Origins of the Temperance Movement: a Reinterpretation,” *Journal of American Studies* 24, no. 2 (August 1990): 229.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 231.

acceptance of the temperance movement.⁵⁰ For many years to come, more groups from New York to Appalachia would form to fight against alcohol in their communities.

Mormons were not the first to call for temperance, nor would they be the last.

Despite what appeared to be a clear call for temperance from church leadership, some Mormons continued to resist. One explanation for that resistance can be found in the Word of Wisdom itself. In the Word of Wisdom it states, “To be sent greeting; not by commandment or constraint, but by revelation and the word of wisdom, showing forth the order and will of God in the temporal salvation of all saints in the last days.”⁵¹ The phrase “not by commandment or constraint” led many to believe that the Word of Wisdom was not meant to be a commandment for the church. Many believed it was meant to be good advice that they could follow if they wanted. Those living in proximity to Smith, however, knew it to be a commandment as the practice at Kirtland clearly demonstrated.

It was required to follow the Word of Wisdom in Kirtland to be considered a member in good standing. To have a calling or a responsibility in the church, one had to abstain from coffee, tea, tobacco, and alcohol. The Kirtland high council, a group of church leaders, considered the Word of Wisdom to be binding before any official resolution had been put forward to the entire church membership. The high council applied the Word of Wisdom at the first church disciplinary council in early 1834. The council record noted that, “Brother Leonard Rich was called in question for transgressing

⁵⁰ Scott C. Martin, *Devil of the Domestic Sphere: Temperance, Gender, and Middle-class Ideology, 1800-1860* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2008), 147-149.

⁵¹ *Doctrine and Covenants* 89:2.

the Word of Wisdom. Brother Rich confessed and the council forgave him upon his promising to do better and reform his life.”⁵² Eight days later the Kirtland high council, after consulting with Smith, confirmed by vote a resolution stating: “No official member in this Church is worthy to hold an office after having the word of wisdom properly taught to him, and he, the official member, neglecting to comply with, or obey them.”⁵³ This resolution suggests that the Word of Wisdom was law and was not optional.

In November of 1836, in Kirtland, the resolution of 1834 was officially published by church leadership, making the church’s stance public and restating that adherence to the Word of Wisdom was foundational to good standing in the church.⁵⁴ In the May 1837 issue of the Kirtland *Messenger and Advocate*, a Mormon newspaper, an editorial strongly supported compliance to the Word of Wisdom: “We certainly have no fellowship for those who live in the daily violation of the plain, written commands of God; and we are sure the Lord will withhold entirely or withdraw his spirit, from all such as disobey or disregard his precepts...he who knowingly violates the words of wisdom which the Lord has given, sets at nought the counsels of the Most High...Brethren, either we believe this to be a revelation from God, or we do not.”⁵⁵ There is ample evidence that the Word of Wisdom was used against members of the church in disciplinary councils, but there were always members who tried to justify their continued use of tea,

⁵² Roberts, *History of the Church*, 2:27.

⁵³ Ibid., 2:39-40. This was taken from the Kirtland High Council Minutes.

⁵⁴ *Messenger and Advocate* 3, no. 2 (November 1836). The *Messenger and Advocate* was a Mormon newspaper.

⁵⁵ Ibid., May 1837.

coffee, tobacco, and alcohol. There was early confusion regarding the Word of Wisdom and the phrase “hot drinks” as many members did not think it applied to tea and coffee. Just months after receiving this revelation Smith addressed this idea that hot drinks did not mean tea and coffee. He said, “The Lord was showing us what was good for man to eat and drink. Now what do we drink when we take our meals? Tea and coffee. Is it not? Yes; tea and coffee. Then they are what the Lord meant when He said ‘hot drinks.’”⁵⁶

The Word of Wisdom was taught outside of Kirtland as well, by elders of the church sent out to preach to distant branches of the church. These traveling church elders pledged members to adhere to the Word of Wisdom and members who failed to do so were held accountable. In April of 1835 at a conference held in Freedom, New York, “Elder Chester L. Heath was expelled from the church for not observing the Word of Wisdom and breach of covenant.”⁵⁷ Two months later, “Elder Milo Hays was tried for not obeying the Word of Wisdom and covenant breaking. Elder Hays was excluded from the Church.”⁵⁸ Newly converted members in New York upon hearing the Word of Wisdom being taught, “discarded the use of tea, coffee, and spirituous liquors.”⁵⁹ In Maine church members voted to observe to the Word of Wisdom. Missionaries in England, upon preaching the Word of Wisdom reported that it was almost universally followed by the members of the church in England.⁶⁰ Again, these examples reinforce the

⁵⁶ “Truth Will Prevail,” *Times and Seasons*, June 1, 1842.

⁵⁷ Roberts, *History of the Church*, 2:218.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:228.

⁵⁹ Paul Y. Hoskisson, “The Word of Wisdom in its First Decade” *Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 1 (Winter 2012): 166.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 169.

idea that at least some Mormons saw the Word of Wisdom as a commandment. In Kirtland it was followed as a commandment and those who followed the Kirtland resolution taught the Word of Wisdom as such, be it in New York or Liverpool, England.

And yet, in Missouri, compliance of church members to the Word of Wisdom varied. The first known statement or known preaching of the Word of Wisdom in Missouri came from a high council statement on August 1, 1834 admonishing the saints to “live according to the ‘word of wisdom.’”⁶¹ Not much is known about how the Word of Wisdom was received in Missouri, but there are examples of saints refusing to adhere to it. Wilford Woodruff, who was baptized in New York and taught the Word of Wisdom there, noted in his diary that while traveling through Missouri the lady of the house in which he had been given shelter was surprised by his refusal of coffee.⁶² W.W. Phelps, famous for composing many well-loved Mormon hymns, wrote in an 1835 letter from Kirtland to his wife in Missouri declaring, “You are not aware how much sameness there is among the saints in Kirtland. They keep the Word of Wisdom in Kirtland; they drink cold water and don’t even mention tea and coffee.”⁶³

In May of 1837 a stronger push for church members in Missouri to comply with the Word of Wisdom came from the Missouri church leadership. In a meeting called by the Missouri church president, church leaders “resolved that we will not fellowship any ordained member who will, or does not, observe the Word of Wisdom according to its

⁶¹ Ibid., 171.

⁶² Ibid., 172.

⁶³ Ibid., 166. Phelps wrote eleven church hymns, among them the favorites “Praise to the Man” and “The Spirit of God.”

litteral [sic] reading.”⁶⁴ Six months later they voted not to support any store selling liquors, tea, coffee or tobacco.⁶⁵ In late 1837 Smith and Sidney Rigdon traveled to Missouri to pledge the members to follow the Word of Wisdom and renounce David Whitmer’s teachings on the Word of Wisdom. Whitmer was president of the Missouri branch of the church and had challenged some of the basic principles of the Word of Wisdom.⁶⁶ In January of 1838, the president of the Missouri branch, David Whitmer, and his counselors W. W. Phelps, and John Whitmer, David’s brother, along with Oliver Cowdrey were called to testify in front of a convened church disciplinary council to answer for not keeping the Word of Wisdom. To the charge of non-compliance to the Word of Wisdom, Phelps said he had kept it, while Cowdrey said he drank tea three times a day for his health. John and David Whitmer both admitted to drinking tea and coffee, but argued that neither beverage should be considered “hot drinks.” The council resolved that under the circumstances the men could not continue as leaders of the church in Missouri.⁶⁷ This ruling was in agreement with the Kirtland resolution of 1834, which had stated the church’s position that adherence to the Word of Wisdom was needed for good standing in the church. The council argued that a failure of leadership had led to poor adherence to the Word of Wisdom in Missouri. Their opposition to the Word of

⁶⁴ Roberts, *History of the Church*, 2:482.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 2:524.

⁶⁶ Hoskisson, “The Word of Wisdom in its First Decade”, 178. In an interview later in his life David Whitmer recalled feeling skeptical about many of Smith’s revelations as early as 1833 and stood in opposition to Smith’s leadership.

⁶⁷ Roberts, *History of the Church*, 3:5.

Wisdom, among other charges, led to the excommunication of Cowdrey, Phelps, John Whitmer, and David Whitmer as members of the church.

Mormons in Nauvoo differed from both their Kirtland and their Missouri counterparts in how they enforced the Word of Wisdom. This may be because of the unique circumstances found in Nauvoo. On February 1, 1841 the church received a charter from the state legislature for the city of Nauvoo, which gave them autonomy in governing Nauvoo.⁶⁸ Under their charter, they could raise a militia of 5,000 men to protect themselves. Also the majority of civil roles were filled by church members. Mormons were in control of Nauvoo. And yet, some decisions made by the city councils did not reflect church policy regarding the Word of Wisdom. Adherence to the Word of Wisdom was still required for members of the church. But Mayor Smith and the city council realized that, as a river town, many people would pass through the town and accommodations had to be made for them. There is evidence, however, of the Kirtland standard being applied in Nauvoo. One non-Mormon visitor to Nauvoo observed that “one peculiarity of life among them is that ardent spirits as a drink are not in use among them and the sale of spirits except as medicine, is forbidden by law...tobacco, also, is a weed which they seem almost universally to despise.”⁶⁹ Ultimately, more pressing matters, such as mob violence and rising local and state opposition to the Mormons, meant that, by the time of Smith’s death the Word of Wisdom was not at the forefront of concerns for the embattled church.

⁶⁸ John H. Krenkel, ed., *The Life and Times of Joseph Fish, Mormon Pioneer* (Danville, IL: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1970), 8.

⁶⁹ Givens, *In Old Nauvoo*, 203.

Mormon scholars have debated extensively whether the Word of Wisdom was meant to be a religious commandment from the time of its revelation or was meant initially to be a suggestion that gained the weight of a commandment as time passed. There are examples to support both arguments throughout the early history of the Mormon Church. For instance, while many members followed the principles of the Word of Wisdom from the outset, others chose to ignore it. Even high ranking officials in the church ignored and spoke against the Word of Wisdom. While some scholars argue that the Word of Wisdom was meant to be a requirement from the time it was received by Smith, others contend that, at least initially, it was simply a suggestion or recommendation. Ultimately, it did become a requirement, with some scholars arguing that the shift from suggestion to commandment occurred during Brigham Young's time as prophet, while others claimed that the shift occurred after Young's death, around the turn of the twentieth century. Scholars likewise disagree regarding the reasons for the movement to a greater compliance to the Word of Wisdom. Leonard J. Arrington wrote in 1959 that an increased emphasis on compliance to the Word of Wisdom began around 1867 and driven by economic concerns and the necessity for the Mormons to create their own self-sustaining economy.⁷⁰ According to Arrington, this idea was championed by Mormon leader Brigham Young, who championed strict adherence to the Word of Wisdom for economic reasons arguing that any money spent on outside goods was

⁷⁰ Leonard J. Arrington, "An Economic Interpretation of the Word of Wisdom," *BYU Studies* 1, no.1 (Winter 1959): 43, accessed June 13, 2018. <https://byustudies.byu.edu/content/economic-interpretation-word-wisdom>.

wasted and all expenditures ought to be for the economic benefit of the Salt Lake Valley and surrounding Mormon settlements.

Arrington explained that Young believed that three things had to be done to ensure the economic independence of the Mormons. First, the territory had to utilize every means of earning “outside” income with which to purchase machinery and equipment and other needed imports. Many Mormons earned money by taking subcontract work to help construct the transcontinental line in Utah. Second, the territory had to establish co-op stores and industries to insure that the profits of trade would be available for investment in the local economy. And last, the territory had to pare consumer imports to the bone in order to finance agricultural and industrial (i.e., productive) imports.⁷¹ Consistent with the Word of Wisdom, Young preached abstinence from imported tobacco, tea, and coffee and encouraged the local production of such items to save money and keep that money in the territory. Young claimed the money they saved could be used for the support of emigration and missionaries, as well as the building of temples. When the Mormon economy was strong and stable, the need to comply with the Word of Wisdom for economic reasons was no longer necessary. According to Arrington, however by the turn of the century a stronger motivation for continual obedience to the Word of Wisdom had emerged: “the findings of medical research.”⁷² Arrington believed that scientific findings of the early 1900s showed that the

⁷¹ Ibid., 44.

⁷² Ibid., 48.

principles of the Word of Wisdom promoted good health and that this led Mormons to continue following the Word of Wisdom.

Thomas G. Alexander's article in 1981 followed the idea that the Word of Wisdom was received in one of two ways, either as a commandment or a suggestion. However, he explored in more detail why church leaders after the turn of the century placed a greater emphasis on compliance to the Word of Wisdom. Around 1906 a strong prohibition movement had begun in the United States. In 1906 only three states had passed statewide prohibition. By 1919 twenty-six of forty-eight states had passed prohibition statutes. Mormon leaders, some since 1833 and more since 1851, had fought against the consumption of alcohol. These leaders were worried about the effect drunkenness could have on the family. Most members and leaders supported prohibition, even as some worried about the mix of church and politics. This concern stemmed from the memory of Nauvoo and the backlash against the church there. In 1917 the state of Utah passed statewide prohibition. The emphasis on compliance to the Word of Wisdom became less flexible with the inauguration of Heber J. Grant as prophet and president of the church in 1918. In 1921, church leadership made strict adherence to the Word of Wisdom a requirement for admission to the church's temples.⁷³ Previously local leaders had been encouraged to use this standard as a requirement for admission, but now they were required to do so. The 1928, 1933, and 1934 editions of the *General Handbook of*

⁷³ Thomas G. Alexander, "The Word of Wisdom: From Principle to Requirement," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): 82, accessed June 13, 2018, <https://www.dialoguejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/sbi/issues/V14N03.pdf>.

*Instructions*⁷⁴ contained stricter guidelines for full fellowship in the church for local bishops to follow. In examining the movement towards greater compliance, Alexander found “no known contemporary evidence that a separate new revelation changed the Word of Wisdom from a ‘principle with promise’ to ‘a commandment’ necessary for full participation in all the blessings of church membership.”⁷⁵ Alexander then wondered, “What led to this change in emphasis during this time period?” He concluded that the church leaders were troubled about the moral tone of the community in which they lived and, in an attempt, to improve the moral tone they moved toward stricter obedience to the Word of Wisdom.⁷⁶

Historian Robert J. McCue explores the idea that the Word of Wisdom was not received as a commandment in 1833. McCue examines the widely accepted belief among Mormons that Brigham Young declared the Word of Wisdom a commandment in 1851.⁷⁷ McCue uses statements from Brigham Young as evidence that the Word of Wisdom did not become a commandment in 1851. According to McCue, in statements from 1862 and 1867, Young advised church membership to follow the Word of Wisdom. But in 1863 Young is reported to have said, “You have read that excellent piece of advice

⁷⁴ This handbook is given to all leaders so that there is uniformity in the handling of church matters. This handbook contains information such as how to direct meetings, how to handle church discipline matters, responsibilities for each church auxiliary and instructions for all church ordinances.

