

Women who Walked with the Mormon Battalion



Life Sketches
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(Last updated, December 8, 2025)
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The Mormon Battalion Association thanks the Utah Humanities for their funding support of the 175th Storytelling Project: Women Who Walked and Waited. Utah Humanities (UH) empowers groups and individuals to improve their communities through active engagement in the humanities.



A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MORMON BATTALION

At the beginning of the Mexican-American War (1846-1848), United States President James K. Polk approved recruiting an infantry battalion from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, whose members were refugees emigrating from Nauvoo, Illinois to the west outside of current US boundaries. Polk stated that his purpose was “to keep the Mormon people conciliated” to the nation during the conflict. When War Department orders reached Fort Leavenworth, Indian Territory (now Kansas), Colonel Stephen W. Kearny, commander of one of the U.S. field armies, the Army of the West, gave orders to dragoon Captain James Allen “that you will proceed to their camps, and endeavor to raise from amongst them 4 or 5 companies of volunteers, to join me in my expedition to that Country – each company to consist of any number between 73 and 109.” Arriving first at Mt Pisgah, Captain Allen then traveled to Council Bluffs to obtain support. Brigham Young and other Church leaders set about to recruit 500 volunteers from the Mormon camps along the western Iowa Mormon trail. Allen remained at Council Bluffs recruiting there.

On 16 July 1846 at Council Bluffs, Iowa, the Mormon Battalion was mustered with about 350 men in four companies under the direction of newly promoted Lieutenant Colonel Allen, eventually numbering 496 men organized in five companies. The Battalion marched to Fort Leavenworth where they were issued clothing allowances and supplies. Leaving from Fort Leavenworth, about 85 women and children accompanied them, some serving as laundresses and officer servants at different times. They left Fort Leavenworth under temporary command of Captain Jefferson Hunt when Allen fell ill. The death of Allen resulted in 1st Lt Andrew J. Smith offering his service as the acting commander of the Battalion. After the Battalion officers conferred, Smith was accepted in that position in late August. He submitted an official payroll muster on August 31, the first dependable roster of Mormon Battalion soldiers. All subsequent muster rolls were consistent with Lt Smith’s. Three detachments were sent to Pueblo between September and November, the first (Higgins) comprised of large families; the second, (Brown) sick or inefficient men and most of the women with their spouses and children; and the last (Willis) comprised of mostly sick and feeble men and no women. These detachments would eventually make their way to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, arriving behind the vanguard company on July 29, 1847 with a few soldiers arriving before that date and a few breaking off prior to arrival.

The Battalion traveled over 800 miles from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe, arriving in early October. Col Philip St George Cooke took official command at Santa Fe by orders of General Kearny. Departing about a week later, the Battalion proceeded south down the Rio Grande and then turned west. They had orders to build a wagon road through some of the most inhospitable and unknown areas of North America. Led by some of the best scouts available to the Army, the Battalion persevered, creating “Cooke’s Wagon Road” and linking it to existing trails as the first southern wagon route to California. After much physical hardship, the main command of 335 soldiers, about 13 officer servants (some 16 and under), five women and one child arrived in San Diego on 29 January 1847. They had traveled about 2,060 miles from Council Bluffs in 198 days. Of that, 148 days were used in actual marching, averaging about 14 miles per day. The Battalion was stationed at San Luis Rey for six weeks, then Company B was assigned to San Diego for duty at Fort Stockton with many providing skills for hire to dig wells, whitewash buildings, and firing bricks – many of which were used to build a courthouse. The other companies were assigned to Los Angeles where they helped build Fort Moore. Leaving in May, one last detachment of 14 soldiers was assigned to escort General Kearny from California back to Fort Leavenworth. One former soldier who had resigned traveled with them.

After one year of service, the Mormon Battalion was officially mustered out on July 16, 1847 in Los Angeles while some were on the trail with Kearny or with the detachments. After discharge, a group of 79 soldiers and 3 former officer servants were enlisted in a new unit which became known as the Mormon Volunteers under the command of Captain Daniel C Davis. They served until March of 1848. For many, the trip to Salt Lake included a winter stay working in various parts of California including Sutter’s Fort where six were involved with the discovery of gold at Sutter’s mill in January 1848. Some permanently remained in California but most traveled to Salt Lake in groups at different times and on different routes. Many returned east to rejoin family and friends with the majority eventually bringing family to the Salt Lake Valley. i

WOMEN AND CHILDREN WITH THE MORMON BATTALION

This booklet, *Women Who Walked*, includes some information from previous publications, but is designed to correct mistakes, clarify some information, and reveal recent discoveries from newly found primary sources. Some of the earliest stories of the women with the Mormon Battalion were written by Kate Carter, past president of Daughters of Utah Pioneers (DUP), and compiled in multiple volumes of *Our Pioneer Heritage* (1959-1977). Additional stories and detail were compiled in a book (*Families with the Mormon Battalion March 1846-48*) authored by Gaylen and Shirley Maynes (2009) and a smaller booklet (*Women of the Mormon Battalion*) authored by Carl Larson and Shirley Maynes. For the purpose of this booklet, the “Church” refers to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

These brief life sketches were compiled from military records (pension, military rolls, soldiers’ journals), public and government records (census, christening/death records, obituaries/graves), Church records (ordinances, ward records, overland travel, Thomas Bullock roster, journals), and family sources (autobiographies, family stories). Most of these records are found with direct links or in the memories section of their Family Search page. Ages provided in this document were determined as of July 16, 1846.

The Mormon Battalion Association has a large library of recently acquired military documents and its website (<https://www.mormonbattalion.com>) includes lists and links to many journals, pension, bounty land, and graves of soldiers as well as links for databases such as the Nauvoo Community Project (<http://nauvoo.byu.edu>) and Family Search (<https://www.familysearch.org>) where other military, government, and family records are attached.

The story of the Mormon Battalion includes a diverse group of women. No day-to-day accounts written by the women themselves during the march have been found, although some men who had journals occasionally included a story about them. Information was sometimes included in letters that men and a few women sent home to families left behind. Some women were illiterate at the time but others who were literate likely did not have time to keep a journal along the trail. More details about the women’s experiences were typically written in their later lives in autobiographies or by their children who were with them along the trail. Many shared stories verbally with children and grandchildren who recorded what they heard or remembered, creating some uncertainty about accuracy, but likely containing some elements of truth. Additional details were shared in pension applications, providing a firsthand account often related more to their situations about their marriages and their later lives.

