NOTES

Introduction

2. Author's Preface, herein, xxvii.
3. Chapter 12, herein, 167-68.
4. Chapter 23, herein, 351.
5. Chapter 16, herein, 224.
7. Chapter 2, herein, 34.
10. Chapter 7, herein, 100.
14. CBC, *Journal*, 692 (29 December 1857). Louisa would be left to lead her family again without a head.
15. Addison Pratt to Ellen P. McGary, 10 July 1858. Addison Pratt Family Papers (APFP) 4, Letter 15.
17. Chapter 15, herein, 222.

Chapter 1

1. The family of Louisa consisted of Levina (married Stevens Baker), Horace (Susan Cane), Dolly (Walter Lockwood), Cyprian (Sarah Chadsey), Louisa (Addison Pratt), Lyman (Dolly Sikes), Caroline (Jonathan Crosby), Lois (died 12 April 1835), Catherine (died 3 August 1838), and Joseph Willard
Elvira Stevens Barney wrote *The Stevens Genealogy* (Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing Co., 1907).

2. Horace’s departure was “a source of great grief” to all, though it resulted from dissatisfaction arising between father and son. Later he and Addison Pratt farmed together at Ripley, New York.

Chapter 3

1. Jonathan and Caroline Crosby were married 26 October 1834. He had joined the Latter-day Saints on 2 December 1833, she a year later, 18 January 1835. They lived a year in Wendell, Massachusetts, before following other convert families of that area to the church center at Kirtland, Ohio. The Crosbys, en route to Kirtland, arrived at Ripley on 12 December and stayed until 5 January 1838.

2. Jonathan responded that he left Kirtland “on foot, with no money, the roads . . . muddy, and begged his way.” CBC, Memoirs, 41–42.

3. Caroline “went about some with them; took them to see Martin Harris, who was all the witness there was in Kirtland at that time. And he was then at variance with Joseph, and had been disfellowshiped by the Church. Notwithstanding he bore his testimony to the Book of Mormon in the strongest terms, and that was sufficient to satisfy [Louisa].” CBC, Memoirs, 42–43.

Chapter 4

1. Horace was expected to go to Canada, but when he heard of the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri, he became discouraged, remained behind, renewed his relationship with the Presbyterians, and married a young lady named Susan Cane. Caroline dates their exodus “Nov 20th 1838.” CBC, Memoirs, 45.

2. The headstone is still in position, weather-worn but readable.

3. From Ripley their route took them by way of Kirtland southward through Ohio to Columbus, thence westward to Dayton and Richmond, “on the beautiful national road through delightful scenery,” beyond Indianapolis toward Terre Haute, to a site named Pleasant Garden, where they paused, watchfully waiting resolution of the Mormon War in Missouri and the plight of the scattered Saints.

4. The financial means of the two families contrasted. Caroline lamented being in “a land of strangers, with little more than one dollar in money, very few clothes, one horse and an old one horse wagon.” The Crosby cabinet-making business took time to bring in money, so Caroline took in washing to earn a little “for meat and butter.” Apparently the Crosbys borrowed from the Pratts, but Addison purchased government land to his full extent and became quite needy. There were unpleasant words, but their difficulties were arbitrated and settled satisfactorily.

   The National Road, passing by Pleasant Garden, carried heavy traffic, including Mormons travelling between Kirtland, Ohio, and Independence, Missouri. The Pratts and Crosbys entertained so often that the name of “Mormon Tavern” was applied. A branch of the church, with from twenty-five to thirty members, was soon founded. Notable visitors included the Prophet Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and Orson Hyde. Caroline wrote:
"We had some happy meetings, especially when br Joseph called and put up with us. He told me that he preferred stopping with us, that he felt more at home . . . ." CBC, Memoirs, 47-50.

5. The Addison Pratt family reached Nauvoo in November 1841, two years after its founding, a refuge for the Saints expelled from Missouri and a home for those gathering to the church from the United States and England. By that time there were hundreds of log cabins, frame houses, and in time some red brick buildings. From a swampy flat the people were building a "city beautiful." Under construction on the eminence overlooking the city was the temple, symbol of spiritual aspirations.


Chapter 5

1. The Crosby family arrived in August 1842. "On reaching the temple we found br Pratt at work raising the large stones, on the second story. He left his work and escorted us to his habitation, where we found them all rejoiced to see us, and welcome us with smiles and kisses. And then we found ourselves the second time gathered with the church and a temple building to the Lord." CBC, Memoirs, 53-54.

2. On 11 May 1843 a few of the apostles met in Joseph Smith's office and voted these four to take a proselyting mission to the South Seas: Addison Pratt, Noah Rogers, Benjamin F. Grouard, and Knowlton Hanks. On 23 May the missionaries met with the Twelve and were given instructions. Addison was set apart and blessed by Brigham Young. Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983), 2:233-34, 23 May 1843.

The mission was long but successful. Through great sacrifice the church was firmly established among the Polynesians on the island Tubuai, Tahiti, and on coral reef islands of the Tuamotu Archipelago. The missionaries followed their instructions to remain at their posts until replaced, but they did not hear from the church. An occasional letter from Addison Pratt found its way into the church periodicals the *Times and Seasons*, and the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. I tell the history of the mission in detail in *The Journals of Addison Pratt*.

3. Caroline described the carpet. "Sister had a large quantity of wool to work into cloth, made her a nice carpet, coloured the yarn all at home, had 14 or 15 different colors and shades, and many other things too numerous to mention." CBC, Memoirs, 45.