⁷⁵ Alexander, *The Word of Wisdom*, 85.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁷⁷ Robert J. McCue, “Did the Word of Wisdom Become a Commandment in 1851,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): accessed June 13, 2018, <https://www.dialoguejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/sbi/issues/V14N03.pdf>.

called the ‘Word of Wisdom.’ I shall not say you must obey it.”⁷⁸ In 1868 Young referred to it as the will of God, but did not state that he considered it mandatory.⁷⁹ According to McCue, statements made by other church leaders, one in the mid-1880s, demonstrated that they did not consider the Word of Wisdom a commandment.⁸⁰ Where did this idea that the Word of Wisdom became a commandment in 1851 originate? McCue concluded that church leaders in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were the first to express such an idea.

McCue described an 1894 October church conference in which Brigham Young Jr. stated he remembered his father claimed that the Word of Wisdom was a commandment from the very pulpit where he stood. The next day Heber J. Grant agreed with that statement. McCue explained that at general conference the next spring Joseph F. Smith reiterated this point when he remarked, “it was revealed through President Brigham Young that we had reached a point in our experience when the Word of Wisdom became a law unto the people, and they were required to obey it.”⁸¹ According to McCue, questions about Brigham Young’s stance on the Word of Wisdom persisted. In 1911 Anthon H. Lund, a counselor to Joseph F. Smith, then president of the church, in a conference address, approached this matter by saying, “I do not know that we can give such information.”⁸² This statement brought Joseph F. Smith to his feet to declare that ‘it

⁷⁸ Ibid., 70.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 71.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 71.

⁸¹ Ibid., 72.

⁸² Ibid., 73.

was announced from this stand, by President Brigham Young, that the Word of Wisdom was a revelation and a command of the Lord.”⁸³ McCue concluded that the popular belief that Brigham Young made the Word of Wisdom came from comments made by Joseph F. Smith and Heber J. Grant. McCue contended that in reality the Word of Wisdom was not given originally as a commandment and instead church leaders simply changed the rules of the church.

In *Brigham Young's Word of Wisdom Legacy* Paul H. Peterson and Ronald W. Walker examined the question of “why church members took such a long time to observe the Word of Wisdom. And they examined in greater detail the role Brigham Young had played in the Word of Wisdom becoming a requirement for church members. They claimed that because the commandment seemed to lack force and that church policy had been somewhat tolerant previously, full adherence by church members was slowed. They arrived at the same conclusion as McCue: the Word of Wisdom did not become a commandment during Brigham Young's life. They believed, however, that Young laid the foundation for the future requirement of strict abstinence from tobacco, tea, coffee, and alcohol.⁸⁴

With initial Word of Wisdom scholarship focused on the when and why it became a requisite for members of the Mormon Church, new interpretations began to emerge in the 1980s. Historian Clyde Ford, after looking at the composition of the Word of Wisdom, who it was addressed to, and specific questions and concerns, concluded that

⁸³ Ibid., 73.

⁸⁴ Paul H. Peterson and Ronald W. Walker, “Brigham Young's Word of Wisdom Legacy” *BYU Studies* 42, nos. 3 & 4 (2003): 29-64.

the Word of Wisdom was not received as one document in 1833, but at various times addressing different health concerns.⁸⁵ Lester E. Bush Jr. argued, in his 1981 article *The Word of Wisdom in Early Nineteenth-Century Perspective*, that the Word of Wisdom was a product of the 1830s written by Joseph Smith who was heavily influenced by popular medical and health movements of the time.⁸⁶ Paul Y. Hoskisson argued in his 2009 article, *Different and Unique: The Word of Wisdom in the Historical, Cultural, and Social Setting of the 1830s*, that the Word of Wisdom was unique even when there was nothing new in it.⁸⁷ He wrote that calls for curbing alcohol consumption and healthier lifestyles were very popular during the time Smith resided in Ohio. These new ideas and their prevalence led many scholars to conclude that the Word of Wisdom was only a product of its time.⁸⁸ Hoskisson noted that principles in the Word of Wisdom were written about in health literature of Smith's day, some in close proximity to Kirtland, OH. Hoskisson concluded that because the Word of Wisdom did not contain all of the health ideas of the time, and that it contained principles that have been scientifically supported throughout the years, it was clearly intended for the church members of Smith's time as well as future church members.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Clyde Ford, "The Origin of the Word of Wisdom," *Journal of Mormon History* 24, no. 2 (Fall 1998): 129-154. Section 89 contains the Word of Wisdom.

⁸⁶ Lester E. Bush Jr., ed. "The Word of Wisdom in Early Nineteenth-Century Perspective" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): 47-65.

⁸⁷ Paul Y. Hoskisson, "Different and Unique: The Word of Wisdom in the Historical, Cultural, and Social Setting of the 1830s," *Mormon Historical Studies* 10, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 43, accessed June 13, 2018, <http://mormonhistoricsites.org/mormon-historical-studies-fall-2009-vol-10-no-2/>.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 57.

In a 2012 article Hoskisson challenged the accepted history of the Word of Wisdom by arguing that the Word of Wisdom was meant to be a commandment from the time it was received as a revelation and taught to church members. In *The Word of Wisdom in its First Decade* Hoskisson maintained that the evidence would support his idea and would show that the Word of Wisdom was never meant to be a recommendation or advice.⁹⁰ Hoskisson argued that the standard of compliance that the Kirtland saints followed is the same standard that is applied today in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He claims that as the church moved to Missouri, Illinois, and then across the plains to Utah that the Kirtland standard was laid aside because of individual and group opposition to the principles of the Word of Wisdom.

The Mormon Church was founded in 1830, during a time of religious fervor in western New York, by Joseph Smith. The Mormon Church moved from New York to Kirtland, Ohio, where in 1833 Smith reportedly received the Word of Wisdom after a question about tobacco use among the members of Smith's school of prophets. The Word of Wisdom emerged in a time where many groups were involved in temperance movements and emerging health movements. Members of the Mormon Church were encouraged to abstain from alcohol, tobacco, tea, and coffee. The Word of Wisdom was the foundation of a new unique foodways.

The Word of Wisdom influenced Mormon foodways significantly from the time it was introduced in Kirtland until the time the Mormons began their westward journey. The Word of Wisdom was meant to be a commandment and a litmus test for worthy

⁹⁰ Hoskisson, *The Word of Wisdom in its First Decade*, 131-200.

members in Kirtland. As the Mormons began to move first to Missouri and then to Illinois, there was opposition to parts of the Word of Wisdom as some members and even some church leaders did not want to give up alcohol or coffee. On the trail to the Salt Lake Valley the requirement to observe the Word of Wisdom was put to the side as more pressing matters weighed on the minds of the Mormon leadership. Off the trail and at temporary settlements in Council Bluffs, Iowa and Winter Quarters, Nebraska it was apparent that some Mormons still lived by and wanted to enforce the tenets of the Word of Wisdom. The overland trail brought new challenges to the Mormons as they travelled to their new home in the west.

CHAPTER 3: OVERLAND PIONEERS

“Though the journey on foot was often long and tiresome, they also ‘had many enjoyable times dancing and singing around the campfire at night.’”¹

The Mormons did not want to go west. They believed that they were destined to live in Missouri and establish Zion in preparation for the second coming of Christ. They went west to escape persecution and for the survival of the church.² Their journey west differed to some extent from the journey of the pioneers who went to Oregon or California.³ Mormon trail foodways were influenced by waypoints a unique practice of the Mormons on the trail, by the use of the handcart to cross the plains and to a limited extent, by the Word of Wisdom. Much has been written of the overland journey of the Mormon pioneer including, the hardships, and the loss of family members.⁴ But little has

¹ Craig S. Smith, “The 1868 Mormon Emigration; an End of an Era,” *Overland Journal: The Official Journal of the Oregon-California Trails Association* 15, no. 4 (12-1-1997): 29.

² Stanley B. Kimball, “The Mormon Migrations of 1846-1848 in Perspective,” *The Overland Journal: The official Journal of the Oregon-California Trails Association* 14, no 1 (Feb. 1996): 16. Their minds and hearts were upon the promise that Zion would be established in Missouri.

³ For more on the overland trails to California and Oregon, see: Leroy R. Hafen, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1938); Ray Allen Billington and Martin Ridge, *Westward Expansion, A History of the American Frontier* 5th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1982); John D. Unruh, *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); and Jacqueline Williams, *Wagon Wheel Kitchens: Food on the Oregon Trail* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1993). Jacqueline Williams was at the forefront of demonstrating the importance of the food these pioneers ate and how they prepared their food. Her work would offer a more intimate look into the lives of those who traveled the overland trail to Oregon. Her next work dealt with food preparation in the Northwest, Jacqueline B. Williams, *The Way We Ate: Pacific Northwest Cooking, 1843-1900* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1996).

⁴ Some examples of works that cover the Mormon trail see: Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail*. American Trail Series (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964); Stanley B. Kimball, *Discovering Mormon Trails: New York to California, 1831-1868* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1979); William E. Hill, *The Mormon Trail, Yesterday and Today* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996); Richard E. Bennett, *We'll Find the Place: The Mormon Exodus, 1846-1848* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997); Brock Cheney, *Plain but Wholesome: Foodways of the Mormon Pioneers* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 2012). And for a look at the handcart pioneers, see LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W.

been written about their foodways. This chapter will examine the foodways of Mormon pioneers as they traveled west. It will explore daily food preparation on the trail, the food scarcity that plagued many of the Mormon pioneers, the waypoints of crops planted by Mormons on the trail for their fellow Mormon pioneers, and the handcart's place in Mormon lore. The use of waypoints and handcarts distinguished the Mormons from their fellow pioneers on the overland trails.

After the death of their Prophet Joseph Smith in 1844, the Mormons were left without a clear leader. The Mormons knew they could not stay in Nauvoo for much longer. They needed a leader to lead them safely west to a new home. This was the first time the young church had dealt with the succession of a Prophet. Some church members wanted to continue without a Prophet and with the Twelve Apostles at the head of the Church while others wanted a Prophet to assume the vacated leadership role. During a meeting of church members in Nauvoo, Sidney Rigdon claimed the right to the mantle of leadership. After Rigdon spoke, Brigham Young arose and spoke to the congregation and during his sermon the members present decided that Brigham Young ought to be the next leader and prophet of the church. With Young as the leader of the church, preparations to go west began.

In the Mormon preparation for the journey west a committee of five was appointed to gather information concerning emigration and report their findings at a later date to the church council.⁵ The committee was tasked with compiling a report of

Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion: The Story of a Unique Western Migration, 1856-1860*. The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, vol. 14 (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1960).

⁵ B. H. Roberts, ed., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints: Period I. History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet by Himself*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, UT: The Deseret Book Company, 1978),

provisions needed for the journey west and determining how much money each family needed to outfit their wagons. In the fall of 1845 Young sent messengers to the surrounding areas advising church members to sell their lands and unite at Nauvoo preparatory to going west.⁶ Young also admonished the members to use the money from the sale of their lands for goods such as, “wagons, oxen, cows, mules, and a few good horses. Also for durable fabrics suitable for apparel and tents; and some other necessary articles of merchandise.”⁷ The majority of church members gathered at Nauvoo to follow their leaders west.

The original plan was to leave Nauvoo in the spring of 1846. But as they faced increasing pressure from local forces with each day that passed, the Mormons decided to leave sooner than they had initially planned. Church leaders had been meeting with a council of Illinois leaders to negotiate a peaceful withdrawal from Nauvoo. This council sent a letter addressed to the First President and High Council of the Church on October 2, 1845. The letter stated, “It has become impossible for your church to remain in this country. It will be confidently expected by us and the whole community that you will remove from the state your whole church, in the manner you have agreed. Should you not do so, we are satisfied, that violent measures will be resorted to, to compel your removal.” The letter ended with the words, “With many wishes that you may find peace and prosperity in the land of your destination.”⁸ The letter was signed by General John J.

vol. 7, 439. Volume seven of the History of the Church is comprised of the writings of Brigham Young, notes taken during meetings, and public sermons.

⁶ Ibid., 440.

⁷ Ibid., 480. This letter was dated October 8, 1845.

⁸ Ibid., 450-451.

Hardin, W.B. Warren, the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas and J.A. McDougal members of the council of Illinois leaders.

The road west was not easy for anyone who undertook the journey, as food and water were scarce on the trail westward. This was highlighted in a report about trail conditions and routes that Young received on October 29, 1845 from Elder Sherwood, who had just returned from his mission to the west. Sherwood noted that while traveling west towards Council Bluffs, Iowa, “much of the country which we traveled was very dry and water scarce so that we suffered considerably.”⁹ Sherwood wrote on September 13 that when he and his traveling companions “arrived at James Emmett’s camp. They fed us on samp and milk and urged us to eat heartily of dried buffalo meat saying it would hurt no one. Its tendency is to swell to its natural dimensions as soon as eaten and this caused us to feel something like a beer barrel in a state of fermentation which no hoops can control.”¹⁰ Food critic and chef Christopher Kimball explains that samp is a “dried corn that is ground into a powder, courser than meal but finer than grits. Two common way of cooking it included boiling it into a mush (this was eaten with milk or cream and sugar) or allowing the mush to cool, then slicing it and frying it.”¹¹ Sherwood and his fellow companions must have eaten it by boiling it and then adding milk or cream and sugar. When they left Emmett’s camp, the company took enough provisions to last them for the rest of the journey to Council Bluffs. They found themselves paying the price,

⁹ Ibid., 495.

¹⁰ Ibid., 495. For more on James Emmett see: Richard E. Bennett, “Mormon Renegade: James Emmett at the Vermillion, 1846,” *South Dakota History* 15, no 3 (September 23, 1985), 217-233.

¹¹ Christopher Kimball, *Fannie’s Last Supper* (New York: Hyperion, 2010). Founder, editor, and publisher of Cook’s Magazine, Kimball has experimented with and researched historical recipes.

however, for their unfamiliarity with the region. Only half way to Council Bluffs, they ran out of provisions. After camping one night, Elder Butler shot a turkey that lasted one day. Without provisions they kept a watch out for more game as they traveled. At last a buck deer was shot that lasted the group for eight days until they arrived at Council Bluffs.¹² Running low or running out of provisions was a common occurrence for many crossing the plains. Those who did run out of food had to hunt for food or in some cases plead for food from fellow travelers. This company experienced what many who came later would experience on their journey hunger, thirst, and unfamiliar foods.