Women traveling alone or with children with military units was common with thousands documented during the Mexican American War but were more common in regular army units – not necessarily in volunteer units. The number of large families with the Mormon Battalion was unusual. A total of 38 women accompanied the Battalion at some point during the year of enlistment. Of the 35 married women who eventually arrived at Fort Leavenworth, 32 were married to soldiers, two were married to officer servants, and one elderly woman and her husband accompanied a family. After an elderly woman died after leaving Fort Leavenworth, a total of 29 women were sent to Pueblo in the first two detachments, and five continued to California. Five women married soldiers during the enlistment--one of whom was originally a single daughter and later married in Pueblo, two women whose husbands died along the trail, and two others not originally associated with the Battalion. Two women died during the one-year enlistment including the elderly woman previously noted and one woman in San Diego who died about a week after giving birth.

The number of children and their roles were very fluid. Only four young children and some teenagers ages 16 and under serving as officer servants accompanied the Battalion as it left Council Bluffs or shortly after. But soon after the Battalion reached Fort Leavenworth, multiple families arrived and the number increased to about 49 children ages 16 and under with 13 of them acting as officer servants at different times along the trail. Most of these children were among 17 families with two parents. However, seven young officer servants were with fathers or male relatives. Five of the 17 women with children or young siblings gave birth to additional children excluding a few likely miscarriages.

One daughter married in Pueblo and was added to the list of “women.” Another 18 women had no children with them initially, but four gave birth to their first child during the Battalion experience including one who gave birth after discharge. One miscarriage was later noted by a soldier but there could have been others. Of the nine women who gave birth – six of them were in Pueblo, one with the sick detachments on the trail to Salt Lake, one in San Diego, and one in California after discharge on the return trip to Salt Lake. Two newborns died – one in Pueblo and one in California after discharge. An additional toddler died in Pueblo. This totaled 57 children plus several 17-18 year olds who were with the Battalion at various points of time with one additional child born after the discharge date as a group began its trip to Salt Lake. An additional 21 youth ages 14-16 joined as soldiers, all but two accompanying their families or relatives.

A question often surfaces about how the women interfaced with the men each day. There are specific journal entries that indicate women were assigned to “messes” with the soldiers, especially at mealtime. It is unclear if “messes” included sleeping situations. Some Mexican War records do suggest private sleeping arrangements were sometimes made available. Whether this was the case with the Battalion is uncertain but journals describing various events do suggest some women and families slept in wagons near the tents of their spouse/father. Another question - did the women “walk?” There are accounts of the women riding in company wagons, family wagons and sometimes riding on animals such as mules. In his autobiography John Hess wrote, *“the government provided six mule teams to each company. I was solicited to drive one of them, and for the convenience and comfort of my wife, I consented to do so...these teams had to haul the camp equipment which consisted of tents, tent poles, camp kettles, etc which filled the wagons up to the bows and the women would have to crawl in the best they could and lay in that position until we stopped to camp.”* But there were definitely times they were walking - especially as the animals gave out and the number of wagons were reduced.

WOMEN AND LAUNDRESSES

One of the major misunderstandings about the women with the Battalion relates to the role of laundress. General Kearny stated in his orders to Captain Allen, *“Each company will be allowed four women as laundresses, who will travel with the company, receiving Rations, and other allowances given to the laundresses of our Army,”* consistent with 1841 Army Regulations. Past historians and family descendants assumed that because a woman was with the Mormon Battalion, that meant they were an official laundress. However, many more women were allowed to accompany the Battalion and all those traveling with large family groups didn’t arrive until Fort Leavenworth after laundresses were designated at Council Bluffs.

Laundresses traveling with an Army unit were typically provided tents, transportation, rations, and some minor equipment. It is important to note that laundresses were not “in” the Army but accompanied the military units. Their pay, when service was provided, came from the soldier himself. During the Mexican War, laundresses with the regular army sometimes made more money than the soldiers depending on how many men asked for their service. In an article written by Robert P. Wetteman for the Professional Bulletin of Army History titled “The Girl I Left Behind Me.” United States Army Laundresses and the Mexican War,” Wetteman includes a journal entry by Second Lt. Napoleon Dana of the Seventh Infantry not related to the Mormon Battalion : *“I at last ... persuaded [the captain] to get Mrs. Lindsay to cook and wash for both of us.”* Dana added that *“we agree to give Mrs. L each six dollars for doing both [cooking and washing].”* Later, Dana and the captain invited another officer to join the group, and Dana noted they gave *“Mrs. L three dollars more for him.”* Wetteman concludes that “If nothing else, Dana’s comments suggest the economic benefits of working for the Army. Considering Mrs. Lindsay’s \$15 monthly wage was a significant sum by contemporary standards.” The amount paid to the laundresses with the Mormon Battalion did not reflect that kind of remuneration. These were volunteer soldiers who had very little to spend. On August 4, Samuel Rogers recorded: *“Sister Luddington commenced washing for me at 50 cents per month.”* It is possible that some laundresses with the Mormon Battalion never provided that service but were accepted as laundresses so they could receive rations as they decided to accompany their spouses. But there is little doubt that all of the women – whether they were official army laundresses or not – were doing laundry for the soldiers and their families.

Based on Kearny's orders, the Saints understood 20 wives of soldiers were allowed to accompany the Battalion as laundresses. Although more women and families were later allowed to meet the soldiers at Ft Leavenworth, about twenty wives departed with spouses or joined the caravan soon after departure. Those leaving with the Battalion from Council Bluffs most likely served as the original "official" army laundresses. Some are documented with primary sources. Samuel Roger's journal documents two of them – paying Melissa Coray and Mary Eliza Luddington for laundry on the way to Fort Leavenworth. Although unusual, Mary Eliza was a wife of a commissioned officer and Lydia Hunter, wife of Captain Jesse Hunter was also likely a laundress since she was one of only four women in Company B. In her pension application, Ruth Abbott recorded she was a laundress the entire march. James TS Allred lists those who are in his "mess" and notes that his wife Eliza (Elizabeth Manwaring) is among them, serving as a laundress. John Hess later noted in a letter in 1903 to Church leader, Anthon Lund, that his wife volunteered and served as a laundress who was in Company E. Company E is difficult to verify all original laundresses since it was in flux and several wives caught up with the Battalion later.

The original "official" laundresses can be identified by some clues from the Brigham Young return lists (church rosters of the Mormon Battalion). The document noted which women were present and with their spouses as the Battalion left Council Bluffs. These rolls were compiled for Company A, B, and E and contain information about the wife's name, how many people were with the family left behind, and where they were located. It also included phrases about future plans and how much money was to be sent back from their pay and to whom. Most soldiers listed money to be sent back to benefit the Council (Church) and/or family. Requested by Brigham Young on July 18, the Church rolls for Company A were officially signed on July 21 and Company B on July 22. Company E was submitted later at Fort Leavenworth. Per communication with Church leadership, Company C and D were likely never compiled due to time constraints. One phrase – "with him" – was used on the return list related to the women for several men in Company A. Company B also used the phrase "with him" and Company E used the words "with self" which indicated the women were present to accompany the soldier.