5. Caroline's witness was held generally: "Sidney Rigdon came to stand and tried to show to the people that he was the rightful successor of Joseph. And his arguments were so powerful, that many were almost persuaded to believe him such. But as soon as the twelve apostles with bro Brigham Young at their head took the stand, it was shown conclusively where the
power rested. It was the first time, that I ever thought he resembled bro Joseph. But almost every one exclaimed that the mantle of Joseph had fallen on Brigham. For one I never had any doubts afterwards." CBC, Memoirs, 59–60.

The congregation voted to sustain the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles as leader of the church. Louisa was affected similarly.

6. Willard Richards was the only one of the four prisoners in the Carthage Jail at the martyrdom who escaped being shot.

7. The Saints did all they could to cooperate in establishing peace. The state government was slow to bring the accused men to trial. A grand jury was impaneled and indictments issued, but the case was postponed until the next term, when the trial was held from 19–30 May 1845. The court found the accused not guilty. The attitude of Louisa is true to the spirit of the time.

8. "Temple blessings" promised eternal rewards to endowed persons who covenanted to live by the teachings of the Bible and Latter-day Saint scriptures. Caroline described the time and event: "The upper part of the temple was finished this winter, and endowments were given to the majority of the brethren. We received our washings and anointings sometime in Jan. Afterwards were sealed by bro Kimball." CBC, Memoirs, 61.

Chapter 6

1. The letter, dated Tahiti, Jan 6, 1846, "My Dear Family," survives in a copy in the hand of May Hunt Larson. APFP, Letter 7. Pratt sent $60 by Captain Hall, "a Bostonian."

2. On the direction of Brigham Young, Jesse C. Little went to Washington, D.C. and solicited government aid for the Mormon westward migration. President Polk proposed the Mormons make up a special battalion of soldiers to fight in the Mexican War. Little accepted the offer and Captain James Allen was sent to the Iowa camps, where in June 1846 he recruited some 549 persons, officers, privates, and servants for the Mormon Battalion.

Chapter 7

1. The immigrants of 1848 saw signs of remarkable progress in Salt Lake Valley, made in so short a time. The Old Fort housed most of the people. Three sawmills, a grist mill, and a water-powered thrashing machine were in operation. Some 5,000 acres of farm land had been plowed and planted or sown. The wheat crop and gardens had produced well. Fencing the Big Field was progressing. All this and more had been accomplished by the first winter's population of 1,680. During 1848 immigration increased the population by 2,417. Excerpts from the Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1847–67, supplied to H. H. Bancroft, deposited in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Bancroft Manuscripts P-F 22, P-F 26, and P-F 67.

2. The reunion scene was also described and recorded by the father:

"My oldest daughter Ellen was down on her knees, scrubbing the floor. Br. Haight step'd in and said, 'Ellen, here is your Father.' She jumped up, as I stepped in after him, and caught hold of my hand, with an expression that
was as wild as a hawk, and exclaimed, 'Why, Pa Pratt!! Have you come?' The next two, Frances and Lois, were soon on hand, and look'd equally surprised. The youngest, Ann, was out to play. She was soon called, and when she came in, she stood and eyed me a while with a very suspicious look, when one of her sisters tried to force her up to me, to shake hands, saying 'That is pa,' when she jerked her hand away and said, 'It is not,' and left the room.

"Their mother soon came in. She looked quite natural and quite as young as when I left home, being more fleshy now, than then. At Winter Quarters she, with the rest of the family, all but the youngest suffered under severe fits of sickness, and the scurvy deprived her of her upper front teeth, and when she spoke, her voice was unnatural. Except that, I could discover no change in her. But the children had all grown entirely out of my recollection, and none of them knew me. I left them June the 1st, 1843, and this was the 28th of September, 1848. Such a cruel separation causes emotions that none can know but those that experience it. It was more like the meeting of strangers than the meeting of a family circle. I shall never forget it!!"

3. No doubt their "discussions" of "certain principles" included polygamy, or plural marriage. The teaching and the practice were secret until August 1852 when the church formally announced the doctrine and practice. Addison didn't like it. In the islands he had defended the Prophet Joseph Smith against charges of immorality. He and his companion required of membership in the church strict observance to the Christian law of chastity, and the Saints' Word of Wisdom. In the valley he found a loose interpretation and observance of the Word of Wisdom. The issue of polygamy was a bone of contention the rest of their lives, for Addison never modified his contempt for the principle and practice.

4. Two days after Pratt's arrival the October conference of the church convened. Addison reported his mission, and read the Pratt-Grouard letter of 6 October 1846, pointing out the urgent need for missionaries in that field. Conference was continued on 8 October when it was voted that Elder Pratt, his wife and daughters, and a dozen elders should go to the islands and preach. Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1848.

5. James S. Brown and Hiram H. Blackwell were also appointed to the mission with Addison. Excellent records of this trek were kept and have been published in The Journals of Addison Pratt, chapter 14; James S. Brown, Life of a Pioneer (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1900); LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., Journals of Forty-Niners (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1954).

Chapter 8

1. The company of missionaries called and travelling together to the Society Islands Mission consisted of the following: named in charge, Thomas Tomkins, a wife, and two little girls; Louisa B. Pratt and four daughters; Jonathan Crosby, wife Caroline, and son Alma; Joseph Busby and wife; Samuel McMertry, wife and child; Sidney Alvarus Hanks; Simeon A. Dunn; Julian Moses; and Hiram E. W. Clark, a boy taken along as a favor to Louisa's friend, Emmeline B. Wells, a prominent woman in Salt Lake City. Altogether, there were twenty-one persons; seven of the company, the men, would preach.
The overland route taken by the company was well known. See George R. Stewart, *The California Trail, An Epic with Many Heroes* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962). Addison Pratt had taken the same route, but from west to east, Sacramento to Salt Lake City, in 1848, and left a good description of the route. *The Journals of Addison Pratt*, chapter 12.