Despite months of planning, some Mormon families crossed the Mississippi from Nauvoo into Iowa in a destitute condition. For instance, the conditions were brutal for most of the pioneers at the Sugar Creek Camp, just across the river from Nauvoo, where the Mormons planned for the next step in their journey through Iowa. Most were without adequate shelter to protect them from the extreme cold conditions and a great many lacked the necessary provisions to travel across Iowa, much less the journey to the Salt Lake Valley. Weather so cold the Mississippi River froze, lingered for many days. On February 27, 1846 it was five degrees above zero. Captain Albert P. Rockwood slaughtered an ox and distributed the meat to the neediest families in the camp.¹³ Those who were able sought provisions locally and modified their diets in the interest of survival. For instance, in his diary Joseph Fish described his family's experience at Sugar Creek and his father's efforts to obtain the necessary provisions in the surrounding

¹² Roberts, *History of the Church*, vol. 7, 497.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 600.

area. The family attempted to make the most of their limited resources. He explained that “Among the preparations for our intended journey was to parch some corn, as it was impossible to obtain wheat. A large cylinder was made out of sheet iron and about a bushel of corn put into it. It was then placed over a fire and turned by crank the same as a grindstone so that the corn would not burn in the parching. The corn was then ground into meal, this however, did not keep very well for it got damp and soon spoiled.”¹⁴

Anticipating the numbers of Mormon pioneers who would cross the plains, the Mormon leadership developed a plan to feed subsequent waves of emigrants. Before crossing Iowa, Brigham Young sent a letter to the governor of Iowa the territory, James Clarke, to ask for permission to plant crops on rented land or public land as they crossed the state of Iowa to help the Mormons who would follow at a later date.¹⁵ On March 1, 1846 the main body of the Mormon pioneers, entitled the Camp of Israel, started out from Sugar Creek. Their plan was to reach the Missouri River by mid-April, establishing waypoints along the way where they planted crops that would be harvested by those who followed. Upon arrival at the Missouri River they intended to establish a waypoint and then send a small group ahead to the mountains with seed to plant a spring crop for the next leg of the journey. On April 24 the first Mormon waypoint was established 150 miles from Nauvoo at Garden Grove where 715 acres of crops were planted. Two hundred Mormon pioneers were assigned to improve this waypoint. Mormon pioneers,

¹⁴ John H. Krenkel, ed., *The Life and Times of Joseph Fish, Mormon Pioneer* (Danville, IL: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1970), 16.

¹⁵ Roberts, *History of the Church*, vol. 7, 600-601.

planted corn, among other crops, at each waypoint. Other established waypoints in Iowa include Mount Pisgah and Kanesville.

The Mormons were guided by a sense of duty to prepare the way both by marking the path and by establishing a food supply for the Mormon pioneers to come and most especially for the impoverished. Mormon historian Will Bagley has argued, “This act is symbolic of the revolutionary nature of the Latter-day Saints contribution to America’s overland heritage.”¹⁶ The action of planting crops for those to come was greatly influenced by Mormon religious beliefs. It was intended to bring together and plant a seed of concern for their fellow brethren.

Waypoints were unique to the Mormon trail, as there is no evidence that other similar waypoints were created on other overland trails. For instance, Oregon pioneers did not establish such waypoints. They traveled in large companies with hired guides or small companies of a few families. They did not belong to a large group of people who were migrating across the plains to gather at one place. Their only concern was their own safe crossing of the plains. Their passage west was very similar to that of the Mormons in that they suffered and experienced many of the same things. But a major difference was the communal aspect of Mormon migration. The Mormon pioneers knew that more

¹⁶ Will Bagley, ed., *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints: The 1846 and 1847 Mormon Trail Journals of Thomas Bullock* (Spokane, WA: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1997), 1:21. Most of the journals that I pull information and stories from are not the original diary or journals of the overland pioneers. I pull from works that have been compiled by other authors. For example, John H. Krenkel, ed., *The Life and Times of Joseph Fish, Mormon Pioneer* (Danville, IL: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1970); Lillian Schlissel, *Women’s Diaries of the Westward Journey* (New York: Schocken Books, 1982); Kenneth L. Holmes, ed. *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries*. 10 vols. (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1983); Thomas L. Bullock, *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints: the 1846 and 1847 Mormon Trail Journals of Thomas Bullock*. Edited by Will Bagley. Kingdom in the West, vol. 1 (Spokane, WA: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1997).

of their people were to follow and they felt compelled to prepare a way for them to cross the plains. No such communal mandate guided other pioneers.

As spring of 1846 arrived in Iowa, parcels of land were sown by members of the company with early crops to be harvested by following companies as they passed by. On May 16 the Mount Pisgah, Iowa waypoint was established and several thousand acres were enclosed, planted, and farmed. At Mount Pisgah the Mormons planted peas, cucumbers, beans, corn, buckwheat, potatoes, pumpkins, and squash. Mary Haskin Richards was one of many who benefited from these waypoints. Mary was an English emigrant that joined the Mormon Church in England on August 6, 1838. By fall 1843 Mary was in Nauvoo. After marrying Samuel Whitney Richards, the family made preparations to follow the Mormons westward. Mary arrived at Mt. Pisgah, Iowa on June 12, 1846.¹⁷ It was noted by others that arrived at Mt. Pisgah that thousands of acres of food.¹⁸ Mary was no doubt grateful for the waypoint that provided the potatoes, corn, squash, cucumbers, and peas she added to her food provisions.

While on the trail across Iowa the need for goods the Mormon pioneers did not have was met by sending out individuals and small companies to trade household goods for oats, corn, and other provisions for the pioneers and their animals. Some Mormon pioneers entered into contracts with Iowa citizens for plowing, rail splitting, building houses, and other work. These contracts paid them in provisions, corn, and hay for their

¹⁷ Maurine Carr Ward, ed., *Winter Quarters: The 1846-1848 Life Writings of Mary Haskin Parker Richards*, Life Writings of Frontier Women 1. Series edited by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher. (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1996), 66. The food station at Mt. Pisgah was sustained until 1852. I pull extensively from the story of Mary Haskin Richards as I use her story to be my example of what life was typically like for the pioneers crossing the plains and in temporary settlements.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

wagon teams. In addition to the chores that they too on to secure provisions, daily chores at the nightly encampments on the trail were necessary to ensure that food was cooked and prepared for their daily needs. Mary Haskin Richards described a grueling schedule in her journal. She arose one hour earlier than the men. She made the fire and boiled water. She then baked bread, which was mixed the night before to allow it to rise. After breakfast she washed the cookware and packed up the food and utensils. The company stopped for a cold lunch of leftovers at noon. In the evening after walking ten to twenty miles that day, she still had four to five hours of work. She hauled water, cooked the evening meal, milked the cows for the second time, and then prepared jellies or preserves from wild berries. She also aired her provisions to prevent spoilage.¹⁹ Richards described how she, “Caryed [sic] out our crackers and spread [sic] them on a sheet to sun.”²⁰ Many pioneers assisted others in preserving their food as well. Richards wrote of such kindness while traveling through Iowa, “Assisted the folks. to spread [sic] out the crackers [sic]. found some of them spoiling. attend’d [sic] to drying them.”²¹

One of Richards’ last chores of the day, but one of the most important, was to mix bread dough to bake in the morning and prepare the leftovers from supper for the following day’s lunch. Attending to the bread was especially important because it was the main provision in some companies as it was for those traveling on the Oregon trail. Keturah Belknap, an Oregon Trail pioneer, left to go to Oregon with a Dutch oven, a

¹⁹ Ibid., 16-17.

²⁰ Ibid., 84.

²¹ Ibid., 65.

skillet, tea kettle, and a coffee pot to cook with. “When I made bread I made ‘salt rising,’” wrote Keturah while traveling to Oregon, “When we camped I made rising and set it on the warm ground and it would be up about midnight. I’d get up and put it to sponge and in the morning the first thing I did was to mix the dough and put it in the oven and by the time we had breakfast it would be ready to bake. By the time I got things washed up and ready to go the bread would be done and we would go on our way rejoicing.”²² Most daily chores were the same for those traveling on the Mormon trail or on the Oregon Trail. All of the overland travelers were focused on providing food for their daily travels. There was constant preparation for the next day or meal as they made their way westward.

At times they found they could make something just a little special to share with others. Richards kept a careful record of food on the trail, making note of those occasions when she baked something special. On July 28, 1846, she noted, “Baked a piece of meet [sic]. Parched some barley [sic] coffee.”²³ On August 1, 1846, she recorded, “In the morn baked three loafs of bread for Uncle Levis folks. and one for our selfs [sic].”²⁴ On August 8, 1846, she reported, “Mother got up. Washed the dishes made a dutch Chese [sic]. baked three loaves of bread.”²⁵ On August 11, 1846, she remarked, “got three quarts of grapes.”²⁶ No doubt she made grape jam or jelly. Life on

²² Kenneth L. Holmes, ed., *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1983), 1:194-195.

²³ Ward, *Winter Quarters*, 86.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 87.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 88. Dutch Cheese is similar to today’s cottage cheese.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 88.

the overland trails gave many cooks on-the-job training as they looked to preserve foods and also continue supplying varieties of food for meals. They learned to package butter and bacon to make them last longer as butter melted quickly and bacon spoiled in a few days on the trail. For instance, one way to preserve bacon was to pack it inside a barrel of bran. Others cooked enough to stretch over many meals. Pioneer Catherine Haren wrote in her journal that she, “boiled a big mess of beans to be warmed over for several meals.”²⁷

Pioneers also had to adapt their recipes to accommodate foodstuffs they found on the trail and adapt to unfamiliar ways of cooking. As the Mormon pioneers and other pioneers moved further west, their foodways began to adapt an older style of cooking. In the homes they left behind, many had enjoyed the modern technology of the time. They cooked on modern stoves and used modern utensils. As they could not take their stoves with them, they shifted to the methods of cooking over an open fire, with the Dutch oven being the best suited pot for the job. Brock Cheney writes that, “Because the cook worked directly above the coals, many pots required short feet to elevate the pot and keep it stable. The ubiquitous Dutch oven is our most common example.”²⁸ The Dutch oven was used to cook almost everything on the trail. The pioneers cooked cakes, stews, biscuits, and meat in the Dutch oven. This versatile pot proved its worth every time a meal was prepared for the hungry travelers. Adaptive cooking on the part of the overland

²⁷ Catherine Haun, “A Woman’s Trip Across the Plains, 1849.” *Manuscript Diary*. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, **quoted in** Lillian Schlissel, *Women’s Diaries of the Westward Journey* (New York: Schocken Books, 1982), 173.

²⁸ Brock Cheney, *Plain but Wholesome: Foodways of the Mormon Pioneers* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 2012), 15.

pioneers was driven by the lack of familiar ingredients, lack of a proper kitchen setting, and, at times the extreme lack of provisions. They learned to survive. For example they learned to cook and bake over campfires. With the ruin of their cooking stove, because of a wagon accident, Margaret A. Frink adopted a plan which was very fashionable on the plains: “We would excavate a narrow trench in the ground, a foot deep and three feet long, in which we built a fire. The cooking vessels were set over this, and upon trial we found it a very substitute for a stove.”²⁹ Each instance is evidence of the adaptability of the pioneers to their new surroundings and circumstances. They not only adapted to the foods but also in the way they cooked.

In times of extreme need, pioneers used items that were not typically viewed as food. One of the more extreme cases of food scarcity and adaptability is the account of a small company of Mormon pioneers at Devil’s Gate that ran out of provisions during the especially harsh winter of 1856-1857. With their food gone the twenty-one men were left with little choice but to boil a slaughtered cow’s hide. According to these men, “It provided a gagging gluey broth and strips of sheet rubber. Both of which made them sick.” With nothing else to eat they turned again to the cow hides, “they scalded and scraped the hair off another hide and cut it up and boiled it until it was soft enough to be chewed.”³⁰ A recipe that came from this trial and error with the cow hide was a jelly like food. The preparation for the jelly was to, “scorch and scrape the hair off. Then parboil for one hour in plenty of water, throwing away the water and glue. Then wash and scrape

²⁹ Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women*, 2:97.

³⁰ Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 263-264.

again, rinsing often in cold water. Then boil to a jelly and allow to cool. Serve with a sprinkling of sugar.”³¹ Much trial and error went into the final recipe of making the cow hides into something edible for the starving men. After a much needed resupply of provisions, the food was gone again by March 4th. The desperation of the hungry men is noted in the next journal entry. “They had eaten up all the stray scraps of hide, all the worn-out moccasins, all the rawhide off abandoned handcarts and rawhide wrappings off wagon tongues, even a chunk of buffalo hide that had been used for months as a door mat. They had just put on a pack saddle on to cook when new supplies had arrived.”³² Elizabeth Dixon Smith’s journal entry of November 12, 1847, “We are living entirely on beef,”³³ confirmed the scarcity of provisions for many pioneers. Not many pioneers would experience this extreme lack of food. When faced with a shortage, however, they adapted and made do with what was available, even a cow’s hide.

For many of those crossing Iowa in 1846 lack of food was not their biggest concern but the condition of the trails. The Camp of Israel spent 131 days pushing and pulling their wagons foot by foot through axle deep mud. Heavy rains and high rivers had turned the plains of Iowa into a muddy quagmire forcing the Mormon pioneers to take much longer than had been planned to cross Iowa to Council Bluffs, a journey of 300 miles. In comparison the journey from Council Bluffs, Iowa to the Salt Lake Valley was 1,050 miles but typically only 111 days. On June 14, 1846, the Mormon pioneers arrived at the Missouri River.

³¹ Ibid., 264.

³² Ibid., 265-266.

³³ Schlissel, *Women’s Diaries*, 142.

Upon arriving at Council Bluffs, church leaders sent out one hundred pioneers westward into Nebraska to search out places where crops could be planted at new waypoints. Young and other church leaders also had to make a decision whether to go on to the mountains or establish a winter camp near the banks of the Missouri River. On July 1, 1846 their answer came. On this day Captain James Allen of the U.S. Army arrived to recruit men for the U.S.-Mexican war. Young and church leaders decided that this was an opportunity to earn money for the journey west. The Mormons sent 500 men to serve in the U.S. Army. The money the men earned by serving in the army helped families obtain the necessary money to continue westward. For sending the men to serve in the army the Mormons received permission to stay on Native American lands for the winter. With the loss of 500 men church leaders decided to stay near the Missouri River for the winter. They established a base camp called Winter Quarters, in Florence, Nebraska on the west side of the Missouri River. This base camp, established September 11, 1846, became the winter camp for the Mormons before they headed west in the spring of 1847.

The establishment of Winter Quarters, on the west side of the Missouri River, began in earnest with winter approaching. Shelters and homes were erected for the Mormon pioneers settling in for winter. A water-powered flour mill was possible because of creeks north and south of the settlement. Most were engaged in the building of the settlement to improve their daily lives. In the diaries and journal writings of those who lived there we find a window into their lives and concerns. In the journal of Mary Hasken Richards, she recorded her daily activities while at Winter Quarters. She also gave an account of the food they ate while encamped for the winter. Her daily work

included, “Baking bread, cleaning a hog’s face and putting it on to boil, then making a pot pie for supper, and boiling down pumpkin butter.”³⁴ In highlighting the daily tasks Mary carried out, it must also be pointed out that Mary was without the support of her husband at the time. As was the case with many pioneer women, Mary’s husband was called away on a Mormon mission. Without her husband to provide for her, Mary moved in with friends while she sewed for members of their family. This assured her of food to eat during that time.³⁵ Journals such as Mary’s give us a glimpse of daily pioneer life and the manner in which they provided for themselves in times of need. Many pioneer journals give us a glance into private moments that, while to some unremarkable, give us an inkling of what brought some enjoyment to their lives. On August 25, 1846 Mary, while on the trail, wrote that she “feasted on water and musk mellons [sic]. a very unexpected treat in the wilderness.”³⁶ In Winter Quarters on December 6 she ate “some bread and butter. honey and chese [sic]. While visiting the Van Cotts family.”³⁷ An unexpected treat of food outside the daily mundane, was an uplifting experience for many pioneers. Life in the camps were filled with similar experiences, but in the back of their minds was the continuation of their journey westward.