Some women who joined later and were not original laundresses can be identified with wording from the Brigham Young return list. Company A used a specific phrase – "to go on" – for twelve soldiers, many who were officers. Almost all of those with that wording listed wagons and teams suggesting they were prepared to travel and likely planning "to go on" to Grand Island, a staging camp for the upcoming winter and traveling west the following spring. According to historian Richard Bennett, the plan to send some Saints on to Grand Island was altered by Brigham Young toward the end of July, with the Saints remaining at Council Bluffs and Winter Quarters.

Based on journals and autobiographies, communication was flowing from the Battalion to the camps of the Saints after the soldiers left Council Bluffs on July 21 and 22. Within three days, a few men and letters arrived, suggesting large families could accompany the Battalion with Lt Col Allen's encouragement.

Cyrena Merrill, wife of Philemon Merrill, later wrote in an autobiography: *"After they had gone three days, some returned from the battalion and stated to the camps that Captain Allen had sent them to gather up 50 families of the Battalion boys and they could travel with their husbands to California as the government would pay all the expenses."* Cyrena arranged for a teamster and traveled with what she called "a company" and arrived with her family at Fort Leavenworth about August 1. She was told by her husband and Elder Pratt it was not wise to accompany the Battalion and she returned to Council Bluffs. Philemon Merrill noted in his autobiography *"when I with my Brother Lane[?] & Philander Colton Thos S Will...[?] and Clark Stillman volunteered in the Mormon Volunteers and on the 16th of July 1846 lift our wives an little ones & took up our march to Fort Leavenworth where we received our arms and fit out to go into Mexico which was at war with the United States. When I got to Ft Leavenworth my wife came with about 57 familys [members] to the Fort with the expectation of going with me but I could not bring my mind[?] to let her go with me."*

Sarah Jane Brown who traveled with the Battalion at age 11 turning 12, described a letter from her father. “*Col. Allen had inquired why the men had not brought their families with them, if they were properly equipped for the journey. Next morning, in company with another by the name of Shelton, the family started for Fort Leavenworth.*”

Several days after the Battalion left, Andrew Jackson Shupe’s father penned a letter to him dated 25 July from the “Camp of Israel” and received at Fort Leavenworth noted “*word has come that all the families of thos Souldiers that can to com on and She [Andrew’s wife] wounds [wants] to go if She could but her waggon aint Sofishen [sufficient] but dont make your Self uneasy I think the way is open before us and Shal get a long ...*”

On August 6, William Coray wrote: “*Nothing worth notice was done the remainder of this day other than the arrival of several families from the Bluffs to join us in our expedition.*”

The same day, Arnold Stevens penned a letter to his wife, thinking she might be joining them. “*i soon have espected you With Captain Higins as I heard there was 25 or 30 families along with him within one days drive from this place but as the barrer [bearer] of this must start before I can ascertain the fact I am obliged to rite this by moon Light ...and don’t know where this may find you or whether it will find you at all as I am in hopes you are on your way Down heare...*” On August 7, John Tippets confirmed Stevens letter. “*I took a notion to go to Weston, 6 miles above here to trade a little. I found brother Higgins who returned to the Bluffs from the army on the morning of 24 of July.*”

Abraham Hunsaker’s wife heard about this opportunity too late and perhaps would have gone. In a letter to Abraham, Eliza wrote, “*for I did not know that any was a going until they were all gone.*”

Dimik Huntington’s journal/memoirs also noted his family joined him at Fort Leavenworth: “*Arrived at Pisgah about 10 of June plowed and put in 2 acres of corn ... sold out for a cow & started about the 1st of July for Council Bluffs arrived 10 of July, 15 enlisted for one year ... arrived at Fort Levensworth in August 2 ... my family came to me at the Fort.*”

On Aug 7, George Dykes wrote a letter to his wife stating: “*Many families will come to day into the fort but[ink blot] c no consolation to me to see another mans family Capt Higgins went back from Keg creek & got these families & his own*” but continued with a revealing statement “*and they will go with us to bents Fort and winter.*” This may be the reason why Lt Colonel Allen allowed many families to join them, with a possibility of the families joining Brigham Young the following spring on their way west.

Thomas Williams shared at the 1855 Mormon Battalion reunion. “*My wife and children I left with only about five days’ provisions, and not having the least idea where they would get the next. The day following I ascertained that Brother Higgins was going to fetch his wife and family. I, therefore, determined that if I could raise means any way I would take my wife with me, and I made up my mind to do it if I had to tramp all the way and carry my knapsack.*”

Malinda Kelley wrote in 1860, “*Come as far as Council Bluffs, and was one of the families that was called on to go with the Mormon Battalion. We traveled with them until we got to Pueblo, New Mexico, and not being strongly constituted was classed with the sick list and weak, and was sent there to winter.*” Malinda was with the large Hunt entourage.

The Brigham Young return reflects the Hunt family was planning on remaining in Council Bluffs with money sent to Jefferson’s nephew, Milton Kelley, for benefit of the family. Likely due to Lt Col Allen’s willingness to allow families to accompany the unit at least briefly, the large Hunt family arrived at Fort Leavenworth about August 7.

So up to 15 women with many children caught up with the Battalion at Fort Leavenworth. It is unlikely the women arriving late at Fort Leavenworth were given the title of laundress. Although most of the families arrived in their own private wagons, they may have been given rations as Cyrena Merrill suggested they would travel at the expense of the government.

Lt. Colonel Philip St. George Cooke: *"I was not at Fort Leavenworth when General S. W. Kearny sent Captain Allen, First Dragoons, to meet the migration of the Mormons from Nauvoo toward the Pacific coast, and raise a volunteer battalion ... The usual regulations, or laws, for volunteers, regarding age, and also the number of women to be transported and fed, were much relaxed in their favour."*

It is apparent Lt Col Allen was trying to accommodate the Saints and their move west. At least one soldier attempted to have his wife join the group even after leaving Fort Leavenworth. On August 23, quartermaster Samuel Gully wrote to Brigham Young: *"I hav written to Ovanda [Gully's wife] to come if you think it is right she will have to get 4 Mules & a light waggon the payment after the value of the oxen & waggon is deLeted I can pay out of my first payment."* Brigham Young recognized the difficulty this request created and replied in a letter dated Aug 27, 1846, stating: *"P.S. Ovanda has gone on west ... is probably at Puncas village about 120 miles from Paunee (village) were she here we would not think it wisdom for her to Join the army. Neither do we think it best for more of the Sisters to go in the Bat. It is better that your hand be Free."*

After Lt Colonel Allen died, the number of women and children presented a challenge for acting commander Lt Smith. He recorded in a report, *"I also found Many families at Council Grove (Mormons) that had, as they assured me, the permission of Lt. Col. Allen to accompany the Bat west – several of them officers families."* By mid-September, Smith took the opportunity to direct all large families with a few exceptions to Pueblo in the Higgins detachment to join the Mississippi Saints who planned to winter there until spring.