2. Caroline wrote: "Sunday 16th [June] very cold and windy, we were surrounded by gold diggers who were almost entirely destitute of provision. They offered us almost anything they had for flour or meat. Several of the brethren bought boots and shoes of them in exchange for flour. . . ." CBC, Journal, 102.

3. Caroline noted the site on Monday, 8 July: "We passed Tragedy springs about noon or a little before where 3 of our brethren were killed by indians 2 years ago. I got out of the wagon and went to the tree read the inscription which was carved I understand by br Pratt. It was a melancholy sight. A large pile of stones covered their grave as they were all laid in one." CBC, Journal, 110.

Chapter 9

1. Samuel Brannan, president of the *Brooklyn* Saints' branch, became affluent during the founding days of San Francisco and the gold rush, mainly "by mining the miners." His wife Elizabeth's mother, Mrs. Fannie Corwin, lived with the Brannans. Northern California Mormon population at this time included men and families from among the *Brooklyn* Saints, the Mormon Battalion, gold missionaries, and proselyting missionaries.

2. Caroline's account is more specific: "We were expecting to have a lonesome day of it but in the afternoon Sister Pratt and girls came in with their supper which we put with ours and sister McMurtrey's and the whole formed quite a variety. We had baked pig, salt pork, fish and goat meat, stringbeans, radishes, lettuce, rice pudding, tarrow fayees, mummy apples baked, also pies made of mummy apples and bananas and finally the day closed with quite a merry Christmas. I spent the evening at sister P's had a very sociable time we called to mind our last Christmas anniversary, and the immense distance which time had born us from that place." CBC, Journal, 130–31.

Chapter 10

1. Grouard had built ships before his mission. In the islands he and Pratt had used the native outrigger *pahi paumotu*, and in Pratt's absence Grouard had built the *Anaura* (modeled after a whaleboat), the *Messenger* (sold to pay a debt), and now the *Ravaai*, a schooner of 80 tons burthen. The *Ravaai* would be used to transport missionaries from one island appointment to another and to engage in inter-island trade: animals, fruits, limes, and other island products.

2. She has been reading, no doubt, John Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands* (London, 1837). Williams was one of the ablest and most successful of Christian missionaries to Polynesia. Sponsored by the London Missionary Society, he went from island to island in central Polynesia, teaching in the native language, training native missionaries, and establishing commerce among the islanders. Louisa had a keen appreciation for the work of the London missionaries.
3. James Brown’s contributions to the mission are told in his *Life of a Pioneer* and in *The Journals of Addison Pratt*.

4. The sister missionaries also had a male student for education and rearing, none other than Darius, age 6, son of the king, “heir apparent to the crown of Tubuai.” One year on the island, Caroline measured their success: “Our young prince Darius begins to become a little civilized; speaks a few English words, can understand considerably but is still so wild that it requires one each side of him to keep him straight when we get him into the house, which is rather seldom.” CBC, Journal, 147; *The Journals of Addison Pratt*, 251, 476.

Both Caroline and Louisa shared racial attitudes which were common in Victorian America. Notice Louisa’s pronouncements on Spanish-speaking residents of California later in this work.

Chapter 11

1. Caroline wrote of the meeting “Thursday 30th . . . I opened the meeting by singing a native hymn in company with 2 sisters, read a chapter in their bible and prayed in my own language. There were ten women of us with Louisa. The most of them spoke and prayed, and the good spirit of God was with us. We closed by singing a hymn and shaking hands all round, saying Iaorana 2 or 3 times apiece.” CBC, Journal, 148–49.

2. Joseph Smith Jr. taught and the Saints in Nauvoo performed baptisms for and in behalf of their dead kindred who had not heard the gospel in this life. Such people were given the opportunity to receive it in the hereafter, together with confirmation and other ordinances. Addison Pratt performed baptisms for some of his near family just prior to his leaving on his first mission in 1843. Louisa likely did the same for her own before taking leave of the Nauvoo Temple. “Baptism for the Dead,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, Daniel H. Ludlow, ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1992), 92–98. Pratt documents in APFP 4.

3. On Anaa, James S. Brown met opposition by two French Catholic priests who spied on Brown’s teaching and caught him in indiscretions. He displayed the American flag, told of his military experiences, showed maps of western America, expressed his sympathy for the natives being under the French “yoke,” and talked about the gathering of the Saints. On 28 October he was arrested on charges of sedition and sent in chains in a French man-of-war to Tahiti and there imprisoned until 15 November. On the 17th he was ordered expelled from the French Protectorate islands and to quit Tahiti on the first vessel leaving port. The *Ravaai* took him to Raivavai where he remained for ten months. James S. Brown, *Life of a Pioneer*, *The Journals of Addison Pratt*, and CBC, Journal, 150 ff.

4. Caroline described the New Year’s Day celebration: “. . . we whitewashed the house inside and outside, got new grass for our floors, trimmed it with green bushes and ornamented it with pictures to the best of our ability. . . . There were some 40 persons who ate with us. We had not so great a variety as we might have had if we had given her longer notice. She had only one day to prepare the food. We had baked pig, fish, tarrow, popoi, tupinu, taipo, sweet potatoes, bananas, faii’s, cabbage and tea, with cocoanut water to drink. . . . The day passed away very agreeably. Towards evening we resorted as usual to the church house to sing and pray.” CBC, Journal, 152.
5. Monday, January 5, 1852 was Caroline’s birthday. At age forty-five she began writing a brief history of her life.

Chapter 12


2. The length of time required to learn the language varied from person to person and circumstances: Pratt was preaching in five months, Grouard in seven months, and Brown eight months.