The arrival of the Mormon pioneers at Council Bluffs brought an end to the first stage of the westward passage for some of the Mormon pioneers. Council Bluffs and Winter Quarters became a permanent staging area for the emigrants who followed. It

³⁴ Ward, *Winter Quarters*, 25.

³⁵ Ibid., 27.

³⁶ Ibid., 90.

³⁷ Ibid., 100

was not a pleasant stay for many of the pioneers. The pioneers who lived through the first winter at Winter Quarters suffered through the harsh Nebraska winter with the little food they brought with them. For many of the Mormon pioneers their diet consisted of only corn bread, salt bacon, and milk for weeks. Close to 600 people died because of the lack of food during their first winter on the banks of the Missouri River.³⁸ Poverty amongst the Mormon pioneers was a determining factor as to how long many stayed in Council Bluffs, Iowa or Winter Quarters, Nebraska. And for many, not heading west meant they would go no further, with almost 2,000 Mormon pioneers dying from rampant illness in the camps between June 1846 and October 1848.

Those pioneers with the financial means were the first to travel to the Salt Lake Valley. The poor followed when they were able to obtain the money to continue the journey. Joseph Fish's family was one of the families that called Council Bluffs home for three years. Writing about his time there he observed, "we were destitute of clothing and provisions. At one time some six weeks passed that we never tasted bread, living on green corn and what we could obtain. At certain seasons of the year there were many geese, ducks, prairie chickens, etc., which enabled us to get along a little better at this period."³⁹ Hosea Stout also described his time in Winter Quarters attempting to gather food. He went hunting in the woods near town but did not kill any animals for food. Stout demonstrated in his journal that even when food was scarce, there was a compelling

³⁸ Feely, Dawn, Cathy Foster, Tamara Omtvedt, and Shawwna Sivius, eds., *The Mormon Trail Cookbook: Endeavors, Struggles, and Cooking Traditions of the Mormon Pioneers* (Kearney, NE: Morris Publishing, 1997), 61.

³⁹ Krenkek, *Joseph Fish*, 23.

concern for coming emigrants. For instance, when he came home from hunting, he went to a council meeting that planned to plant crops for the coming emigrants. The next day he, “went a hunting and digging hartachokes [sic] until near noon and then went and prepare for caching fish.”⁴⁰ Those who stayed in Winter Quarters beyond the first winter lived on what they could find or what the season provided them.

Brigham Young planned to leave Winter Quarters in mid-April 1847 with nearly 150 in his party. The rest of the pioneers planned to stay at Winter Quarters to grow crops and help those arriving from the east. Young’s party followed the general route of the Oregon Trail but to avoid other emigrants, they went along the north rather than the south bank of the Platte River to create a “new Mormon Trail.”⁴¹ Young’s party arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, after the 1,000 mile journey, in July of 1847. In August Young returned to Winter Quarters to help organize more companies for the journey to the Salt Lake Valley. One company left Winter Quarters in July before Young’s return and reached the valley in September. This company was comprised of 1500 pioneers with cattle, horses, sheep, hogs, and chickens. During the journey from Nebraska to Utah they supplemented their provisions with, buffalo meat and the women were able to collect berries to make pies. They found and put to use natural deposits of saleratus, which they mixed with corn to make hominy.⁴² With the arrival of Mormon pioneers and the

⁴⁰ Juanita Brooks, ed. *On the Mormon Frontier; the Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1848*, vol 1 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 244-245.

⁴¹ Reginald Horsman, *Feast or Famine: Food and Drink in American Westward Expansion* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008), 149.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 149. Saleratus was a chalk-like powder used as a chemical leavener to produce carbon dioxide gas in dough. This bubbly white crust was collected by pioneer women and used to leaven the biscuits and breads they baked in their Dutch ovens. For more information concerning saleratus and where

groundwork of a permanent settlement being laid in the Salt Lake Valley the focus of Brigham Young turned from the Mormon pioneers already on the trail, to the European Mormons across the Atlantic Ocean.

To these European Mormons, Young sent a call “to gather to Zion” in the Salt Lake Valley. He told them, “emigrate as speedily possible...bringing with you all kinds of choice seeds of grain, vegetables, fruits, shrubbery, trees, and vines – everything that will please the eye; also the best stock of beasts, birds, and fowls...and every implement and article within their knowledge that shall tend to promote the comfort, health and happiness or prosperity.”⁴³ The European Mormons’ narrative is vital to the story of the Mormon Trail and to Mormon foodways. Thousands heeded the call to unite with their fellow Mormons in Utah. The immigration of British Mormons began in 1840 and by 1860 there were 7,084 native-born English in Utah, the fourth most in the nation. By 1900 there were 18,879 in Utah the third most in the nation.⁴⁴ During the time of gathering to Utah more than 30,000 Scandinavians settled in Utah; fifty-six percent were Danish, thirty-two percent were Swedish, and eleven percent were Norwegian.⁴⁵ By 1860 the Utah Valley’s population was a melting pot of immigrants from England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, the Jersey Islands, France, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden,

it can be found occurring naturally, see Brock Cheney, *Plain but Wholesome: Foodways of the Mormon Pioneers* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2012), 48-49.

⁴³ M. Hamlin Cannon “Migration of English Mormons to America,” *The American Historical Review* 52, no. 3 (April 1947): 444-45.

⁴⁴ Oscar O. Winther “English Migrations to the American West 1865-1900,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (February 1964): 159-60.

⁴⁵ Helge Seljaas, “Scandinavian Mormons and Their Zion,” *Scandinavian Studies* 60, no. 4 (Autumn 1988): 445.

Norway, Iceland, Holland, India, South Africa, and various Italian and German states. By the second half of the nineteenth-century, about seventy percent of the adults in the Mormon settlements were born outside the United States.⁴⁶

When these European Mormons converted to the Mormon faith they accepted the Word of Wisdom and the challenges it posed to their traditions and culture. They came to cross the American plains to unite with a religious community. Mormon historian Stanley Kimball writes that the “Mormon Trail experience was especially significant in the creation of group solidarity no small task when many Mormon companies consisted of a great mix of peoples, genders, ages, backgrounds, countries or origin and physical conditions. Mormon companies were much less homogenous than typical Oregon or California companies.”⁴⁷

While the trail experience homogenized Mormons religiously and socially, it did not do away with traditional foodways, cultural differences, native languages, folk customs, or native tongue church meetings. Mormon missionaries were sent to Europe from the earliest years of the church. First they went to England and then to other European countries. The missionaries had great success in the European countries. British Mormons began to emigrate to America in 1840 and many were in Nauvoo when they Mormons left to go west. Some European Mormons landed in New Orleans and traveled up the Mississippi to St. Louis where they joined with other Mormons. Others arrived in New York and traveled by train as far west as they could and then completed

⁴⁶ Ibid., 445.

⁴⁷ Kimball, *The Mormon Migrations*, 20.

the journey by pulling a handcart or by wagon. Space and weight were of great concern for the overland journey to Utah and emigrants were allowed a specific amount of packed goods. Children under the age of four were not allowed any space or weight. Children between the ages of four and eight were allowed space and weight for fifty pounds. Ages eight and up were allowed one hundred pounds. This also included clothing and bedding. In St. Louis emigrants outfitted their wagons with: 1,000 pounds of flour, fifty pounds of sugar, fifty pounds of bacon, twenty pounds of dried apples and peaches, fifty pounds of rice, five pounds of tea, one gallon of vinegar, ten bars of soap, twenty-five pounds of salt, and thirty pounds of beans.⁴⁸ This, combined with what they found or hunted on the trail, gave them a good balanced diet.

European Mormons brought with them their own foodways and food. For Swedish immigrants this included “barley porridge, or some kind of soup, sausage, cheese, and sourdough bread spread with pork fat.”⁴⁹ Mary Ann Hafen, a Swiss immigrant remembered that her “Mother would bake a week’s supply of bread in the family oven and that during the summer they gathered berries and ate them with bread and milk. Her mother made jam and jelly out of the collected berries.”⁵⁰ Upon being

⁴⁸ Milton R Hunter, “The Mormon Corridor.” *Pacific Historical Review* 8, no. 2 (June 1939): 451.

⁴⁹ Leslie Albrecht Huber, “Kerstina Nilsson: A Story of the Swedish Saints,” *Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 1 (Winter 2012): 248.

⁵⁰ Mary Ann Hafen, *Recollections of a Handcart Pioneer of 1860: A Women's Life on the Mormon Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 14-15. I argue that Mary Ann Hafen’s story is a good example of a Mormon immigrant’s life and I use her diary extensively to illustrate the nature of that experience. For more examples Mormon immigrants see: William Ajax, *William Ajax: 1832-1899* vol. 2 (Utah Academic Library Consortium, 2002), under “Digital Collections BYU Library,” <https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/Diaries/id/7631/rec/2> (accessed July 9, 2018); Andrew Ferguson, *Andrew Ferguson 1818-1888* (Utah Academic Library Consortium, 2002), under “Overland Trails Diaries, Transcontinental Migration Archive,” <https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/Diaries/id/7644/rec/6> (accessed July 9, 2018); Kim B.

baptized by Mormon missionaries her family heeded the call to gather in Utah and sold their home by auction. They took only what they needed. She remembered that her father took his carpentry tools with him.⁵¹

The Mormon migration from European countries began in 1852. European Mormons, the non-British, did not have the same concerns as another emigrant from Europe. They benefitted from the twelve years of experience Mormon leaders had gained from assisting British Mormons immigrating to America. All the details were seen to by Mormon agents in England, Scandinavia, and America from the beginning of their journey to the end.⁵² In one of the many emigrant guides, Scandinavian emigrants were encouraged to take their own bedding and cooking and eating utensils, preferably tin ware. They were told to obtain food for the five-day journey to Liverpool. And those with enough money were counseled to acquire a milk cow to give milk to their children on the plains of the American west.⁵³ According to historian William Mulder, the *Stjerne* was an emigrant guide with a difference: the instructions for the journey were accompanied by a moral rider. This moral rider told them they should conduct themselves according to the laws of the land in all respects that they might be “justified before man and God” to leave a good name behind.⁵⁴

Ostman, “From Finland to Zion: Immigration to Utah in the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Mormon History* 36, no. 4 (Fall 2010): 166-207.

⁵¹ Ibid., 17.

⁵² William Mulder, “Mormons from Scandinavia, 1850-1900: A Shepherded Migration,” *Pacific Historical Review* 23, no. 3 (August 1954): 228.

⁵³ Ibid., 235.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 236.

For European Mormons, Liverpool was the gathering place for the journey to America. When a sufficient number of Mormons were gathered, a ship was chartered by their agent and the emigrants traveled as a unit instead of individually. The ship passage fare, negotiated by the Mormon agent, was three pounds five shillings to five pounds for adults. Passage for children age one to fourteen cost ten shillings and children under one traveled at no cost. The fare included the following provisions: thirty-three pounds of good navy bread, ten pounds of rice, ten pounds of oatmeal, ten pounds of wheat flour, ten pounds of peas and beans, thirty-five pounds of potatoes, one pint of vinegar, ten pounds of salted pork, and sixty gallons of fresh water.⁵⁵ Mulder explained that the passing of the days on the ship could, for many of the emigrants, be tracked by the menu, which might be ‘sweet soup’ on Sunday, pea soup on Monday, rice on Tuesday and Wednesday, pea soup on Thursday, barley mush on Friday, and herring and potatoes on Saturday.⁵⁶ In addition to the food provided aboard the ship, the Mormons were supplied with provisions by the church which enabled many of them to live “more bountifully” than they had in their native lands.⁵⁷ One Mormon remembers receiving “cheese, bacon, meat, rice, tea, sugar, potatoes, pepper, mustard, and water” in addition to what their fare provided.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Cannon, *Migration of English Mormons*, 445. Navy bread was made with no yeast and was a hard bread.

⁵⁶ Mulder, *Mormons from Scandinavia*, 239.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 239.

⁵⁸ Huber, Kerstina, 253.

Mary Ann Hafen, a Swiss emigrant, had a much different experience when she crossed the Atlantic Ocean. She crossed on the ship named the William Tapscott. There were 731 Mormons on board. 312 were from Scandinavia and eighty-five were from Switzerland. The ship left England on May 11, 1860 and arrived in New York on June 16, 1860. The food on her ship was meager. She remembered her family “used chicken bones for food on ship after the sailors had thrown them away. She recalled how good they tasted.”⁵⁹ In New York her first meal ashore was light bread and sweet milk and she remembered best this meal after weeks of hard tack, zwieback, and dried pea soup.⁶⁰ Most had a good trip with plenty to eat and drink. In 1868 3,200 Mormons chartered five vessels, the John Bright, the Emerald Isle, the Constitution, the Minnesota, and the Colorado, for the voyage to America from Liverpool. The Emerald Isle was the exception for this journey. It had bad water and poor provisions. Thirty-seven children and four adults were cast overboard having died of illness.⁶¹

Upon arrival at New York the European emigrants boarded a train bound for Omaha then on to Laramie or Benton City, Wyoming. When the train stopped at its scheduled stops along the route many emigrants ventured out of the train into the city to obtain more food. Some saw tomatoes for the first time. Others remembered eating tomatoes thinking they were some nice fruit and then getting sick.⁶² In his book *Trail of*

⁵⁹ Mary Ann Hafen, *Recollections*, 19.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 20. Zwieback is a crisp sweetened bread that is baked for a second time after being sliced. It was usually fed to teething babies.

⁶¹ Craig S. Smith, “The 1868 Mormon Emigration: An End of an Era,” *The Overland Journal* 15, no. 4 (December 1997): 21.

⁶² Ibid., 21-22.

Hope, William W. Slaughter includes the account of emigrant Margaret Judd who remembered the food she ate on the trail with fondness. She wrote, “The best of all meals to me while on our journey was our mid-day luncheon. Mother used to make a kettle of corn meal mush in the morning, then wrapped it up to keep it warm. After the milking was done, the milk was put in a tin churn and wrapped to keep it from slopping over. When we camped at noon to let the cattle feed, Mother used to bring out the mush and milk. Bread and bacon were more delicious then than plum pudding or pound cake now. How environments change our tastes.”⁶³ The trail environment changed the tastes for many of the overland pioneers. Numerous were forced to adapt to new foods and adapt available resources into something edible. Almost certainly Margaret and other pioneers would have chosen cake or pudding over bread and bacon. But given the scarcity of most foods, bread and bacon were a most welcome part of their diet.