A total of 25 women continued on. A few weeks later, the main command was split into two groups. The advanced company of about 250 men plus many officers moved ahead to reach Santa Fe by October 10. The remaining 200+ men traveled slower with the sick and likely most or all of the women. Levi Hancock provided details of the group that was traveling slower under the direction of Lt Oman. On October 6, Levi Hancock wrote *"rested until some of the baggage teams came in, which had stayed out all night. The officers concluded to stay here today and let our women do some washing."*

It is assumed that the twenty original laundresses arrived in Santa Fe plus five others. Colonel Cooke suggested 25 women arrived at Santa Fe and he initially had planned to send all 25 to Pueblo. Some of his statements seemed to suggest he thought all the women were laundresses. However, soldier, Henry Sanderson described the mess he was with including two other soldiers who were with the Brown detachment, Henry noted: "Nearly all the women that had accompanied the Battalion as laundress were with us." The word "nearly" suggests that some original laundresses continued with the main command.

The Thomas Bullock roster documented the women who came into the Salt Lake Valley with the Pueblo detachments in July 1847 including one from the Mississippi Saints and another who was originally a daughter - both married in Pueblo. One woman was accidentally left off the list. Another left Pueblo for Iowa.

In his military report for October 13, Lt Col Cooke wrote: "nevertheless, there are here twenty-five women and many children. Colonel Doniphan, commanding in New Mexico, has ordered those pronounced by the surgeons unfit for the march to California to be sent to winter at Pueblo; and as I believe women would be exposed to great hardships on my exploring winter march, besides being a serious encumbrance, and many of them being willing, I have ordered all the laundresses to accompany the detachment of the Arkansas. Captain Brown will command it, and it will consist of First Lieutenant Luddington and 86 rank and file, embracing only a few efficient men, husbands of the twenty laundresses."

Several journals describe the efforts by a few officers to allow their wives to stay with them and continue with the main command. William Coray wrote: "He [Cooke] was about at the point of giving an order that all the laundresses should go back to Pueblo....Capt Hunter chanced to hear of the calculation and informed Capt Davis, Sgt Brown and myself of it. We concluded to go over and make a contract with the Col to let our wives go with us." In the end, Cooke ordered 20 laundresses to travel to Pueblo in the second detachment under the direction of Captain Brown although a few of the 20 women were likely not original laundresses including Phoebe Stillman, Albina Williams and Matilda Hunt.

In a pension statement, Phoebe Merrill Stillman stated she served as a laundress beginning at Santa Fe. Five of the 20 women were paid for services by the men themselves at Pueblo as documented on a detachment payroll.

On October 15 he issued Order #8: "The Luet Col. Commanding deems that the presence of the Laundresses in this march will be accompanied by much suffering and would be a great incumbrance to the expedition and as nearly all are desirous of accompanying the detachment of invalids....four Laundress from each company Capts Brown will without delay will require the necessary transportation and draw rations for twenty one days Capt Brown will March on the 17th Inst he will be furnished with a descriptive list of the detachment he will take with him."ⁱ This correlates closely with Col Doniphan's report, "I deemed it prudent to send a detachment of 87 men and 20 laundresses under command of Capt. Brown."

Five women were permitted to continue to California but were required to travel at their own expense, suggesting Cooke considered any previous laundress designation was no longer applicable. Cooke's journal reflected: "...five wives of officers were reluctantly allowed to accompany the march, but furnished their own transportation." One version of Cooke's report had similar wording. "I have reluctantly consented to take five women, the wives of officers and serjeants; they are transported and provisioned at their own expense." In his official military journal, it stated: "At the earnest request of two captains and three sergeants, their wives were permitted to accompany the expedition." This situation almost unraveled. William Coray wrote "We commenced our march to California marched 6 miles south and camped under the command of Lt. Col. Cooke. This evening he learned by some means that 5 women were in his command and he forth with ordered the adjutant to have them cast lots which should go back, and if they would not, the adjutant must. As soon as the husbands of the women heard this they told the adjutant that their woman should do no such thing, for they had made a contract with him to have their women go and if broke his contracts so quick, they would not obey no more of his orders. I was one of those gentlemen. Sgt. Brown went to the Lt. Col. and reminded him of his contract and settled the trouble." Soldier, Henry Sanderson wrote: "I had when leaving Sante Fe got into the mess with John Hess and his wife and John Sessions and his wife.Nearly all the women that had accompanied the Battalion as laundress were with us." Sanderson, Hess, and Sessions were all part of the Brown detachment which was the final detachment that had women with them.

The following list identifies all 35 women with the Battalion at Fort Leavenworth. It includes those who have been confirmed by primary sources or were likely laundresses as they left Council Bluffs and a few others who may have been added along the way or at Santa Fe. It also includes women, most with large families who were initially left behind but met up with the Battalion at Fort Leavenworth and were likely not original laundresses. BY return refers to the Brigham Young (Church roster) and CA refers to the women who arrived in California. Two detachments included women - the Higgins and Brown detachments.

Women with Company A

Elzadie Emeline Ford Allred
Eliza Bridget Manwaring Allred
Caroline Emeline Sessions
Phebe Draper Palmer Brown

*Matilda Nease Hunt

5 Higgins detachment, 4 Brown, 1 CA
laundress likely, BY return notes "with him"
laundress/James T S Allred journal, BY return notes "with him"
laundress, soldiers pay roll document, Mt Pisgah volunteer list
BY return "to go on", uncertain when she actually joined unit,
Cooke/Coray journals suggest laundress, CA, maybe laundress
joined at Ft Leavenworth, laundress at Santa Fe/Cooke/Brown det vii

Higgins detachment:

Elizabeth Fraim Mayfield Shelton
Celia Mounts Hunt

Sarah Price Bathrick Kelley
Malinda Allison Kelley
Jane Harrison Bosco

joined at Ft Leavenworth, BY return "to go on," reassigned to Co D
joined at Fort Leavenworth, BY return shows family originally intended to stay behind, \$20/month for Milton Kelley to benefit family
joined at Fort Leavenworth, Nicholas Kelley not on roster until Aug 30
joined at Fort Leavenworth, spouse was officer servant
joined at Fort Leavenworth, traveling with spouse and Matilda Hunt