3. Caroline: “April 1st [1852] . . . In the afternoon we attended our female prayer meeting as we now expect for the last time. I felt quite affected with the idea of its being the last of our assembling with them, some of them also seemed to regret our leaving them very much. After they had all ceased speaking and praying we (sister P, Ellen, and myself), went to each separately, laid our hands upon their heads and blessed them in the name of the Lord. The good spirit accompanied us, our meeting continued quite late.” CBC, *Journal*, 169.

4. During the ten years after Pratt left on his first mission, he and Louisa were together for only two short periods: a year in Salt Lake Valley, and most of fourteen months on Tubuai.

5. Caroline: “Tuesday, 6th of April about 4 o’clock we sailed from Tupuai. . . . I knew not the day before whether we should have sufficient food brought to last us to Tahiti but when the day of our departure arrived the food was brought in so bountifully that Br. G. said we had plenty to go to California.” CBC, *Journal*, 170.

Chapter 13

1. The “26th” is probably a slip since Sunday was on 25 April that year.

2. The two families numbered four adults and eight children. They were Addison and Louisa Pratt and their four daughters—Ellen, 20; Frances, 18; Lois, 15; and Ann Louise, 12—and Ephraim (Louisa’s island boy, 2). Benjamin F. Grouard, wife Nahina (second Polynesian wife), Sophronia (Grouard’s daughter by first wife), Nahina’s sons Franklin and a baby boy. Benjamin F. Grouard family history was furnished to me by Mrs. Louise Grouard Mock, Santa Ana, California, October 17, 1955. On file is my notebook Benjamin F. Grouard Source Materials, containing copies of all materials found relating to him and his family.

3. Probably a slip, for the Sabbath was on 23 May that year.

Chapter 14

1. In the three communities of Saints in upper California—at San Francisco, San Jose, and San Bernardino—the members mingled in a loose organization. Whether as proselyting or gold missionaries, veterans of the Battalion march or *Brooklyn* passengers, membership was in flux, moving freely in northern California or southern. Of special importance to the
Pratts were Henry Christie and John M. Horner. George William Beattie and Helen Pruitt Beattie, *Heritage of the Valley: San Bernardino's First Century* (Oakland: Biobooks, 1951) had been the standard work but is now succeeded by Edward Leo Lyman's *San Bernardino: The Rise and Fall of a California Community* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996). Comprehensive in his coverage of the sources, Lyman uses them well throughout the book. His research has been thorough, his interpretation is sound. Good use has been made of personal, church, and contemporary records. See also Leonard J. Arrington, *Charles C. Rich: Mormon General and Western Frontiersman* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1974), chapters 13 and 14. Lorin K. Hansen and Lila J. Bringham, *Let This Be Zion: Mormon Pioneers and Modern Saints in Southern Alameda California to “Stakes of Zion” in a World-wide Church* (Fremont California and Fremont California South Stakes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1996).

2. Louisa B. Pratt to Sister Hutchinson, San Francisco, 8 June 1855. APFP 6.

3. Among the Saints in San Jose was John M. Horner. His career was noteworthy. Born in 1821, he joined the church in 1840 and arrived in Nauvoo in 1843. After taking a mission campaigning for Joseph Smith for the presidency in 1844, he joined the *Brooklyn* journey to Yerba Buena (San Francisco) and reached port in July 1846. He served as branch president for some time, and by mining, agriculture, trade in farm produce, and land speculation, he amassed a fortune during the Gold Rush of 1849–54. He helped many of the Saints in northern California by giving them employment. However, he lost half a million dollars during the panic of 1854. John M. Horner, Autobiography, Archives, Historical Department, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, and “Adventures of a Pioneer,” *Improvement Era* 7 (May to December 1904): 510f, 580f, 665f, 767f, and 849f. See also Hansen and Bringham, *Let This Be Zion*, n. 48.

4. Louisa saw little reason to leave the Bay Area so long as there was plenty of work at high wages. Her real preference was to go to Salt Lake City, but Addison told the family they had no means to get there and had no guarantee of work when they got there.

5. Quartus S. Sparks, an attorney who came to California on the *Brooklyn*, presided over the San Francisco branch. In February 1853, however, he sold his house and lots and on 3 March moved to San Bernardino where he remained the rest of his life.

6. The Crosbys reached San Francisco 5 September 1852 aboard the *Agate*, having left Papeete, Tahiti, on 28 July. Jonathan and Caroline Crosby shared a cabin aboard ship which cost them $175, and Alma had a place in steerage. Also on board were Whitaker, Alexander, and Alfred Layton (son of Seth). CBC, Journal, 182 ff.

Chapter 15

1. These missionaries were likely among the 106 elders called at the 28 August 1852 conference in Salt Lake City. They were called to proselyte and to disabuse the public mind concerning the church’s practice of plural marriage, which was publicly announced at the conference for the first time. Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1899), 28–29, August 1852.
2. Hiram Blackwell was called to the Society Islands Mission in October 1849 and was to accompany Addison Pratt on his return to the islands. He and Pratt travelled together to California, but Pratt refused to take him farther because Blackwell had failed to quit the use of tobacco. He eventually reached Hawaii. Louisa thought highly of Blackwell and defended him before her husband. He shows up at various times in her life.

3. He had married Louisa Maria Hardy as a plural wife, the daughter of Jacob Hardy and Louisa Kimball, converts to the church. The record simply shows: "Pres. Young sealed a wife to Benj. F. Grouard." Grouard was in Salt Lake City from fall 1852 to spring 1853. Journal History, 9 and 25 January, 4 and 16 February, and 19 March, 1853; Deseret News, 3 January, 9 March, and 2 April 1853.

4. Grouard's children included one daughter, Sophronia (born in early 1847), by his first Tahitian wife, Teara (who married him on 20 April 1846 and died in mid-1847) and three sons by Nahina (married in late 1847): Franklin (b. mid-1848), Ephraim (b. 20 September 1850), and the baby. The last returned to Tahiti with Nahina; Sophronia and Franklin stayed with BFG; and Ephraim was adopted by Louisa.