When the European Mormons reached either Laramie or Benton City, wagon trains from the Down and Back Wagon Train System were sent from Utah to pick them up and carry them to Salt Lake City. Slaughter described the system in *Trail of Hope*. The first Down and Back again train team left the Salt Lake Valley in April of 1861. This team consisted of 200 wagons, 1600 oxen, and 210 volunteer teamsters and guards. They were hauling 136,000 lbs. of flour and over the 1,000 miles they traveled to Florence, Nebraska they deposited one-fourth of the flour at each of four way stations along the way. At their destination they loaded up those too poor to buy provisions and passage and conveyed them back to Utah. The next year the number of wagons doubled.

⁶³ William W. Slaughter and Michael Landon, *Trail of Hope: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (Salt Lake City: Shadow Mountain, 1997), 76-77.

In the 1860s these wagon trains became the primary wagon trains carrying European Mormons to Utah. Almost 20,000 European immigrants traveled to Utah during the 1860s, and most came by the Down and Back again wagon trains.⁶⁴

Before the implementation of the Down and Back system in 1861, Brigham Young, in an effort to save money, instituted handcart companies. The handcart companies would, after the first year, cut the cost of crossing the plains in half. Handcart companies were designed to help the destitute, who were unable to afford a wagon and the provisions necessary for a wagon trip, cross the plains to Utah. It did not need oxen, as it was pulled and pushed by the pioneers. A drawback to the handcart was that it could not carry a large amount of supplies. The handcarts were used from 1856-1860 with no carts used in 1858. Of the more than 70,000 emigrants, only slightly more than 3,000, in ten handcart companies, used handcarts.⁶⁵

Handcart companies were on strict rations for their journey to the Salt Lake Valley. Many left Iowa City, Iowa, the gathering place for the European Mormon handcart pioneers, trusting that they would be resupplied with rations while on the trail at waypoints previously established. Hunger was a constant complaint and feeling for the members of the handcart companies. Mary Ann Hafen, newly arrived from Europe, wrote of the low provisions her family had while pulling their handcart. Hafen recalled, “One day a herd of buffalo ran past and the men of our company shot two of them. Such

⁶⁴ William G. Hartley, “Brigham Young’s Overland Trails Revolution: The Creation of the “Down-And-Back” Wagon-Train System, 1860-1861,” *Journal of Mormon History* 28, no. 1 (2002): 2.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 9-10. Handcarts were designed to be pulled or pushed by the crossbar in the front of the cart. With two large wheels on each side, the cart could carry up to 500 pounds of supplies.

a feast we had when they were dressed. Each family was given a piece of meat to take along. When we got that chunk of buffalo meat father put it in the handcart. My brother John remembered that it was the fore part of the week and that father said we would save it for Sunday dinner. John said, 'I was so very hungry and the meat smelled so good to me while pushing at the handcart that I could not resist. I had a little pocket knife and with it I cut off a piece or two each half day.' John expected a whipping but when asked by father he told him that he was so hungry he did it. Instead of a whipping father turned away from John to wipe away his tears."⁶⁶

Archer Walters, an English carpenter, kept a journal that detailed the travails of the handcart company in which he traveled. He wrote on June 26, 1856 that his family was, "Very faint from lack of food. We are only allowed about three-fourths of a pound of flour a head each day and about three ounces of sugar each week. About a half a pound of bacon each week; which makes those that have no money very weak."⁶⁷ The children were not spared from hunger. On July 1 he wrote that they were given, "half a pound of flour each; 2 ounces of rice; which is very little and my children cry with hunger and it grieves me and makes me cross." On August 3, he recorded that they "got shellfish out of the creek for we was very hungry. Only three-fourths a pound of flour; one-and-a-half ounces of sugar; a few apples." On August 6, he noted their company had "killed four buffalo. Our hungry appetites satisfied by the buffalo. By August 23,

⁶⁶ Mary Ann Hafen, *Recollections*, 25-26.

⁶⁷ LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion: The Story of a Unique Western Migration, 1856-1860*. (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1960), 61. This book includes journal accounts, reports of the handcart companies, and rosters of the ten handcart companies.

however, the hunger had returned and he observed, "I was never so hungry in my life. Captain Ellsworth shot a cow. Very thankfully received." He bartered for additional food and on August 26 noted, "Traded a dagger for a pieced of bacon and salt. Bought bacon and meal and Henry and me began to eat it raw we were so hungry." The following day they cooked the provisions he had bartered for and on August 27 he remarked enthusiastically, "Had bacon and meal porridge for supper; the best supper for many weeks."⁶⁸ Water could be as scarce as food and Mary Ann Jones, another member of one of the handcart companies, wrote of the desperation for water in a journal entry from September 1856. "Some may recoil at the thought of a supper cooked in water dug from a buffalo wallow and with buffalo chips, but it tasted good to us."⁶⁹

In the ten handcart companies and their almost 3,000 pioneers, about 250 of them died, with 217 of those deaths coming from the Willie and Martin handcart companies.⁷⁰ These companies left too late in the year, were woefully undersupplied and were caught in severe snowstorms as they drew closer to Utah. After the Willie and Martin tragedy, church leaders never sent out another large handcart company. In 1869 the overland wagon trains ended. The completion of the transcontinental railroad made it unnecessary to travel by wagon to Utah and the west coast. In July of 1869 the first Scandinavian company made the entire overland journey by rail. The total travel time was cut from almost four months to twenty-seven days. No longer did those crossing the plains have to

⁶⁸ Ibid., 67-70.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 71. A buffalo wallow is a natural topographical depression in the flat prairie that holds rain water and runoff. Buffalo would drink from and bath in the water held in the wallow leaving behind hair and other debris in the wallow.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 193.

suffer as had their predecessors. The era of the Mormon pioneer came to a close. The pioneers who crossed the plains were held in great esteem in their communities and remembered every year on July 24, Pioneer Day for Mormons. They were revered for their perseverance and sufferings. These men, women and children entered the pages of Mormon history and lore never to be forgotten.

Few pioneers recorded any thoughts regarding the Word of Wisdom while they were on the trail. They mostly worried about making it across the plains and, as a result, any type of nourishment or relief was welcome. Historian Wallace Stegner claimed that some Mormons went against the Word of Wisdom while at Winter Quarters. Stegner asserted that during the winter of 1846 Jane Richards traded her husband's "violin to Brigham Young's nephew, for a gallon of wine; and as a pound of tea, disapproved by the Word of Wisdom, had sustained her on the bitter road across Iowa, so this sipped and cherished wine, likewise disapproved, may have given her enough vitamin C at a critical time to save her life."⁷¹ Brigham Young, in January 1847, called upon the Mormon pioneers to cease their drunkenness.⁷² Historians Paul Peterson and Ronald Walker argued that church leaders endeavored to control the consumption of alcohol during their stay at Winter Quarters and that they tried to do so by giving the church bishops special powers.⁷³ In addition, as noted Peterson and Walker, before leaving Winter Quarters and heading west in March 1847, Young called upon the saints to give up their tobacco and

⁷¹ Stegner, *Gathering of Zion*, 101.

⁷² Paul H. Peterson and Ronald W. Walker, "Brigham Young's Word of Wisdom Legacy" *BYU Studies* 42, nos. 3 & 4 (2003): 34.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 34.

alcohol. He also urged them to substitute their ration of coffee with more flour. Not many were willing to give up their coffee, as many had stocked up on coffee before leaving. They feared a shortage.⁷⁴ The evidence suggests that church leaders were willing to overlook any failures to adhere to the Word of Wisdom on the trail, but as they settled anywhere, even temporary quarters, the leadership returned to a stricter enforcement of the commandment, especially when indulgence to drunkenness.

Mormon trail foodways were influenced by food scarcity, adaptation of recipes to available food, the regression of cooking methods, waypoints, and the implementation of the handcart. Two of these influences, waypoints and the handcart, distinguished Mormon trail foodways from other overland trails of that time period. The waypoints established by the Mormons were unique. No one previously had created waypoints for fellow pioneers to stop and resupply with food as they traveled west. No one did this to care for the poor or needy. Those who traveled west to Oregon or California did so as a single family that was part of a company with hired guides. They traveled individually whereas the Mormons traveled as a community bound by religious beliefs. These waypoints proved invaluable to the poor and needy who followed the first wave of Mormon pioneers westward. Another distinguishing facet of the overland trails was the creation of Mormon handcart companies. These handcart companies were especially reliant upon the waypoints previously established to help them along the trail to Utah. The handcart pioneers left with fewer provisions than those in wagons and it can truly be said that they put their lives in the hands of those who went before. The Mormon

⁷⁴ Ibid., 34.

overland trail's contribution to the overland trail system is evident in the revolutionary ideas they implemented as they traveled west. The work for these overland pioneers was not over upon arriving at the Salt Lake Valley. They had to cultivate an arid land that no one wanted.

CHAPTER 4: THEY ATE PIGWEEDS

“The first duty of a saint when he comes to this valley, is to learn how to grow a vegetable; after which he must learn how to rear pigs and fowl, to irrigate his land, and to build his house. The rest will come in time.”

– Brigham Young

The first Mormons reached the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. With the rest of the Nauvoo Mormons arriving in the next few years, the population of the Salt Lake Valley began to grow. Their work was not over upon their arrival. They built temporary shelters until they could build more permanent homes. They started tilling the land to plant crops and foraged food where they could. By the end of 1847 there were almost 2,000 Mormon settlers in the Salt Lake Valley. They had to adapt their cuisine to what was available to them. The surrounding region would not provide an abundance of food choices. They ate weeds and other greens they foraged.¹ Cultivating food stuffs was very important to the Mormons as their numbers would increase significantly in the years to come. Mormon foodways as they developed in the Salt Lake Valley were influenced by the isolation of the valley, the ongoing influx of emigrants, and a renewed commitment to the Word of Wisdom.

Over the next twenty years more than 70,000 Mormon emigrants entered the Salt Lake Valley region. Not everyone settled in Salt Lake City: some moved to other Mormon settlements in the Utah territory. European emigrants, in particular, had little to call their own. Whatever they may have left behind, however, they brought their native foods with them. They also brought cherished recipes from home. There were recipes

¹ Many would eat what was called “pig weed.” Some pioneers described it as a wild spinach. Information concerning pig weed came from Brock Cheney’s *Plain but Wholesome* and Mary Ann Hafen’s *Recollections of a Handcart Pioneer of 1860*.

from England, Germany, Scandinavia, and many other countries brought to Utah by Mormon emigrants. Their food augmented and diversified Mormon foodways. Utah was the culmination of the overland journey of the Nauvoo Mormons and the European Mormon emigrants. Once settled in Utah, church leaders pushed for a renewed commitment to the Word of Wisdom. In Utah these influences came together as the capstone of Mormon foodways. By combining Mormon religious beliefs, especially the Word of Wisdom, the influence of the emigrants, and the isolation of the Salt Lake Valley, the Mormons created foodways that were unique among their contemporary overland pioneers. This chapter will illuminate these influences on Mormon foodways.

The Utah territory was not an area that anyone wanted to settle. It was an area that was hunted by fur traders and others passing through looking for food. No white settlers stayed. The earliest white explorer of the valley, Jedediah Smith explained, “We frequently travelled without water sometimes for two days over sandy deserts where there was no sign of vegetation. We most generally found some Indians who appeared the most miserable of the human race having nothing to subsist on except grass seeds, grasshoppers, etc.”² French naturalist Jules Remy and gentleman explorer Julius Brenchley traveled through Utah in 1855 and wrote a book in 1861 that gave the reader a vivid description of the Salt Lake Valley. Remy described the landscape as “immense barren plains, now stretching out of sight, now bordered in the distance by lines of rocky or sandy hills, constitute genuine deserts, where the eye is painfully dazzled by the glitter of layers of salt or alkali, and where it sees nothing else but here and there a few

² Dale L. Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953), 337.

miserable dried-up of dying plants.”³ He went on to suggest the land was uninhabitable; “The general aspect of the country is that of an arid ungrateful soil, unsuited to the habitation of man.”⁴ In a similar vein, James S. Brown wrote in his autobiography that the Salt Lake Valley was gloomy and that the experiences of 1847 and 1848 were not encouraging for many of the Mormon settlers.⁵ Historian William Mulder in his history of the Mormon migration described the Salt Lake Valley as, “isolated, rainless, without a railroad and the lure of land grants, without a government survey to ensure title, with a precarious amount of arable land, the territory seems an affront to the rest of the country, which officially rejected the land and repudiated its inhabitants” and noted that “during the debate on the Great Compromise, Senator Seddon of Virginia, was perfectly willing to abandon it to the Mormons for its worthlessness.”⁶ These men were describing a land no one wanted, but it was perfect for the Mormon leaders who were looking for an isolated land in hopes that others would bypass it.

The Salt Lake Valley contributed to creating unique Mormon foodways. Utah was landlocked. Traders with supplies did not pass through the valley on a regular basis, in contrast to the cargo ships that sailed into the various ports of the west coast. Food had to be planted, harvested, and hunted. Despite its desolation, the land was home to a

³ Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City: With a Sketch of the History, Religion, and Customs of the Mormons, and an Introduction On the Religious Movement in the United States* (London, 1861; reprint, New York: AMS Press Inc, 1971), 2:259.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 260.

⁵ James S. Brown, *Life of a Pioneer: Being the Autobiography of James S. Brown* (1900; repr., Salt Lake City: Geo. Q. Cannon & Sons Co., 1971), 117.

⁶ William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration From Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), 69-70.

number of species that could be hunted for food. Remy and Brenchley described small herds of antelopes, the American eland, the Virginian deer, the black-tailed deer, and other smaller species found in the Salt Lake Valley. They also pointed out the raccoons and musk-rats found near the rivers. And, wherever there was pasture, rabbits proliferated.⁷ Remy and Brenchley also recorded the abundance of trout, perch, and striped bass in Lake Utah and the relative barrenness of the Great Salt Lake.⁸ In general, the naturally occurring food supply in Utah was meager compared to the lush lands of the Pacific Northwest.

Initially many of the Mormon settlers were not pleased with the Salt Lake Valley after leaving the green lands of Missouri and Illinois behind. Historian P. A. M. Taylor claimed that, “some, like Lorenzo D. Young, were at first dismayed when they saw the problems of living in the Great Basin.”⁹ In the spring of 1849 many prepared to go to California rather than stay, in their words, in this, “God-forsaken country.”¹⁰ Harriet Young, speaking for those who were disillusioned upon entering the valley, put it best when she said, “We have traveled fifteen hundred miles to get here, and I would travel a thousand miles further.”¹¹ Nevertheless, the Salt Lake Valley was to be their home.