Women with Company B

Lydia Ann Edmonds Hunter
Melissa Burton Coray
Mary Eliza Luddington+
Jane Tibbets Clark Blevin

2 Brown, 2 CA

laundress likely, Coray/Cooke's journals suggest laundress, CA
laundress, Rogers Journal, BY return "with him", CA
laundress, Rogers journal, BY return "with him"
laundress (likely original)/ Santa Fe, counted in # of family "with him"

Women with Company C

Mary McRee Black Brown+
Susannah Smith Adams
Isabella McNair Wilkin
Sarah Coats Prunty Shupe

4 Brown

laundress, pension document
laundress, payroll document, pension deposition for Augustus Dodge
laundress, payroll document
laundress likely, AJ Shupe journal, with them at Council Bluffs

Women with Company D

Catherine Campbell Steele+
Ruth Markham Abbott
Mary Ann Jameson Hirons
Hulda Sophia Smith Gribble
* Phoebe Lodema Merrill Stillman
* Albina Marion Merrill Williams

5 Higgins, 6 Brown

laundress, payroll document
laundress, pension document
laundress, payroll document, Mt Pisgah volunteer list
laundress (likely), left Council Bluffs with Battalion
laundress at Santa Fe, pension, joined at Ft Leavenworth
laundress at Santa Fe, joined at Ft Leavenworth

Higgins detachment:

Eunice Reasor Brown
Mary Bittles Button
Sarah Blackman Higgins
Fanny Maria Allen Huntington
Martha Jane Sargent Sharp

joined at Ft Leavenworth, large family

joined at Ft Leavenworth, large family

joined at Ft Leavenworth, large family

joined at Ft Leavenworth large family

joined at Ft Leavenworth, husband added to rolls, Aug 30

Women with Company E

Susannah Moses Davis+

Harriet St. John Brown
Jane Wells Cooper Hanks
Emeline Bigler Hess
Mary Clark Steele Brown

4 Brown, 2 to CA

Laundress possibly, but she and her husband met up with his company after they left Council Bluffs per James Williams autobiography.

laundress likely, BY return "with him," Mt Pisgah volunteer list

laundress, pension document

laundress, letter/Anton Lund, BY return "with him" Bigler's journal

laundress possibly, with family of 7 soldiers and 1 officer servant - BY return shows no family and \$2 going back for tithe, Coray/Cooke's journals suggest laundress at Santa Fe, CA

Elisha Smith was originally included as a soldier in Co E on Tyler's initial roster, but arrived as Davis' teamster after the Battalion left per James V Williams autobiography. Unlikely she was an original laundress, but was designated one at Santa Fe by Cooke's orders.

*Rebecca Smith Burns

* those women who were not original laundresses but were designated as such at Santa Fe.

+ original laundress who had one child with her

Ages of married women who left Fort Leavenworth

8 (under 20) - 23%

14 in their 20s - 40%

6 in their 30s - 17%

6 in their 40s - 17%

1 in their 50s - 2 %

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Women traveling
with a spouse
who was a soldier

and

with children, some
who were soldiers,
officer servants, or
young siblings

Most women with multiple children did not leave with the Battalion at Council Bluffs
but caught up to them at Fort Leavenworth.

Most were not original laundresses. A few were pregnant.
Nearly all families in this group were in the Higgins detachment.

**Ages as of July 16, 1846 are noted in parenthesis

Eunice Reasor Brown (38)

Children: Neuman (15), Robert (14), Sarah (11), Mary Ann (3), and John Taylor (birth on trail in Colorado)

Spouse: James Polly Brown, Private, Co. D
Parents: Fredrick and Sarah Hester Brown
Birth: 4 March 1808, Shelby, Kentucky
Died: 18 July 1858, Manti, Utah



Eunice was married to James Polly Brown in 1826. Of their six children to date, five were living by the time they arrived in Nauvoo. Their oldest son died in Nauvoo. Following the Saints to Council Buffs, James enlisted in Company D as a private. Soon after leaving Council Bluffs, he found out he could bring his family and sent for them. In her later life, Eunice's daughter Sarah provided many details about their experience. She noted, "*Col. Allen had inquired why the men had not brought their families with them, if they were properly equipped for the journey. Next morning, in company with another by the name of Shelton, the family started for Fort Leavenworth, the two boys driving the teams and [Sarah] driving the cows.*" According to family sources the family had two teams, two yoke of oxen, three cows and a tent. Sarah recounted that the wagons were placed at the rear so she could be near her family while tending the cattle. She often remarked: "*The Battalion followed the flag and I followed the dust.*"

After leaving Fort Leavenworth, Sarah described the following: "*One evening a severe rainstorm swept down every tent but one. Robert, who was ill, in [Eunice's] wagon from which the double cover had been stripped by the force of the wind, was lifted out and held on [Eunice's] lap under the wagon. By this time the rain was pouring in torrents. To the one lone tent which was held up by six men, Robert was then carried. [Sarah] and her brother Neuman were in her wagon (it was called hers because it was her sleeping quarters) holding with all their strength to prevent a similar catastrophe ... There was scarcely a dry thread in camp. They moved on a few miles to a more convenient place to dry clothing and bedding.*"

Eunice was one of nine women, eight of whom had children or young siblings, who were detached to Pueblo in the Higgins "family" detachment. On the way to Pueblo, family records note that the group came upon an Arapaho Indian village who were friendly and led them to a good place to camp. When the Indian Chief rode by and invited young 11 year old Sarah to ride with him on his horse, Eunice refused. Sarah noted that Caroline Sargeant, younger sibling of Martha Sharp, was her "chum."

Sarah described their stay in Pueblo: "*In one end of the room was the fireplace where [I] was learning the art of using the "dutch oven," the one window had a real sash, many of those log cabins had an opening with a piece of muslin stretched over it to give the occupants light. A house was built in which were conducted religious services and where they met for recreation.*"

Leaving Pueblo in May, almost 8 months pregnant, Eunice gave birth to a baby boy in early June in Colorado whom they named John Taylor Brown. They arrived in Salt Lake on July 29, 1847. Soon after, they were sent to help settle Manti in 1849 where Eunice's last child was born in 1851. They also adopted an Indian son they named Alma. Eunice died in 1858 in Manti where she is buried.

Sources:

Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KWJ5-N8R

Military, Church, and family records, Census, Thomas Bullock roster, Cemetery Inventory, Obituary

Mary McRee Black Brown (25)

Child: George David Black (5)
Stepchildren: Jesse (17), Alexander (20) soldiers

Spouse: Captain James Brown, Co. C
Parents: Charles and Mary McCorkins McRee
Birth: 28 October 1820 (alt birth dates), Copiah, Mississippi
Died: 2 November 1906, Ogden, Utah



Mary was raised in luxury on a plantation. After marriage to George Black, they set up housekeeping with four African American servants and were living in Copiah County, Mississippi. Against the wishes of their families, they joined the Church in 1843, being baptized by Daniel Tyler who later wrote a church history of the Mormon Battalion. They had five children – the last one being born in Nauvoo in August 1844. Of the five, only one lived beyond childhood, George David Black known as David. On 24 August 1845, the Nauvoo sexton's weekly report states that George Black, 28 years old, died of bilious fever.