5. Louisa uses kind words here, but she knows each picture has two sides. She describes the other side of the San Bernardino picture in a letter to Mrs. Hutchinson, San Bernardino, 8 June 1855, APFP 6.

6. Philip B. Lewis maintained a close relation with the Society Islands Mission, and was related to Louisa by marriage. He put up the $300 to pay the passage of the missionaries on the Timoleon in 1843. He was named to accompany Pratt on the second mission, but his assignment was changed; he later went to Hawaii. He moved to St. George where he lived out his life. Andrew Jenson, Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901–36), 3:672, 4:340. B. H. Roberts, ed., History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Period 1, History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, by Himself, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1902–12), 6:10–30, especially, 14, 15, 27–28. Elvira Stevens Barney, The Stevens Genealogy.

7. An obvious slip. He was born in 1802, and it was his fifty-fourth anniversary.

Chapter 16

1. Louisa wrote in the Memory Book, APFP, under the heading “56, April 12th, San Bernardino”:

   Again you go far far from home
   A foreign shore to meet,
   And little do you know the ills
   Of fortune we may meet.
   No father brother husband friend
   May faithful prove to me,
   And yet I trust that to the end
   God will remembered be
   A friend in time, and in eternity.

2. There were frequent fateful connections between Charles W. Wandell and the Addison Pratt family. He joined the church in 1837, undertook missions
in the States, and visited the Pratts in Indiana. After the martyrdom he took
ship to San Francisco where he met with Samuel Brannan and Parley P.
Pratt. In 1851 he and John Murdock took a mission to Australia; afterwards
Wandell lived in San Bernardino. In 1857 he followed others to Beaver,
Utah, where friendships were renewed. In time, he moved to northern
Utah, where in 1873 he joined the Reorganized Church. That church
called him and a companion to take a mission to Australia. En-route, he was
stranded in Tahiti, where he used his friendship with the Pratt family to
establish the RLDS church in the Society Islands. Wandell and companion
reached Sydney in January 1874. Wandell died a year later, 14 March 1875.

3. John S. Eldredge was a close friend of the Pratt family in Nauvoo and the
Salt Lake valley. He undertook a mission to Australia from 1852 to 1856. En
route home he experienced the destruction and loss by storm of the bark
*Julia Ann*. Many passengers were Latter-day Saints. He would have told how
the *Julia Ann* was destroyed by strong winds, high waters, and coral reefs,
and how fifty-six passengers suffered prolonged ordeals, cast upon unin­
habited islands, living off shell fish, birds, fish, and turtles. It required eight
to ten months for passengers to reach San Francisco, their destiny. The
story is told in church annals. Andrew Jenson, “The Bark *Julia Ann,*”
*Historical Record* 6:161–63; Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*
4:700.

4. Judge W. W. Drummond, infamous in Utah history, had been sent to pre­
side over one of the Utah territorial federal courts. He had left his post and
was en route to Washington, D.C., with a list of charges against the
Mormons. His charges figured in the decision of the president to send
troops to Utah to put down an alleged uprising—the Utah War. B. H.
Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* 6

5. The association of the Pratt and Pickett girls is of special interest and had
Nauvoo antecedents. It began with Don Carlos Smith, the youngest brother
of Joseph Smith. He married Agnes Coolbrith and had three children,
Agnes, Sophronia, and Josephine, before his death 7 August 1841. His
widow married William Pickett. The family moved overland in 1851, taking
up residence in San Francisco and Los Angeles. The daughters assumed the
surname of Pickett instead of Smith, except for Josephine, who took her
mother’s maiden name and became Ina Donna Coolbrith. As editor, poet,
and librarian, she had a leading role in early California American literary
circles and was named poet laureate of California. Josephine DeWitt
Rhodehamel and Raymond Francis Wood, *Ina Coolbrith, Librarian and

6. There was a unique friendship between the Pratt girls, the Pickett family,
and Frank Ball—young people who greatly enjoyed each other’s company,
dedicated, it seems, to wine, Mormons, and song—meaning poetry and
poking fun. Frank Ball’s letters from 1855–57 survive in APFP 16.

7. The Grouard family left San Bernardino about 1855 for San Francisco. The
Pratts were without knowledge of them until 1873, after Addison’s death.
The final chapters herein record the latter contact between the Grouard
family and Louisa.
Chapter 17

1. The Reformation was a church movement aimed at the supposed sinfulness of the people and was characterized by fiery sermons, calls for repentance, rededication to the Kingdom, and witnessing by rebaptism. It is quite likely that the excesses that occurred in Utah were not present in California. Gene A. Sessions, *Mormon Thunder: A Documentary History of Jedediah Morgan Grant* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1982), chapters 13–21; “Jedediah M. Grant,” Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 56–62; Gustive O. Larson, “The Mormon Reformation,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 25 (January 1958): 45–64.

2. Parley P. Pratt, a favorite apostle, was murdered 16 May 1857 in Van Buren County, Arkansas, by Hector McLean. McLean’s wife had converted to the church and became Pratt’s plural wife. Conflicts over child custody led to New Orleans and Arkansas, where Pratt was arrested on a customs charge. The release of Pratt so angered McLean that he pursued Pratt and shot him. Parley was buried on the spot.

3. Quite likely the same C. E. Hutchinson who gave Ellen a leather-bound Bible inscribed to her 1 July 1854. See *Dear Ellen*, 21 n.2, 30, 33, 26.

4. The use of “fearful” here reminds us of Louisa’s reflection on those times. In a letter dated Beaver, 25 May 1865, she wrote Ellen: “We were frightened away from San B. I do not believe I shall ever be excited any more. . . . When I set my hand again to deed away a homestead I shall be out of my right mind.” APFP 6 (11).