⁷ Remy, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City*, 2:259.

⁸ Ibid., 2:267.

⁹ P. A. M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966), 53.

¹⁰ Brown, *Life of a Pioneer*, 120.

¹¹ William W. Slaughter and Michael Landon, *Trail of Hope: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (Salt Lake City: Shadow Mountain, 1997), 71-72.

The Mormon vanguard company led by Brigham Young arrived at the Salt Lake Valley in late July 1847. One of the first orders of business for the arriving company was to plant food. On July 22, 1847, Thomas Bullock and some others from the vanguard company entered the Salt Lake Valley to do just that.¹² Bullock recorded in his journal that the next day, July 23, at 9:30 a.m. a committee of five was appointed to look for land for planting potatoes, corn, and beans. The committee consisted of Shadrach Rowdy, Seth Taft, Stephen Minkban, Robert Crow, and Albert Carrington. The committee decided that every man should plant his own potatoes and seeds as he pleased.¹³ Bullock noted that at 11:30 a.m. “The committee reported they had staked off a piece of fine ground 40 rods by 20 for potatoes, also a suitable place for beans, corn and buck wheat. At twelve o’clock the first furrow was turned by Captain Taft’s company.”¹⁴

Along with the planting of crops the need for water in the arid valley was the greatest concern. Given the climate, Mormon settlers had to irrigate the land immediately to have any chance of cultivating crops and producing food. Historian Thomas Alexander described the construction of the vastly important irrigation ditches in the Salt Lake Valley. He wrote that, after the plowing began that another party of men built irrigation ditches to supply water. They also built a dam on City Creek and after two days of work they were able to turn on the water to irrigate the potato patch.¹⁵

¹² Will Bagley, ed., *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints: The 1846 and 1847 Mormon Trail Journals of Thomas Bullock* (Spokane, WA: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1997), 232-233.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 233-234.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 234.

¹⁵ Thomas G. Alexander, “Irrigating the Mormon Heartland: The Operation of the Irrigation Companies in Wasatch Oasis Communities, 1847-1880,” *Agricultural History* 76, no. 2 (2002): 172-173.

Bullock noted in his journal on July 23, that “At four o’clock other brethren commenced mowing the grass, to prepare a turnip patch.”¹⁶ In less than a month the Mormon pioneers planted eighty-four acres in corn, potatoes, beans, buck wheat, and turnips.¹⁷ Their work continued as they planned and laid out the city. The Mormons extended the irrigation ditches all through the valley as they tilled and planted new farm plots.¹⁸ There was little drinkable water available in the valley, so it was imperative that the Mormons dig irrigation trenches from the mountains to obtain drinkable water. Remy wrote that before they dug the ditches they had to remove the layer of salt that covered the surface of the ground.¹⁹ Bullock recorded on August 13, 1847, that S.H. Goddard, Z. Coltrin, and C. Loveland took advantage of this natural occurrence and harvested 125 bushels of white salt and boiled down four barrels of salt water, making one barrel of exceptional white table salt.²⁰

The Mormons worked to make the valley habitable, but many of the Mormon pioneers were still in perilous situations. Mormon pioneer James S. Brown wrote in his journal that in 1847 and throughout much of 1848, “some of the inhabitants were living in log cabins, others in dugouts, and still others in wagons, while some who did not have the latter had built brush sheds; almost everybody was living on short rations.”²¹ Brown

¹⁶ Bagley, *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints*, 234.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 236.

¹⁸ Alexander, *Irrigating the Mormon Heartland*, 173.

¹⁹ Remy, *Journey to Salt Lake City*, 261.

²⁰ Bagley, *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints*, 256.

²¹ Brown, *Life of a Pioneer*, 117.

wrote of the scarcity of food in the valley. He claimed that in order to survive the, “people dug segos and thistle roots, and gathered cow cabbage, as they called it, that was found in the canyons. We ate these as greens, cooked the hides of beef cattle—in fact gathered everything eatable, and worked hard and put in our crops.”²² The Mormon settlers adapted to survive in their new home as they toiled to make the valley a viable food producing land. As their work progressed, feelings of hope would temporarily fill the hearts and minds of the Mormon settlers.

The feeling of good will and hope that was spreading as they planted their crops ended with what happened in the months of May and early June of 1848. Near the end of May, clouds of black crickets came over the mountains and began eating everything green in front of them. Families fought against the crickets from sun up until sundown. They used their chickens against the crickets, trying whatever they could to save their crops. But the crickets ate the crops down to the ground ruining any chance for the plant to grow again. Day after day they fought the crickets and their advancement. Then with no apparent hope in sight “clouds of salvation,” as Brown described them approached them from the west.²³ The clouds were white seagulls. Day after day the sea gulls ate the crickets saving what was left of the planted crops. The 4,000 Mormons who were living in the valley were saved from starvation. On August 10, 1848 they held a public feast to celebrate their first harvest. Historian Brock Cheney quoted Mormon settler Parley Pratt in his book describing the food they had for their harvest feast: “We partook freely of a

²² Ibid., 127.

²³ Ibid., 128.

rich variety of bread, beef, butter, cheese, cakes, pastry, green corn, melons and almost every variety of vegetable.”²⁴

Along with planting food and fighting off crickets, the new settlers were called upon to create industries needed to help them become a self-sufficient people. With the arrival of each pioneer company to the Salt Lake Valley Brigham Young greeted them and urged them to become a self-sufficient people who would not have to rely on outsiders for provisions. Historian John Unruh argued that Brigham Young was adamant in his stance that his people would not trade with non-Mormons, mostly because supplies were in great demand and every scrap needed to be saved during the first years after the Mormons had arrived in the Salt Lake Valley.²⁵ They took his urging to be self-sufficient seriously and built the needed industries in order to achieve that end. They built mills to produce sugar and flour. By 1853 Brigham Young had changed his stance on trade with non-Mormons. He really had not been able to stop it in any case. Instead, he told the shop owners to charge higher prices for goods sold to the overland non-Mormons.²⁶ Mary Ringo was a victim of the high prices charged to non-Mormons. She wrote that on her way to California that she had stopped in Salt Lake City to buy provisions and complained that, “we bought some nine peaches but they are twenty-five cents a dozen. I tell you, you have to pay high for everything you get here.”²⁷

²⁴ Brock Cheney, *Plain but Wholesome: Foodways of the Mormon Pioneers* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 2012), 1-2.

²⁵ John D. Unruh Jr., *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-60* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 306.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 306-307.

²⁷ Kenneth L. Holmes, ed., *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1983), 8:225.

By 1850 the situation in Salt Lake City had improved for many of the Mormon settlers. Sarah Davis, on her way to California, wrote in her journal on August 8, 1850 that she, “past [sic] through the city of the great Salt Lake. It is a pleasant place here and seems to be improving with great rapidity. It seems to have a great deal of vegetation to sell.”²⁸ This was quite a turnaround from just a short time earlier when the Mormon crops had been destroyed. Their crops were now growing and the Mormon settlers were producing enough food to provide for themselves, the European emigrants, and for the market. Lucena Parsons, also on her way to California, wrote that upon her arrival in Salt Lake City they, “had a good feast of potatoes and green corn and other vegetables and we think we never saw as good before having so long been without.”²⁹ Joseph Fish, a Mormon pioneer, wrote that upon arriving in the Salt Lake Valley in 1850, “John Smith and his wife Sarah came out to meet us. They had brought out some melons and vegetables which were much appreciated, as we had had none for nearly a year.”³⁰

In 1852 Joseph Fish wrote in his journal that he had spent the year farming and that the crops were good. His wheat yielded around sixty bushels per acre. He noted the abundance of salt and that it formed along the shore of the Great Salt Lake several inches thick and that he could shovel up a load in a short time.³¹ By 1854 many of the settlers had improved their land and were eating fresh vegetables from their gardens. One settler,

²⁸ Ibid., 2:191.

²⁹ Unruh, *The Plains Across*, 271.

³⁰ John H. Krenkel, ed., *The Life and Times of Joseph Fish, Mormon Pioneer* (Danville, IL: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1970), 29.

³¹ Ibid., 33.

Patty Sessions, described a meal of “cabbage, beets, carrots, and pork.”³² This good meal was not shared by all the Mormon settlers. Some of them had to struggle for years to escape from a diet of pig weed.

In contrast, the pioneer families who entered Washington and Oregon during the 1850s found forests filled with wild game, rolling waters crowded with fish and shellfish, and bushes loaded with berries. Though the Oregon Trail pioneers were glad to find these food items after such a long journey, they still yearned for wheat to bake bread, for butter to spread on their bread, for sugar to sweeten their desserts, and for real coffee.³³ Just as the Mormon pioneers faced hardships upon arriving in the Salt Lake Valley they faced their own. Historian Jacqueline Williams wrote that depending on the year they arrived in the northwest and their proximity to markets, they struggled to provide pleasing meals during the first years after arriving.³⁴ These pioneers adapted their food to what was available to them. Many cooks found themselves baking bread with nut flour or baking cakes without eggs. Others filled pie crusts with cooked beans or wild greens in place of fresh fruit.

The goods at the markets in the northwest was contingent on what was on the merchant ships when they sailed into the ports. The merchant ships would only go to ports where they knew they were going to make a lot of money. To draw a fully stocked merchant ship into a port, that port city had to have a large population.³⁵ The population

³² Cheney, *Plain but Wholesome*, 26.

³³ Williams, Jacqueline. “Much Depends On Dinner: Pacific Northwest Foodways, 1843-1900.” *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 90, no. 2 (Spring, 1999): 70.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 70.

growth and demand for supplies increased the pressure for the merchant ships to come to the northwest more often. Most new settlers did not wait on the merchants and their goods, but instead planted gardens upon arrival to gain some control over their food sources. Bread, or the flour to make bread, was the most longed for food item for the northwest settlers. Many longed for the day when they had flour on hand to bake bread whenever they wanted.³⁶ Newcomers to the northwest made good use of the abundance of local berries to make jams, jellies, and even wine. For the western settlers merchant ship supplied markets and the advancing railroad would fill the shortages of goods they longed for.

With the westward advancement of the transcontinental railroad food shortages became rarer for the western settlers. Families no longer had to practice adaptive cooking. By the late 1800s stores were stocked with tomatoes in syrup, preserved figs, plum pudding, brandied peaches, ketchup, mustard, canned fruit, vegetables, and meat.³⁷ The seaports of the Pacific gave the settlers of California, Oregon, and Washington access to goods that did not make it to the markets of the Salt Lake Valley for years. For instance, families that settled in the areas around Oregon City, Portland, Olympia, and Vancouver could buy from great variety of foods, buy a stove, and buy baked bread.³⁸

³⁶ Ibid., 72.

³⁷ Ibid., 73.

³⁸ Williams, *The Way We Ate*, 3. Williams made extensive use of Anna King's journal. King's journal entries give valuable information about when they were able to sow wheat, the prices of food items, the availability of flour mills, and the abundance of wild fruit. She wrote, "We have made our claim on the Luckiamute, now a day's ride from the ocean and one hundred miles south of the Columbia river. They sow wheat here from October till June, and the best wheat I ever saw and plenty of it at seventy-five cents and one dollar per bushel; (the following prices are by the pound unless otherwise noted) potatoes twenty-five cents, peas one dollar per bushel, corn fifty cents, beef six cents and eight cents, pork ten cents, sugar

Utah did not have merchants selling such goods to the newly arrived Mormons, they had to establish their own industries to provide such goods for many years.

Many Mormon settlers, because of the environment, struggled for years to plant and cultivate crops for their families. The poor suffered the most. Swiss emigrant Mary Ann Hafen noted that, "Those who arrived and were settled with established gardens had a wider variety of food to eat and the later arrivals had to catch up, going through sparse times."³⁹ William Morley Black on his way to California witnessed this discrepancy between established settlers and newcomers when he entered Salt Lake City on Pioneer Day 1849. As many Mormons gathered to celebrate the day with a large feast, Black stopped at a house to ask for food. Their reply surprised him after experiencing the bounty of food at the celebration. Buck Smithson answered their request for food by saying, "I am fearful our simple supper would not please you gentlemen. We can give you a supper of milk, meat, and pig weed greens, but bread we have none. You see the flour we brought with us a year ago has given out, we have not had bread for three weeks, and have no hopes of any until our harvest comes off."⁴⁰ It is difficult to ascertain how abundance and want existed side by side in the Salt Lake Valley or why the newcomer had to go hungry as those established settlers had plenty. What is evident is that this did

twelve and a half cents, and salt is one cent a pound. Mills are plenty, no trouble about getting grinding. There are thousands of strawberries, gooseberries, blackberries, whortleberries, currants and other wild fruits but no nuts except filberts and a few chestnuts." Without these journals their foodways could only be guessed at by historians or by archeologists upon finding shards of kitchen items. We know, from their writings, what they ate and where they got their food from. We know what they substituted for missing ingredients. We also see the importance and meaning of food meant to the pioneers.

³⁹ Mary Ann Hafen, *Recollections of a Handcart Pioneer of 1860: A Women's Life on the Mormon Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 34.

⁴⁰ Cheney, *Plain but Wholesome*, 2.

occur in Mormon communities as newcomers struggled to survive in their new surroundings.

Because of his travels in the Salt Lake Valley during 1855, Remy and Brenchley's accounts gives their audience a sense of life and diet for the Mormons at that time. This is particularly useful since they give an outsider's view. They also give an overall picture of their daily life, in contrast to many Mormon journal writers who overlooked the mundane, such as food and food preparation. Remy and Brenchley claimed that Mormons depended mostly upon food they cultivated in their gardens and farms. They noted in their work that the Mormons established a National Society of Agriculture, for the purpose of sharing knowledge about the best cultivation processes and encouraging experimentation.⁴¹ They noted that the ox, the horse, the mule, the ass, sheep, goats, swine, poultry, and turkeys were introduced by the Mormons. To the native plants such as the yamba, the camash, the kuia, and the thistle they added wheat, rye, barley, oats, buck-wheat, maize, beet-root, beans, peas, pumpkin, melons, pompions, watermelons, cabbages, carrots, radishes, as well as various fruit trees, such as peaches, apricots, pears, plums, cherries, currants, and even vines.⁴² Remy and Brenchley noted that with the introduction of these items, the Mormons' principal diet consisted of, "bread, maize, potatoes, pompions, dairy produce, bacon, and beef."⁴³ For many years, corn was the staple grain for the Mormon settlers. It was easily planted and did not require large

⁴¹ Remy, *Journey to Salt Lake City*, 267.

⁴² Ibid., 267-268. Camash is a plant with an edible bulb found in the west. Pompions are a type of pumpkin that many cooks put in stews. I could not find any information about the yamba or the kuia.