While some records indicate she may have traveled back home after her husband's death per Brigham Young's suggestion, there is no primary document to verify that. When the saints were driven from Nauvoo and companies were formed to go west, James Brown invited Mary and her son David to join his company. Later, James Brown proposed marriage to her and they were married 16 July 1846 at Council Bluffs, the same day as the Battalion was mustered. James was a polygamist and left three other wives and some children behind but two sons from his first marriage, Alexander and Jesse, were with him. He became Captain of Company C in the Mormon Battalion. Mary and David went with him on the Battalion march. A pension application indicates she served as a laundress. Captain Brown was put in charge of a detachment which was sent from Santa Fe, New Mexico to Pueblo, Colorado for the winter. Mary was like a ministering angel to the sick while they were in Pueblo. Captain Brown oversaw all three detachments as they took up their march to Utah territory in the spring of 1847, and arrived in the Salt Lake Valley 29 July 1847. They lived in the fort where Mary gave birth to a daughter in November 1847. Mary went with her husband to colonize a tract of land in Ogden, purchased from Miles Goodyear where veterans often stopped as they were returning to Utah from California. She lived in a log cabin with a dirt floor and the only furniture was a one-legged bed nailed to the wall. She became known as an outstanding cheesemaker. After Captain Brown's death in 1863, Mary, with her two children, Joseph and Josephine, and her eldest son, David Black who married the daughter of Captain Jefferson Hunt moved to Brigham City. Mary put all of her means in the United Order which was being established there under the direction of Lorenzo Snow. When this project failed, Mary drew out her share in the money and moved to Oxford, Idaho, and again pioneered in a new, sparsely settled region. Again, she lived in a dirt-roofed log cabin with two rooms, which leaked like a sieve when it rained or when the snow melted. A grandchild noted their visit in July 1878. *"The roof was covered with grass and sunflowers."* After the marriage of Joseph and Josephine, Mary moved back to Ogden and made her home with her grandchildren and daughters Mary Eliza and Josephine. *"She was always a most welcome guest. If we tried to insist on her taking life easy and resting all day, she wouldn't stay very long with us. She was an early riser, and a very small eater, and never sat in any kind of chair except a straight-backed one. Her mentalities were as keen in her eighties as when she was young."* Mary was one of two women who attended a Battalion reunion in 1896. The other was Melissa Coray. She died in her 87th year in Ogden in 1906.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KWJY-X86, Family records on file with DUP
Military and Church records, death certificate, death register, headstone, Thomas Bullock roster, pension

Phebe Draper Palmer Brown (48)

Child: Zemira (14), officer servant

Spouse: Ebenezer Brown, Sergeant, Co. A

Parents: William and Lydia Lathrop Draper

Birth: 9 October 1797, Rome, Oneida, New York

Died: 28 February 1879, Draper, Utah



Phebe married George Palmer in 1815 in Ontario and she joined the Church in 1833. Her husband died in 1834 and another child was born shortly after his death. Phebe with four of her children and her brother William and his family moved to Kirkland, Ohio, then Missouri and Illinois. As they left Missouri, Ebenezer Brown invited William and Phebe with their families to live with his family in Pleasantville, Illinois.

When Ebenezer's wife became ill, Phebe cared for her and took care of his children after Ann died in June 1842. Two months later, Phebe and Ebenezer were married and moved to Nauvoo. Traveling westward, Ebenezer enlisted in the Mormon Battalion along with Franklin and Miles Weaver - the stepsons of Phebe's brother, William. The Brigham Young return (church roster) indicates that Phebe planned to stay behind "to go on" to Grand Island. In later years, the widow of her 14-year-old son, Zemira, tried to apply for a pension suggesting Zemira initially enlisted. However, his obituary stated "*his age and feeble appearance barred his enlistment...he found employment as Captain Allen's servant*" although no primary document has been found to verify that. Zemira served as a servant to Lt Clark. Sometime after the BY return was completed on July 21, Phebe and Zemira joined them. Since she was not with Ebenezer as they left Council Bluffs, it is unknown if she was an original laundress. Since there are only three known laundresses in that company, it could be that she was added later. Both Phebe and Ebenezer left younger children in care of other family members. Phebe often worried about the health of her teenage son, and according to family stories, she gathered burnt bread crusts and gave them to Zemira. Stories suggest he later commented that they tasted better than pie. As the second oldest woman with the Battalion, Phebe celebrated her 49th birthday as they entered Santa Fe. The new Battalion commander, Lt Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, initially ordered all 25 women at Santa Fe to Pueblo, but eventually allowed five women to continue to California at their own expense. Phebe being one of the five, arrived in California in January 1847, living at San Luis Rey. She would have remained with her husband who was assigned with Lt Oman to attend to mostly sick men until early April. Then they rejoined the main command and Company A in Los Angeles. After Ebenezer's discharge in July 1847, they likely traveled with Captain Hunt to Monterey. He and Samuel Thompson led a group to Pleasant Valley in the spring, where he did some mining. In August 1848, Ebenezer then led a group to Salt Lake comprised of almost 30 individuals from the Battalion and passengers from the ship Brooklyn and arrived in October. Family records stated Phebe rode a mule by the name of Ginny from California to the Great Basin. When they arrived in Salt Lake, they met their children who traveled from Iowa with Ebenezer's daughter Harriett, entering the valley just a week earlier. The family soon settled in Willow Creek with Phebe's brother William Draper. They resided briefly in Parowan where Ebenezer was called on a mission in 1850 to help settle the area. Returning to Draperville, now known as Draper, Ebenezer became the first postmaster, but it was Phebe who took care of the post office. She became mother to the children of Ebenezer's two plural wives who died. She "kept school," worked in the Relief Society, and was active in the community. She was a familiar figure at church meetings in her cape, with a little cap on her head. She always brought a cushion to soften her bench. Phebe died in 1879, one year after Ebenezer.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KWJY-1RR

Military and Church records, Journals, Personal histories, Zemira's widow pension application

Mary Clark Steele Brown (41)

Children: Edmund Brown Jr (12), officer servant
William Brown (17), soldier
George Eliphat Steele (20), Isaiah Steele (15), soldiers