5. The Mountain Meadows Massacre occurred at famous watering and recruiting grounds in southern Utah on 11 September 1857. About 120 men, women, and children were lured from their defenses, disarmed, and slain by men of the Utah militia and Indians of the area. Indians were blamed, though the involvement of whites was suspected. Only slowly, over the years, did the extent of non-Indian involvement come out. This tragic affair is best considered by Juanita Brooks in *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (rev. ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).

6. Louisa presumed her reader knew of the coming of the Utah War. She would remember that in Los Angeles, Judge W. W. Drummond of the Utah territorial judiciary spoke ill of the Mormons. She did not know that the judge went to Washington, D.C., where he submitted a statement of charges against the Mormons. President Buchanan appointed a new governor and sent a large military force to restore order. The people of northern Utah learned of the approaching army during late summer, 1857. Brigham Young took the approach of federal troops to Utah as a declaration of war against his people. Responding, he called foreign missionaries home and called settlers in distant settlements (including San Bernardino) to abandon their homes and head for the central valleys of Utah. The Utah War of 1857–58 precipitated crisis for Saints everywhere.

7. Addison Pratt’s call to Utah was phrased in a letter from Charles C. Rich, dated Salt Lake City, 7 October 1857. Informing him of the situation, the letter added: “I wish you and yours was with us also all the good Saints.” No compulsion. People were free to act as they wished. In San Bernardino, a debate ensued: to go or not to go. Louisa would never be satisfied until she lived in Salt Lake City, but she would not like to leave home and gardens, over which she had labored so long and hard. On the other hand, she
would enjoy associating with the leading figures in the church, to be in the circle of women friends from Nauvoo and Winter Quarters and be among those who shared the trials of crossing the plains. Her husband would take his rightful place among Mormon leaders because of his distinction as a missionary.

Chapter 18

1. Louisa’s family and companions now consisted of the following: Ellen Pratt McGary, husband William McGary, and their baby, Emma Francelle; Lois Pratt Hunt and her husband, John Hunt (Lois was six months pregnant); Ann Louise Pratt (single but being courted by young McIntire); the seven-year-old island boy, Ephraim Pratt; Captain Jefferson Hunt and wife Harriett; and Louisa’s sister Caroline B. Crosby, husband Jonathan Crosby, and son Alma. Captain Hunt knew the route, having served as a guide.


3. These companies followed the well-established road traversed by Mexican traders during the 1820s and 1830s, by explorers in the 1840s, and by Mormon freighters, possibly annually since 1847. “While the route may have been fairly well defined, it was nonetheless a most difficult passage because it went through unexplored, life-threatening desert country, with little or no grass or water.” The Journals of Addison Pratt, 370–71.

4. Las Vegas, Spanish for “the Meadows” “A constant flow of water produces a meadow year-round that affords an excellent recruiting place for stock before undertaking the next long haul across the desert. The traveler here is on the Old Spanish Trail. The Mormons had established missions here in the early 1850s to work with the Indians and to prospect for silver in the mountains nearby. It was described by Addison Pratt, The Journals of Addison Pratt, 395, 555.

5. Mormon travelers discovered rich deposits of lead at Cottonwood Springs, thirty miles southwest of Las Vegas. The discovery stimulated the establishment of a lead mission. In June 1855 a mission to the Indians at Las Vegas Springs was also founded. The undertaking was abandoned in January 1857. “Nevada” in Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of the Church (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1941), 571–73. “Pioneer Settlements in Nevada,” Encyclopedia of Mormonism, 1006–7.

6. The Muddy (sometimes the Far Muddy) has its source in warm springs about eight miles northwest of present Glendale and passes through Moapa Valley to empty, then, into the Virgin River, but now into Lake Mead.

7. Santa Clara was the southernmost village in Utah at the time. The geography of the region changed significantly from the desert. When John C. Frémont reached this point, he exclaimed about the mountains wooded with cedar and pine and the clusters of trees that gave shelter to birds.

8. Virgin Hill is one of the most difficult obstacles to overcome on any western trail or road. Ascending or descending the distance from the plateau above and the Virgin River Valley below, travelers had to take it piecemeal, unloading, loading, doubling teams and chains. Described by Addison Pratt, The Journals of Addison Pratt, 392. See also my Samuel Claridge: Pioneering the Outposts of Zion (Logan, Utah: privately printed, 1987), 92–98.

10. Cedar City was settled in November 1851 for the purpose of developing an iron industry. Philip Klingensmith was the first bishop.


11. Isaac C. Haight had joined the church in 1839, served in the Mormon Battalion, and reached Salt Lake Valley in September 1847. At this time he was an explorer, mayor of Cedar City, and stake president.

12. Names of emigrants from San Bernardino show up now as residents of Beaver, illustrating the continuity of friendships—for example, Bryant, Button, Cox, Farnsworth, Gale, Lee, Lyman, Shepherd, and Wandell.

13. The Iron Mission produced some iron; but the amount was disappointing, and the project was given up.


15. Philo T. Farnsworth, the first bishop of Beaver, was born 21 January 1827. He reached Utah in the fall of 1848 and settled Pleasant Grove and Fillmore before being called as bishop of Beaver. He served until 1864. Besides being a bishop, he was probate judge of Beaver county and a representative to the territorial legislature. “Philo Taylor Farnsworth,” Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 3:370.