⁴³ Ibid., 271.

amounts of cleared land, like wheat, to produce its crop. Most importantly it could be watered by bucket, unlike wheat. Until fields were irrigated, wheat was not an option for the Mormon diet. Corn held that place for many years. Bread was a much longed for food item on the plains and in the Salt Lake Valley. When the settlers were able to plow and prepare much larger fields for the planting of wheat, wheat flour and bread became the base of the Mormon diet.⁴⁴ For some time the Mormons had to rely on easily grown food items and local plants to fill their diet, but when it became possible they added new plants and foodstuffs to fill their diets.

The Mormons planted many types of vegetables and fruits in their effort to provide familiar foods. In 1857 evidence that the planting of seeds and fruit trees was paying off is seen as Wilford Woodruff, who became the fourth Prophet of the Mormon Church after the death of John Taylor, the third Prophet of the church, listed over twenty apple varieties in his orchard: Winter Pearmin, Yellow Newton Pippin, Rhode Island Greening, Alexander, Virginia Greening, Golden Russet, Fall Beauty, Milam Peaks Pleasant, Early June, Early Harvest, Baldwin, Tolpoy Hockien, Winesap, Winter Queen, Newark King, Early Red, Summer Pearmin, Red Astrocan, Golden Sweet, Rainbo, and Fall Pippin.⁴⁵ The years of living off weeds and unfamiliar plants was coming to an end for many of the Mormon settlers.

The years of struggle to grow crops were followed by years of bounteous crops and the various banquets provided good examples of how far some Mormons had come.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 38.

⁴⁵ Cheney, *Plain but Wholesome*, 29.

A menu from the Territorial and Civil Ball held in 1860 was filled with an extensive array of meats, vegetables, and desserts. The menu consisted of beef, duck, turkey, sugar-corned beef, oysters, and ox tongues. A selection of the vegetables were cabbage, parsnips, beans, cauliflower, sauerkraut, and potatoes. For dessert they could choose from apple pie, pineapple pie, peach jelly pie, pound cake, raisins, grapes, candies, and nuts.⁴⁶ There was an abundance of foods that many Mormons could grow and make. At the same time there were still many settlers who had to suffer for years until they could enjoy such food on their tables. For instance, new emigrants from Europe still had to struggle for years to produce such foods and many endured hardships while establishing settlements outside of the Salt Lake Valley.

European emigrants came to Utah without laying eyes on their future home and were ill-prepared for the arid climate. Several were asked to leave Salt Lake City shortly after arriving to settle in Mormon settlements that were located throughout the Utah territory. Some were asked to grow grapes or, cotton or, to tend animals any task that was to be a benefit to the larger Mormon community.

Mary Ann Stucki Hafen's⁴⁷ experience was typical of a European Mormon emigrant coming to Utah. In 1938 she published her life story, including an account of her childhood in Switzerland and her emigration to America. Her autobiography provides a wealth of knowledge and insight into the daily lives of the thousands of

⁴⁶ Reginald Horsman, *Feast or Famine: Food and Drink in American Westward Expansion* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008), 165.

⁴⁷ Mary Ann Stucki Hafen, was known as Mary Ann Stucki on the rosters of the Oscar O. Stoddard handcart company. After settling in the Utah territory, she was married, in 1873, to Johannes Reber, who died eleven days later. Three months later she married John George Hafen, the name she would have for the rest of her life. And the name she used when she published her autobiography.

emigrants who came to the Utah valley. Her account gives insight into the assimilation of the European Mormons into the greater Mormon community. In addition she gave an extensive description of foodways. For instance, she explained the efforts of Mormon pioneers to survive as they waited for crops to grow, food preservation techniques, community activities that were focused around food, her adaption of available foodstuff such as pig weed, and her use of food to barter for household goods.

Mary Ann Stucki, who later married John George Hafen, came from Switzerland with her parents, Samuel Stucki and Magdalena Stettler Stucki, and her siblings. The family sailed on the William Tapscott from England to New York. The Stuckis were part of the Oscar O. Stoddard handcart company, the tenth such company, that arrived in Utah in 1860. Mary Ann remembered being greeted upon their arrival with baskets of fruit grown by the pioneers.⁴⁸ Many emigrants upon arriving in Utah were asked to leave Salt Lake City and settle in various communities in and around Utah. Many were specifically asked to do work that they had prior experience doing. For example, the Swiss were asked to grow grapes for wine. Mary and her family were no different. In 1861 they were asked to move to southern Utah to grow grapes.⁴⁹ They moved to Santa Clara, located in the southwest corner of the current-day Utah about thirty miles north of the Arizona line. Their first shelter upon relocating was a wigwam of willows.⁵⁰ She recalled that her family, “planted a garden lot with seeds from the old country. While

⁴⁸ Hafen, *Recollections of a Handcart Pioneer*, 27.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

waiting for vegetables to grow we used ‘pig weeds’ for greens. This is a kind of wild spinach. That, ‘with a small portion of bread was our menu day in and day out.’”⁵¹

During the first year Samuel Stucki planted grain but during the dry months of July and August, nearly all that he planted dried up. His first crop was eight bushels of wheat.⁵² Her family was poor and did not have the money to buy provisions or food. Not yet able to make a living off the land, Samuel Stucki went to Cedar City, Utah, to find work. For the work he did, he was paid in provisions, including wheat and potatoes. He returned home during the cold winter and while on his way home the potatoes froze. Mary remembered that the potatoes tasted pleasant and sweet, but also that after every meal that had a potato dish she had an upset stomach.⁵³ In addition, in order to survive, the family gleaned wheat from their neighbors’ previously harvested wheat fields. When those fields were exhausted, they traveled in search of other fields to glean. Mary’s family gleaned wheat from harvested fields for several years. During their second summer in Santa Clara, they gathered and cleaned four two-bushel sacks full of clean wheat in one week, as they camped away from home.⁵⁴ So desired was wheat for baking by poor immigrants that many took days away from home to gather all they could.

There were many chores inside and outside the home for Mary’s family. Mary picked and shelled cotton which she carded and spun it into thread on the spinning wheel. She used the thread to make a homemade hat. She then traded this hat for a potato

⁵¹ Ibid., 34.

⁵² Ibid., 35.

⁵³ Ibid., 36.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 39.

smasher and rolling pin that she still had at the time she wrote her autobiography.⁵⁵ Mary Ann explained too how work and pleasure converged in the Mormon community. For instance, in Santa Clara, the community came together for candy pullings and shucking bees for amusement and to provide food for the community. These gatherings served two purposes, first to shuck corn and make candy. The second was to socialize together. A great deal of work was done at these gatherings, but it was also a time of great enjoyment for the community. Mary recalled these times with fondness even as she acknowledged that it was hard work.⁵⁶ Food brought this community together and strengthened their ties as they worked together for a common goal.

In August of 1873, Mary entered into a polygamous marriage with Johannes Reber, but her husband died eleven days after their wedding in a wagon accident.⁵⁷ Three months later, she married John George Hafen. For the majority of her marriage, however, she did not live with her husband. She raised her children and ran her household for the most part alone.

Before her marriage, Mary had helped her family with picking peaches, apples, and grapes. Mary dried the peaches and sent them to Salt Lake City, a ten-day trip from Santa Clara. She continued this practice after she married. At that point she used her dried peaches to raise money to buy a sewing machine. Merchants took her dried peaches to Salt Lake City to sell, and they brought the money back to her in Santa Clara.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 47.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 48-49.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 51.

From the sale of her dried peaches, she raised most of the forty-two dollars to buy a sewing machine.⁵⁸

In her autobiography, Mary described in detail the time and effort spent feeding and clothing her family. She kept a kitchen garden where she planted corn, cane, cotton, squashes, melons, and vegetables.⁵⁹ She remarked on the importance of a garden to having green vegetables to eat in her home. She reported that she frequently had whole grains on hand but no flour because no mill was located near to her home. She adapted to the lack of a mill grinding wheat in a coffee mill. When she was able, she made the sixty-five mile trip to Washington, Utah, northeast of Santa Clara, to the flour mill there. She also ground corn in her coffee mill to which she added molasses and milk to make mush for their breakfast, their daily repast for many years.⁶⁰ In addition to vegetables and grain, Mary kept pigs for meat and cows for milk. She also cultivated grapes. She dried the Thinskins into raisins on the roof of her kitchen. She also made batches of jam out of the California grapes. The Lady Downings and the Tough skins were sent to mining camps to be sold.⁶¹ As the Mormon immigrants established themselves, they enjoyed an increasing abundance.

Mary's life was typical of the European Mormon emigrant. She shared their experience of crossing the Atlantic Ocean, crossing the plains, and establishing a homestead in a Mormon settlement. She ate the food that had to be gathered from the

⁵⁸ Ibid., 61.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 74.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 76.

⁶¹ Ibid., 79-80.

wild. She adapted her cooking to the goods that were available to her. It was a hard life of constant struggle and loss, but Mary summed up her life through all the struggles by observing, “We got along pretty well.”⁶² Her life resembles what many, especially women, European Mormons experienced in their travels from their native countries to the Utah territory.

One problem all European immigrants experienced was the lack of ingredients necessary to make traditional dishes. They had to wait for their gardens to produce all the necessary ingredients or they had to wait for the goods to be shipped to them in order to make their traditional foods. Sena Sorensen, once the Transcontinental Railroad was finished and supplied her with what she needed, prepared lutefisk, Scandinavian salted herring, for the Santa Lucia celebration of Sweden.⁶³ Historian Brock Cheney has described the efforts of emigrants to cook their traditional foods. He included the story of Ruth Thorup who recalled her grandmother, Caroline Berg Osterman, making gronkall (green soup) in Utah. She wrote, “In Denmark the green soup is made with nine different kinds of greens. When Grandma couldn’t find all nine kinds she would go out to her garden and pick a gooseberry leaf and put it in the soup so as to have nine kinds of greens.”⁶⁴ Many emigrants longed for the familiar foods. Some longed for potatoes, cheese, rye bread, butter, vegetables from their homelands, and other goods. Many immigrants heeded the suggestion of Brigham Young to bring all types of seeds with

⁶² Ibid., 79.

⁶³ Cheney, *Plain but Wholesome*, 122.

⁶⁴ Rae Thorup, Ruth Thorup, and Marne Thorup, “Danish Cooking School Recipes: Grenaa, Denmark, about 1847,” (Salt Lake City: Utah State History Archives, 1978), **quoted in** Brock Cheney, *Plain but Wholesome: Foodways of the Mormon Pioneers* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 2012), 121.

them to the Salt Lake Valley and brought seeds to be planted to provide the vegetables they needed for traditional dishes. Along with their seeds they carried with them, they brought the recipes they had learned in their homelands that they intended to pass down to future generations. They wanted to hold on to their cultural identity and food was one way to do so. Cheney noted that Ken Braegger held onto his cultural identity through sauerkraut because it was, “familiar and comfortable.”⁶⁵ Cheney argues that with a move to a new land, traditional foods became the constant in their rapidly changing lives. Cheney contended that by eating lutefisk Sorensen proclaimed her Swedish identity. And by preparing gronkall Osterman held to her Danish roots, while Braegger’s sauerkraut helped keep his Swiss culture alive.

These foods provided an emotional link to the homes, friends, and families they had left behind. These traditional foodways were of great importance, as with each new generation, the European Mormons became more and more homogenous with Mormon culture. As ethnic clothing and language disappeared or were only used on special occasions, food became the symbol of identity.⁶⁶ According to Cheney, “British and Scandinavian emigrants assimilated many elements of American cookery, while still maintaining more symbolic dishes to preserve values for their heritage and ethnicity. Breads, cakes, puddings, and soups exhibit the greatest variations amongst the European cultures.”⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Ibid., 10.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 5.

⁶⁷ Ibid., xi-xii.

Most of the population of Santa Clara, Utah, were Swiss who continued to speak their native German. Their children learned to speak English much quicker by mixing with local English speaking children. At church in Santa Clara, the preaching was sometimes in English and other times in German. It took some time for the older emigrants to learn English and even then, they usually spoke their native language at home. Mary Hafen wrote that her family prayed in German at home for many years.⁶⁸ Cheney claimed that the passage of time diminished the ethnic characteristics that originally distinguished the cultures from each other as they came together to form a homogenous Mormon identity instead of clinging to national identities.⁶⁹ Though these settlers assimilated into the Mormon culture, they guarded their ethnic foodways as part of their cultural identity.⁷⁰

After settling in the Salt Lake Valley and sending Mormons to settle other parts of the Utah territory, Mormon leaders endeavored to make the Word of Wisdom a part of their congregations' everyday foodways. The Word of Wisdom did not immediately become a priority. There was too much to be done. As a result, there was a relaxed attitude towards the Word of Wisdom during the early years in their new home. With so many new emigrants coming every year and new settlements being created it was hard to find time to turn all of the Mormons towards observation of it. It was never far from Brigham Young's mind though. His desire to make the Word of Wisdom a test of

⁶⁸ Hafen, *Recollections*, 43.

⁶⁹ Cheney, *Plain but Wholesome*, 171.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 173.

membership appeared in many of his discourses to the church membership. Young called upon the church members many times to put aside tobacco and alcohol and to follow the precepts of the Word of Wisdom. Initially, Young yielded on many of the requirements of the Word of Wisdom, but he would not allow public intoxication to go unpunished. Peterson and Walker describe Young's firm stance on whiskey made apparent in Young's 1849 order to seize whiskey that William Tubbs was bringing into Salt Lake City. Tubbs was later excommunicated for speaking against Young.⁷¹ Peterson and Walker claimed that this did not put an end to the home brew. In fact, home brew was so common that in 1849 church leaders decided that those using much-needed corn to make whiskey were subject to having their grain taken from them and given to the poor.⁷²

Remy and Brenchley took note of the increasing adherence to the Word of Wisdom in the Mormon community. They reported that the Mormons, "make use of tea, and coffee less frequently. The majority abstain from fermented or spirituous liquors, either voluntarily and from motives of temperance, or on account of their poverty. They chew tobacco more than they smoke it; this vile habit, however, is less usual among them than in other parts of the union."⁷³ Mary Hafen also commented on the Word of Wisdom in her autobiography as she had discovered that tea had an adverse effect on her nerves and because of that she had ceased drinking it. She used this as confirmation for herself that the precepts of the Word of Wisdom were true and that she should not drink tea.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Paul H. Peterson and Ronald W. Walker, "Brigham Young's Word of Wisdom Legacy" *BYU Studies* 42, nos. 3 & 4 (2003): 34.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 34-35.

⁷³ Remy, *Journey to Salt Lake City*, 271-272.

⁷⁴ Hafen, *Recollections*, 56-57.

But like so many other Mormon pioneers there is little else written in their journals concerning the Word of Wisdom. Each journal may contain a passage or two about it but not much detail or how the Mormon pioneers felt about the Word of Wisdom can be found.