Spouse: Edmund Lee Brown, Sergeant, Co. E
Parents: Joseph and Elizabeth Sooy Clark
Birth: 27 July 1804, Cincinnati, Ohio
Died: 25 June 1873, Provo, Utah



Mary was the youngest of twelve children. She married George Steele in 1825 and they had two sons. After George died in 1831, Mary joined the Church and took her two sons to Missouri. Mary later wrote a little history for her son George: *"I went in company with others to Missouri in March 1833, on the steamer Sonnaborne, taking George and Isaiah with me and I lived in Independence, Jackson County, Missouri until we were driven out of the county. I then returned again to Cincinnati, Ohio. And on the following spring we again returned to Missouri and settled in Liberty, Clay county. And in the fall or winter I again went back to Cincinnati, having found it impossible to live in peace in Missouri on account of the mob. While living in Independence my house was attacked, the windows broken and the house threatened to be pulled down. We had to hide behind the chimney for three nights from the mob. Saw the printing office torn down, also Sidney Gilbert store destroyed and many other houses. The mob would hamstring the Mormon cattle and even cut off their bags. The last time I passed the Temple block I offered up a silent but fervent prayer that I might live to return in peace again to that consecrated spot."* Eventually arriving in Nauvoo, she married Edmund Brown who had several children from his first marriage. Two of their children attended school there, eventually leaving Nauvoo with the Saints. It is likely that Mary was an initial laundress, traveling with her immediate and extended family including her husband, two of his sons from his previous marriage - William, a soldier, and Edmund Jr., an officer's servant. Her family included her two sons, George and Isaiah Steele, from her previous marriage. Her brother, Joseph Clark, and two nephews, Joseph and Riley Clark who were sons of another brother, were also with them. In earlier histories of the Battalion, Mary was recorded as "Agnes" and most included her in the detachments arriving in Utah. However, Mary (or Agnes) was not found on the Thomas Bullock list arriving in Salt Lake. Henry Standage references her on December 8 with the main command. *"This morning Sister Brown came to our tent and informed us of the death of Br. Elisha Smith."* Both Standage and Srg Edmund Brown and his wife Mary were in company E along with Smith who was officer servant to Captain Davis. Her son's pension record described an injury where he was transported to his mother's home in San Diego, unveiling a new discovery that she was with her family in California - one of the five women arriving there. Her husband, his son, her sons, and one of her nephews reenlisted in the Mormon Volunteers. After discharge in March 1848, some of them were found in the 1850 census record in Sacramento and in Yolo California by the 1860 Census. Edmund and his son, Edmund Jr., heeded Brigham Young's call to return to Utah in 1858, while Mary stayed behind. A missionary journal noted that Mary could not or did not want to travel. By 1860, Edmund returned to Yolo where they resided and he served as a judge. After Edmund died in 1872, Mary traveled to Utah to visit her son in Provo before her death in 1873. Her obituary noted she was one of the women who accompanied the command all the way to California. Two battalion members spoke at her funeral. They described her *"kindness and motherly care...towards the boys of the battalion in all the most trying scenes they were called to pass through. She remained firm and confident using an influence and example of quiet, patient endurance that was felt and acknowledged by all."*

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: L5FX-RX1

Obituary, Servant payroll, Census records, Pension record, Journals, Nauvoo Records, Missionary Journal

Mary Bittles Button (30)

Children: James (10), Jutson (6), Louisa (4), Samuel (2)

Spouse: Montgomery Button, Private, Co. D

Parents: Thomas and Ann Spence Bittles

Birth: 15 December 1815, Homer, Courtland, New York

Died: 26 June 1896, San Bernardino, California

Little is known of Mary's childhood. She was one of six children. By 1834 her family was living in Ohio. It appears that none of her family joined the church. Mary married Montgomery Button in 1835 in Ohio where their first three children were born. After moving to Kirtland, they were introduced to the Church and soon moved to Nauvoo in 1844 where another son was born.

They traveled to Council Bluffs with the Saints where Montgomery joined the Battalion. He left her and four children behind, but the family caught up with the Battalion at Ft Leavenworth with other larger families. One month later, the family was detached from the main command in the Higgins detachment comprised of a number of larger families who wintered in Pueblo during 1846-47. They traveled to Salt Lake with the detachments, arriving in the valley on 29 July 1847 behind the Vanguard Company.

According to Montgomery's obituary, he traveled for a few years around Fort Hall but it is uncertain if his wife and children were with him during that time. He traveled to California in 1849, likely joining one of the 1849 expeditions to San Francisco. It is possible he was with Amasa Lyman and Porter Rockwell, who left SLC in April 1849 and took the northern route. According to Family Search, two additional unnamed children were born and died between 1848-50. Montgomery was in the gold fields in 1850 where the family is found in 1850 census records in both Sacramento and Mariposa, California. They arrived in San Bernardino by the 1852 Census and owned property there where Mary gave birth to additional children. They moved back to Utah by 1860, likely heeding Brigham Young's call to return in 1857, but were back in San Bernardino by the 1870 and 1880 censuses. The youngest son, Charles, became owner of the Mesa Del Oro Mine. Montgomery's obituary noted he was involved in rural avocations near San Bernardino until his death in 1895, just one year prior to Mary's death in 1896. Montgomery's obituary also noted Elder Gibson of the Latter Day Saints Church conducted the religious services at the home and cemetery and John Brown Jr, officiated for the Pioneer Society by reading a tribute for the burial.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: LHKM-1Y9

Military and Church records, Pension, Thomas Bullock roster, census records, Montgomery's obituary
Family histories



Susannah Moses Davis (22)

Stepchild: Daniel C. Jr (4)

Spouse: Captain Daniel C Davis, Co. E
Parents: William and Ruth Stoddard Moses
Birth: 16 February 1824, Hopington, St Lawrence, New York
Died: 30 May 1895, Muscatine, Iowa

Not much is known about Susan's childhood. She was living with Daniel Davis and caring for his sickly wife where Daniel ran a ferry between Keokuk and Nauvoo. When his first wife died sometime before 1844, Susan became a mother to Daniel's four living children and after marrying Daniel, gave birth to two children who did not live.



When Daniel enlisted and became a captain of Company E, Daniel and Susan left three of Daniel's children behind with the two younger ones being taken care of by his oldest married daughter. According to James V William's autobiography, Captain Davis joined the company at Mosquito Creek as they left Council Bluffs. *"as he had not as yet arrived with us. But on the 21st, he and his wife and his son, not hers, came rolling into camp with Elisha Smith as his teamster and Smith's wife also."* Daniel's youngest son accompanied them and was the only child to reach California aside from several young officer servants. Several men recorded the story of Lt Colonel Cooke demanding use of Susan's washtub to keep the quicksand out of a water hole. Holes were placed in the bottom of the tub so water could seep through. When that didn't work, the entire bottom of the tub was knocked out and placed in the well. Unfortunately, the plan failed and Susan was without a washtub. It is uncertain if Susan was an original laundress since she left Council Bluffs late, but Cooke assumed all the women arriving at Santa Fe were laundresses.