16. Ross R. Rogers was Beaver County notary public.

17. Portions of a possible such letter are reproduced here in the introduction.

18. Louisa was devastated—as were hundreds of others still in the desert, wagons loaded with all one’s earthly goods, moving to an unknown destination—when the war was over, before it began. Colonel Thomas L. Kane passed the Pratt and Crosby group near the Vegas, reached the camps of the federal troops in Wyoming, and induced Governor Cumming to enter Salt Lake Valley without the troops. Negotiations followed. The Peace Commissioners were satisfied and so reported. Issues resolved, Johnston’s army passed through the city on 26 June 1858 and established headquarters at a site named Camp Floyd. The war was over, but not for the uprooted settlers. It would be months before Louisa and family could consider themselves settled. The historical literature on the Utah War is rather full. See works cited by Furniss, Roberts, Alexander, Poll, and Allen and Leonard.

19. Louisa chose to make Beaver her home though there was little to recommend it. Southern Utah historian James G. Bleak described it: “Situated at an altitude of 6500 feet, frosty and barren in appearance, part of its surface producing sage brush and very much of its soil impregnated with alkali; it was at first sight considered unfit for cultivation. Its chief attraction was the fine stream of water afforded by the Beaver River which runs
through the valley from east to west, its source being at an altitude of 12,000 feet."

In early 1856 Apostle George A. Smith, in charge of the southern settlements, selected a few families from Parowan and Cedar City to go to Beaver Valley. They arrived the first week in February and on 10 February organized a branch. In December 1857 Apostle Smith named Philo T. Farnsworth bishop of Beaver. Shortly thereafter San Bernardino exiles stopped in Beaver, augmenting the population.

Families obtained city lots as well as acreage in pasture. The meadow became a common herding ground for livestock. James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Utah Mission, Archives, Historical Department, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, Ms d1301. See also Monuments to Courage: A History of Beaver County (Beaver County: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1948).

20. The Crosby family reached Beaver on 19 November 1858. The two households obtained adjacent lots on which to build houses.

Chapter 19

1. Amasa Lyman, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, was the companion to Charles C. Rich in the management of San Bernardino. He may have had a responsibility over the Beaver Saints. At a later date he was charged with apostasy, teaching false doctrine on the nature of Christ. Andrew Jenson, LDS Biographical Encyclopedia, 1:96; 4:316, 322, and 712.

2. The letter is preserved in APFP 11. Begun at Ogden City, 10 November 1859, the latter portion tells of the accident and death.

3. Horace S. Eldredge was a foremost merchant and business man in Utah. He served as collector of taxes, brigadier general in the militia, general church immigration agent, a director of Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution and was one of the seven presidents of the Seventies. Andrew Jenson, LDS Biographical Encyclopedia, 1:196–7.

Chapter 23

1. John Riggs Murdock was born 13 September 1826 to patriarch John Murdock and Julia Clapp in Orange, Ohio. His mother died in 1831 when he was but four and a half years old. He was taken into the home of Joseph Smith and during the years before the exodus worked for the prophet. He served in the Mormon Battalion and reached Salt Lake Valley 12 October 1847. He married Almira Lott and in 1851 was resident in Lehi, where he served as mayor. During his life he made eleven trips to St. Louis and back, shepherding church trains. He was ordained bishop of Beaver Ward in the spring of 1864 and served until 1877, when he was named president of the newly formed Beaver Stake. He was a member of the territorial legislature and the Constitutional Convention, was a colonel in the militia, and served as probate judge of Beaver County. Andrew Jenson, LDS Biographical Encyclopedia, 1:304.

2. Marcus L. Shepherd's family was among the earliest converts of the church. They lived through the Missouri persecutions and settled near Carthage, Illinois, where the father prospered making wagons. Marcus served in the Mormon Battalion and reached Salt Lake Valley in the fall of 1848. He married and went to live in San Bernardino. After the break-up he settled
in Beaver, which became a permanent home. He was ordained a bishop in March 1869 and set apart to preside over the Beaver First Ward. In July 1877 he was chosen second counselor to President John R. Murdock in the Beaver Stake. Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:508–10.

3. The letter, dictated by Addison and in the handwriting of Frances, is in APFP, AP Letters sent, 16.

4. Louisa’s Relief Society “Song,” is preserved in APFP.

5. The Poland Act (1874) deprived local probate courts of “a general jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases and both in chancery and at common law.” In effect it transferred jurisdiction of most cases from the people’s courts to territorial courts presided over by the federal appointees. *Compiled Laws of Utah, 1888*, sec. 31, p. 104. B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 5:439 ff.

6. *Woman’s Exponent* 7 (1 February 1879): 189; *Woman’s Exponent* 8 (1 February 1880): 133.

7. When Benjamin F. Grouard left San Bernardino, he went north to San Francisco before returning to Los Angeles. In 1867 his family sailed from San Pedro to Panama, then to New York. They visited relatives in Massachusetts before moving to Farmington, Fulton County, Illinois, where he continued brick manufacturing for nine years. In Illinois he became an advocate of women’s rights. His wife trained and became a nurse, graduated from the Hospital Medical College of Chicago (which became Rush Medical), and practiced in Farmington. In 1876 the family returned to Santa Ana, California. All the while, Grouard studied and became a spiritualist. Contacts between the Grouards and the Pratt family were renewed after Pratt died in 1872. One letter survives. On 14 January 1873, Grouard wrote Louisa touching on his business and family and concluded by alluding to his adherence to spiritualism:

   “I lecture sometimes on spiritualism, & should if I was able, devote my whole time to proclaiming that glorious gospel. Not for one moment Sister Pratt, have I ever since I first became acquainted with the spiritual philosophy doubted its truth, And it is not a mere matter of faith, it is absolute knowledge from evidence of the senses. Seeing hearing & feeling. And all in perfect accord with the highest, holiest & grandest aspirations that the soul is capable of entertaining. I dont know whether you ever made yourself acquainted with the philosophy & facts of spiritualism but if you have not it would be worth your while to do so. If you would like I will send you some spiritual papers, & also write you relative to it.”