In the 1850s Brigham Young began to push to control the amount of liquor being consumed in the Salt Lake Valley. Goods brought into the Utah territory were charged a one percent tax, but any liquor brought into the region was taxed half of its sale price.⁷⁵ It was an attempt to control the influx of alcohol, but with an ever-growing population, church leaders could not control or keep alcohol out. Young's sermons during this time began to address the question of what constituted appropriate adherence to the Word of Wisdom. He wanted the members to stop using alcohol, tobacco, coffee, and tea. Historians Paul Peterson and Ronald Walker claimed that Young, on December 15, 1850, told church leaders in a meeting that it was time to "renew the word of wisdom."⁷⁶

Throughout the 1850s Young made call after call for members to follow the Word of Wisdom. He called for them to stop the brewing of beer and alcohol and to cease public drunkenness. Young, knowing that he was fighting a losing battle with the elderly, called on the youth, on July 24, 1854, of the church to promise to abstain from the use of alcohol, tobacco, tea, and coffee.⁷⁷ He told the youth to overlook the bad habits of their parents and grandparents as they were born in a time that the use of such

⁷⁵ Horsman, *Feast or Famine*, 155.

⁷⁶ Peterson, *Brigham Young's Word of Wisdom Legacy*, 36.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 41.

items was accepted, but they having been raised in the church knew better than to partake of such harmful items.⁷⁸ Young's push of the 1850s did not have the desired effect. His reasoning that Mormons were wasting their money on these items did not persuade members to give up their tobacco and alcohol. By the end of the 1860s he grew ever more impatient with the church membership.

Mormon settler John D. Lee commented in his diary on the renewed push for greater compliance to the Word of Wisdom in the 1860s, documenting the various times that he heard Brigham Young or another church leader speak on the subject. In 1868 Lee reported that, "A letter was read from the Apostle Erastus Snow instructing the Bishops to sever every person from the Church who will not keep the Word of Wisdom, pay their tithing and donate of their substance to help bring the poor saints from the old country."⁷⁹ Erastus Snow was known for his zealous push for church members to adhere to the Word of Wisdom. To have the Word of Wisdom placed alongside tithing and the welfare of the poor emigrants as a test of faith by an Apostle was a considerable step and consistent with Young's desire for the church. Had it been implemented as a test of membership, it would have had major implications for church members. As Lee observed, "To carry out the Letter & spirit of that Epistle (from E. Snow) would cause $\frac{3}{4}$ of this community to be cut off from this church."⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Ibid., 42.

⁷⁹ Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee 1848-1876* (1955; reprint., Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 1:96.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 96.

Brigham Young took his message of compliance to the Mormon settlements to encourage the Mormons to commit to the Word of Wisdom. Peterson and Walker argues that by 1867, “President Young no longer linked ‘personal liberty’ to the Word of Wisdom but instead spoke of the obligation of Church leaders and members to obey.”⁸¹ In April 1867, he traveled with a group of church leaders to Mormon settlements throughout Utah sharing the message of compliance. But the message had changed. Whereas, once Young had stressed compliance to the Word of Wisdom for financial reasons, increasingly he stressed morality and health as reasons for compliance. Brigham Young wanted the Word of Wisdom to be followed by all the church members and John D. Lee noted in his journal a speech given by Young in April 1869: “President Young again spoke on the word of wisdom, and delineated upon it in the most Powerful manner that I ever heard before, showing that the Man or woman that could not keep these sayings were not of us, could not be Identified with us & that he required all Persons to observe it from 1 year old up to 100 year of age.”⁸² Young wanted the Word of Wisdom to be a test of fellowship for the members of the Mormon Church. He wanted a return to the days of Kirtland, where members were required to follow the Word of Wisdom to be in good standing in the church.

The Word of Wisdom influenced Mormon foodways from the time it was implemented in Kirtland, Ohio. Its influence may have waned during the time the Mormons traveled westward and for the first years of their time in the Salt Lake Valley,

⁸¹ Peterson, *Brigham Young's Word of Wisdom Legacy*, 49.

⁸² Cleland, *A Mormon Chronicle*, 114.

as the Mormons strove to establish a permanent settlement. For the leadership of the Mormon Church, the Word of Wisdom was meant to be a commandment for the members of the church. The difficulty that arose in the implementation of the Word of the Wisdom was the movement of the Mormon people. They moved frequently during the early years church's life. In a period of seventeen years, from the establishment of the church in 1830 until they settled in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, church members had moved from New York, to Ohio, to Missouri, to Illinois, and finally to Utah. To convince a people to comply with a directive concerning food, tobacco, coffee, and alcohol, the Mormons needed time and stability. The stability did not come until they were settled in Utah. The Mormons decreed the Word of Wisdom to be a test of fellowship in Kirtland with the presence of Joseph Smith helping the cause. In Missouri, where Smith was not a constant presence, the Word of Wisdom was met with indifference, as some church leaders did not follow its tenets and argued instead that it was merely a suggestion. On the trail the Mormons had more pressing matters to address, than whether they should drink coffee. In Utah after the first few years of settlement building, Brigham Young pushed for compliance to the Word of Wisdom. The Word of Wisdom would not become the test of fellowship that Young wanted it to be during his lifetime, but eventually it did.

The Word of Wisdom, the Utah landscape, the overland trail, and European Mormon emigrants combined to create unique foodways. The unifying factor of religion brought people from the United States, England, Switzerland, Germany, Scandinavia, and other regions together as Mormons in the Utah territory. These European Mormons heeded the call of Brigham Young to come together in the Utah territory to gather with

the rest of the Mormons. They came with their native food recipes, native food seeds, and foodways to be united under the umbrella of Mormonism. They crossed the plains in wagons, with some pushing and pulling a handcart. Some suffered extreme hunger as they adapted to their surroundings on the trail and when they settled the Utah territory. Many emigrants were asked to leave Salt Lake City and settle other communities throughout the territory. They were tasked with establishing communities and to work with familiar crops that benefited the Mormon community. Some emigrants grew grapes, others tended sheep. Many struggled for years to achieve good crops and establish a sustained living in their new home. One constant was their foodways. Over the next generations their native languages faded as they assimilated into the Mormon community, but their foodways stayed as close to traditional as possible. They adapted recipes until the seeds from their homelands produced crops. Their foodways came together under the umbrella of Mormonism. Religion united their foodways. These various foodways, along with the Word of Wisdom created the Mormon foodways, which were unique to the overland trails foodways.

Appendix A

The Word of Wisdom

1. The Word of Wisdom was received on February 27, 1833. The official History of the Church does not record an abundant amount of information underlining the reasons behind the Word of Wisdom. Joseph Smith stated that, “February 27, I received the following revelation:

The Word of Wisdom.

1. A Word of Wisdom, for the benefit of the council of high priests, assembled in Kirtland, and the church, and also the saints in Zion—
2. To be sent greeting; not by commandment or constraint, but by revelation and the word of wisdom, showing forth the order and will of God in the temporal salvation of all saints in the last days—
3. Given for a principle with promise, adapted to the capacity of the weak and the weakest of all saints, who are or can be called saints.
4. Behold, verily, thus saith the Lord unto you: In consequence of evils and designs which do and will exist in the hearts of conspiring men in the last days, I have warned you, and forewarn you, by giving unto you this word of wisdom by revelation—
5. That inasmuch as any man drinketh wine or strong drink among you, behold it is not good, neither meet in the sight of your Father, only in assembling yourselves together to offer up your sacraments before him.
6. And, behold, this should be wine, yea, pure wine of the grape of the vine, of your own make.
7. And, again, strong drinks are not for the belly, but for the washing of your bodies.
8. And again, tobacco is not for the body, neither for the belly, and is not good for man, but is an herb for bruises and all sick cattle, to be used with judgment and skill.
9. And again, hot drinks are not for the body or belly.
10. And again, verily I say unto you, all wholesome herbs God hath ordained for the constitution, nature, and use of man—
11. Every herb in the season thereof, and every fruit in the season thereof; all these to be used with prudence and thanksgiving.
12. Yea, flesh also of beasts and of the fowls of the air, I, the Lord, have ordained for the use of man with thanksgiving; nevertheless they are to be used sparingly;
13. And it is pleasing unto me that they should not be used, only in times of winter, or of cold, or famine.
14. All grain is ordained for the use of man and of beasts, to be the staff of life, not only for man but for the beasts of the field, and the fowls of heaven, and all wild animals that run or creep on the earth;
15. And these hath God made for the use of man only in times of famine and excess of hunger.
16. All grain is good for the food of man; as also the fruit of the vine; that which yieldeth fruit, whether in the ground or above the ground—

17. Nevertheless, wheat for man, and corn for the ox, and oats for the horse, and rye for the fowls and for swine, and for all beasts of the field, and barley for all useful animals, and for mild drinks, as also other grain.

18. And all saints who remember to keep and do these sayings, walking in obedience to the commandments, shall receive health in their naval and marrow to their bones;

19. And shall find wisdom and great treasures of knowledge, even hidden treasures;

20. And shall run and not be weary and shall walk and not faint.

21. And I, the Lord, give unto them a promise, that the destroying angel shall pass by them, as the children of Israel, and not slay them. Amen.¹

That is the entry concerning the Word of Wisdom in the History of the Church Vol. 1. No explanation is given of why Smith received this revelation concerning health when in the early 1800s not much was known about the adverse effects of smoking and the drinking of alcohol. There was no evidence to support the view that tobacco “is not good for man” at that time.²

2. What is known of the backstory or setting for the Word of Wisdom comes from Brigham Young, who expounded upon this matter and answers the question of why Smith put this matter to prayer. He stated in Provo, Utah on February 8, 1868:

I think I am as well acquainted with the circumstances which led to the giving of the Word of Wisdom as any man in the Church, although I was not present at the time to witness them. The first school of the prophets was held in a small room situated over the Prophet Smith's kitchen, in a house which belonged to Bishop Whitney, and which was attached to his store, which store probably might be about fifteen feet square. In the rear of this building was a kitchen, probably ten by fourteen feet, containing rooms and pantries. Over this kitchen was situated the room in which the Prophet received revelations and in which he instructed his brethren. The brethren came to that place for hundreds of miles to attend school in a little room probably no larger than eleven by fourteen. When they assembled together in this room after breakfast, the first they did was to light their pipes, and, while smoking, talk about the great things of the kingdom, and spit all over the room, and as soon as the pipe was out of their mouths a large chew of tobacco would then be taken. Often when the Prophet entered the room to give the school instructions he would find himself in a cloud of tobacco smoke. This, and the complaints of his wife at having to clean so filthy a floor, made the Prophet think upon the matter, and he inquired of the Lord relating to the

¹ Roberts, History of the Church, 1:327-329.

² Lester E. Bush Jr., “The Word of Wisdom in Early Nineteenth-Century Perspective,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): 47, accessed August 21, 2014, <https://www.dialoguejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/sbi/issues/V14N03.pdf>.

conduct of the Elders in using tobacco, and the revelation known as the Word of Wisdom was the result of his inquiry. You know what it is, and can read it at your leisure. So we see that almost the very first teachings the first Elders of this Church received were as to what to eat, what to drink, and how to order their natural lives, that they might be united temporally as well as spiritually. This is the great purpose which God has in view in sending to the world, by His servants, the gospel of life and salvation. It will teach us how to deal, how to act in all things, and how to live with each other to become one in the Lord.³

³ Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses by Brigham Young: His Two Counselors, and the Twelve Apostles* (Liverpool: Albert Carrington, 1869), 12:157-58, accessed August 21, 2014, <http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/JournalOfDiscourses3/id/10004/rec/12>.

Appendix B

Provisions needed for the journey from Nauvoo, IL to the Salt Lake Valley

A report given to the church council on October 4, 1845 listed the provisions each family needed for the journey.

- 'Each family consisting of five adults, will require 1 good strong wagon, well covered. 3 good yokes of oxen between the ages of four and ten. Two or more cows. One or more good beeves, some sheep if they have them.
- One thousand pounds of flour or other bread stuff and good sacks to put it in.
- One bushel of beans.
- One hundred pounds of sugar.
- One good musket or rifle to each man.
- One pound of powder and three lbs. lead (or perhaps more).
- Two lbs. tea, 5 lbs. coffee.
- Twenty-five pounds of salt.
- A few pounds of dried beef, or bacon, as they choose.
- A good tent and furniture to each two families.
- From ten to fifty pounds of seed to a family.
- And from twenty-five to one hundred pounds of farming or other tools.
- Clothing and bedding to each family of five persons not to exceed five hundred pounds.
- One or more sets of saw and gristmill irons to each company of one hundred families.
- Cooking utensils to consist of a bake-kettle, frying-pan, coffee pot, tin cups, plates, and forks, spoons, pans, etc., etc., as few as will do.
- A few goods to trade with the Indians.
- A little iron and steel, a few pounds of nails.
- Each wagon supposed to be loaded on the start with one ton without the persons or twenty-eight hundred including them.
- If going to the coast it is not necessary to carry seed wheat, oats or grass. Nor are cattle and sheep absolutely necessary except to live on while upon the journey, as the country abounds in both cattle and sheep. A few horses will be necessary for each company. Also a few cannon and ammunition for the same. The journey to the coast will require some four or five months, being upwards of two thousand miles.
- There was also added two sets of pulley blocks and rope for crossing rivers to each company.
- Two ferry boats to each company.
- One keg of alcohol of five gallons for each two families.
- Ten pounds of dried apples for each family.
- Five pounds of dried peaches.
- Twenty pounds of dried pumpkin.
- Two pounds of black pepper.
- One pound of cayenne.
- One-half pound mustard.
- Twelve nutmegs. One fish seine for each company. Hooks and lines for each family.' "⁴

⁴ Roberts, *History of the Church*, 1:454-455. This list included tea and coffee for the journey.

An overland guide written by Randolph B. Marcy, a Captain in the U.S. Army gave a list of items needed for anyone traveling to California from the Missouri River. Writing that the journey should take 110 days, Marcy counselled that provisions should be used with economy, saving a good portion for the western half of the journey. He wrote that it was necessary to have:

- 150 lbs of flour, or its equivalent in hard bread
- 25 lbs of bacon or pork
- Enough fresh beef to be driven on the hood to make up the meat component of the ration
- 15 lbs of coffee
- 25 lbs of sugar
- Salt and pepper
- A quantity of saleratus or yeast powders for making bread
- Two blankets, a comforter, and a pillow
- A gutta percha or painted canvas cloth to spread beneath the bed upon the ground
- Every mess of six to eight persons will require a wrought-iron camp kettle, large enough for boiling meat and making soup
- A coffee-pot and cups of heavy tin with the handles riveted on
- Tin plates
- Frying and baking pans of wrought iron, the later for baking bread and roasting coffee
- A mess pan of heavy tin or wrought iron for mixing bread and other culinary purposes
- Knives, forks and spoons
- An extra camp kettle
- Tin or gutta percha bucket for water
- An axe, hatchet and spade; a mallet for driving picket pins⁵

⁵ Randolph B. Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler: A Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions* (Williamstown, MA: Corner House Publishers, 1978), 35-36, 40. Gutta-percha was one of the first plastic materials and was molded into many useful household items such as flasks, ladles, and for the purpose of carrying water. Its main use in the 1850s and 1860s was for tubing.

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