   He wrote a postscript for Ellen in Tahitian.

8. Samuel R. Wells (1820–1876), devoted his life to phrenology and physiognomy. He wrote many books and was editor of *The Phrenological Journal and Science of Health*. To this journal Louisa submitted “Obituary of a Mormon Elder,” published in March 1873.

9. Dr. Charles F. Winslow, with wife and three children, were passengers with Addison and his companion missionaries on the 1843–44 voyage from New Bedford to Tahiti on the ship *Timoleon*. A strong friendship developed and letters were exchanged. While on a mining trip to Utah he suddenly died of a heart attack. His body was cremated on 31 July 1877, “having made provision for this disposition of his body, in his will.” His was the first cremation in Utah. Louisa thought Addison and Dr. Winslow were much alike in religion, in faith and reason, and in their outlook on the world. She penned lines on the subject of the two men. The Charles F. Winslow papers are at

10. Zion’s Cooperative Mercantile Institution was founded 1868. The parent store in Salt Lake City purchased goods in the east and shipped them to Salt Lake City for outlet in selected branches in various communities. Apparently Louisa made purchases to sell from her home in Beaver. Caroline benefited: on December 27 Caroline purchased a pair of shoes and reported that Louisa and daughters were going to cooperate in selling them. “I thought they sold cheaper than the large store.” CBC, Journal, 1096.

11. Emmeline B. Wells was a close friend of Louisa from Nauvoo days. She was the wife of Daniel H. Wells, second counselor to Brigham Young from 1857. He had joined the church in 1846 and come to Utah in 1848. Wells was a commanding figure in early Utah, a leader in all political affairs. Emmeline was equally influential among the women of Utah. She had married Presiding Bishop Newel K. Whitney in 1845 and went to Utah with his family. She married Daniel H. Wells after Whitney’s death in 1850. She was assistant to Eliza R. Snow in organizing the Relief Society in the church and in the wards and branches. She became the editor of the *Woman’s Exponent* in 1874, the organ of the Relief Society. She stood at the head of the Relief Society throughout her days. Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:199; 2:731. *History of Relief Society, 1842–1966* (Salt Lake City: General Board of Relief Society, 1966).

It will be remembered that as a favor to Emmeline, Louisa took the young man Hiram Clark, “a near relative” of Emmeline’s, on the island mission. Addison’s record only states: “a lad that has come from Salt Lake with my family to live with me.” *The Journals of Addison Pratt*, 455, 466, 475.

12. A look into the lives of some of these people is given in *Dear Ellen*.

Chapter 24

1. Louisa’s son-in-law John Hunt, sheriff of Beaver County, anticipated serious problems when his two younger brothers, Joseph and Hyrum, both drinkers and trouble-makers, moved to Beaver. To avoid entanglement, John resigned his office and moved part of his family a few miles south to Sevier, arriving there 11 October 1875.

2. Less than three weeks later, on the night of 1 November, Joseph Hunt shot and killed instantly J. P. Hunter during a drunken brawl. Joseph was arrested, imprisoned, and tried. On 20 December he was released, the verdict being “not guilty.” Apparently there were extenuating circumstances. Only Caroline supplies the names of the contestants. CBC, Journal, 1055, 1058, 1064, 1093, 1144.


4. John D. Lee’s first trial on the charge of murder for his part in the Mountain Meadows Massacre was held in Beaver from 22 July 1875 to August 1875. Imprisoned, his second trial lasted from 14 to 20 September 1876. He was convicted of murder in the first degree.

5. Two holograph letters from Frank Grouard (her Ephraim) to Louisa survive in APFP 7: (a) Fort Laramie, Wyoming, 22 March 1871, and (b) Camp on Belle Fouche Cr. W. T. Powder River Expedition, 16 December 1876. Under
date of 31 March 1877 Louisa wrote “A True Tale of the Past and Present,” in the Woman’s Exponent 5 (15 April 1877): 169, telling Frank’s story.

Benjamin F. Grouard in 1893 made his way to Sheridan, Wyoming, where father and son met for the first time in thirty-seven years. They spent a month together in Wyoming. En route home, Grouard went through Salt Lake City, as it happened, at the time of the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple. He greeted many friends. Back in Santa Ana, he died 18 March 1894.


6. The Hunt family lived in the Sevier River Valley a year and four months before moving again, much to Louisa’s distress. Permission granted to settle in Arizona or New Mexico convinced Louisa she might never see them again. She did get to have granddaughter Ida with her a month before leaving. Maria S. Ellsworth, ed., Mormon Odyssey, 31–32.


8. The next summer Louisa accompanied Jonathan, Caroline, and their oldest granddaughter to the St. George Temple, where they performed rites for deceased loved ones. They left Beaver June 20 and left St. George for home on 1 July 1878. CBC, 1222, 1224.

9. Reference is made to Frances’s son, Addison Pratt Dyer, born 11 May 1859 in San Lorenzo, California.

10. Snowflake dates as a Mormon settlement from July 1878, when the area was purchased from William J. Flake who had taken up the land in 1873. The townsite was surveyed, and people directed to the site. On 24 September Snowflake ward was organized with John Hunt as bishop.

11. Ellen is referring to the engagement of Ida to Johnny Murdock.

Sources

2. Ida Hunt Udall to Ellen Pratt McGary, 5 February 1887, APFP.
3. It appeared as “Journal of Louisa Barnes Pratt,” in Kate B. Carter, comp., Heart Throbs of the West (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1947), 8:189–400. It was reprinted as Mormonodom’s First Woman Missionary: Louisa Barnes Pratt: Life Story and Travels Told in Her Own Words, published by Nettie Hunt Rencher.