A pension disability application for James Williams recounts the care Susan provided him when he was hurt. *"....That Williams head, face, and neck was badly swollen. Mrs. Davis, his Captain's wife, had a place prepared in the Captain's private wagon and placed Williams therein and she being a good doctor took charge of him and treated him until able to perform duty again."* Daniel Jr was five when he arrived in California and the youngest person to complete the march. One of the few journal entries about him occurred the week before discharge in Los Angeles. As part of a Catholic festival on July 11-12 with music and bullfighting, a bull broke out of an enclosure during a bull fight, caught the boy with its horns and tossed him about twenty feet in the air – thankfully leaving him only bruised and scared.

Captain Davis was a major voice in an effort to reenlist the men for another year. After discharge in July 1847, Daniel reenlisted and served as the Captain of the 82 member Mormon Volunteers Company A, stationed at San Diego until March of 1848. Some of them traveled as part of the Henry G Boyle Company, with Orin Porter Rockwell and James Shaw guiding them along a new trail to Salt Lake that became the I-15 corridor. After arriving in Utah, they settled in Farmington for a few years. Daniel died on a return trip back East in 1850, with most of his children returning to the Great Basin. Susan continued east and it appears that Daniel's oldest daughter remained in Iowa for a number of years. The rest of Daniel's children settled in Utah and Idaho, including Daniel C., Jr. Davis County was named in honor of Captain Davis and the Davis family. Remaining in Iowa, Susan remarried but her widow's pension record indicates her second husband abandoned her. She married a third time and resided in Iowa for the rest of her life.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: LKVY-5DS
Military Records, Journals, Pension records

Sarah Blackman Higgins (40)

Children: Almira (16 - married on march), Druzilla (12), Heber Kimball (6), Carlos Smith (4), Wealthea (birth at Pueblo) Nelson Daniel (10), officer servant Alfred (14) soldier

Spouse: Captain Nelson Higgins, Co. D
Parents: Josiah and Tryphenia Smith Blackman Higgins
Birth: 5 April 1806, Columbus, Chenango, New York
Died: 14 August 1864, Moroni, Utah



Sarah was the youngest of ten children. Her family moved to Ohio when she was about 10 years old, losing her mother three years later. Four years after her marriage to Nelson Higgins in 1826, the family joined the Church and experienced the early persecutions in Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri, losing two children during that time period. Fleeing Nauvoo with six living children, Nelson enlisted in the Mormon Battalion at Council Bluffs as Captain of Company D. His fourteen year old son Alfred also enlisted but likely started as an officer servant before becoming a soldier at Fort Leavenworth. Originally leaving his wife and five living children behind, he returned to retrieve his family along with others three days later. Per order of Captain Allen, military records noted Captain Nelson was on furlough since July 24.

An Aug 7, George Dykes wrote a letter to his wife and stated: *“Many families will come to day into the fort but[ink blot] c no consolation to me to see another mans family Capt Higgins went back from Keg creek & got these families & his own.”*

Sarah's son Nelson Daniel became an officer servant to his father, likely acting as a family teamster. Sarah became pregnant sometime after leaving Fort Leavenworth. They were detached from the main command in September in what was known as the Higgins detachment. Lt Smith sent a group of families to Pueblo with nine women and a large number of children from Companies A and D, soldiers who were assigned as escorts, and several officer aides/teamsters. Her oldest daughter Almira married John Chase in Pueblo, a soldier who traveled there with the Brown detachment. Pregnant during her stay in Pueblo, Sarah gave birth to a baby girl named Wealthea in May of 1847, just a few weeks prior to leaving Pueblo for the trek to the Salt Lake Valley. Arriving in Utah on July 29, 1847, the family was sent two years later to settle Sanpete County with about fifty other families where the men walked through the canyon, clearing boulders from the path of the wagons. Dugouts were built in the hillside for shelter, killing snakes at night before making their beds. Two year old Wealthy died in 1849. Sarah gave birth to her 10th and last child in 1852. She died 12 years later at age 59. Although her remains are buried under a road according to family members, a memorial was placed at the Monroe Cemetery where her husband was buried near another wife.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KWVM-P2Q

Military, Church and Family records, Cemetery record, Thomas Bullock roster, Census, George P Dykes letter

Celia Mounts Hunt (40)

Children: Jane (14), John (13), Harriett (11), Joseph (9), Hyrum (4),
Mary (1), Parley (1)
Gilbert (21), Marshall (17) Soldiers

Spouse: Captain Jefferson Hunt, Co. A

Parents: Mattias and Mary Montgomery Mounts

Birth: 19 September 1805, Lincoln Co, Kentucky

Death: 29 January 1897, San Bernardino, California



Celia met her husband, Jefferson Hunt, at a religious revival, marrying in 1823. The family joined the Church in 1835, sold their farm, and moved to Missouri, eventually arriving near Nauvoo in 1839. The Nease family were neighbors, and when both parents died, three of their children were invited to live with them. Celia suggested her husband take 18 year-old Matilda as a plural wife before leaving Nauvoo and Matilda's two youngest siblings became his adopted children. Being well organized, the large family were some of the first to reach Council Bluffs. However their oldest daughter initially stayed in Nauvoo and married. Jefferson and his two sons enlisted in Company A. The Brigham Young return (Church roster) suggests the family was not originally planning to accompany Jefferson who was appointed Captain of Company A by Brigham Young. Jefferson left his family, including Matilda and her two younger siblings, in the care of his nephew, Milton Kelley. When word came the family could accompany the Battalion, the family joined them at Fort Leavenworth along with Jefferson's plural wife and an older couple John and Jane Bosco. Likely driving the wagon for Celia, Milton and his brother Nicholas with their wives, arrived at Fort Leavenworth on August 7. Milton became Hunt's officer servant and Nicholas enlisted as a soldier.

Sgt Tyler records the following experience: "*A terrible storm came up which upset many of the wagons and buggies. There were many sick in our camp, amongst them Celia Hunt, wife of Captain Jefferson Hunt, and her twin babies, who had taken with chills and fever before they left Fort Leavenworth. They all were very ill. The matron lady happened to be in her wagon while her husband held the infants in the tent which had blown down. With much difficulty Captain Hunt kept the little ones from drowning. As everything was wet, they were forced to sleep in the wet clothes. Strange to say, with all the exposure, neither the good lady nor her "dear angels" as she termed her babies, had anymore chills and fever.*" (Tyler, 140) Celia and her children were detached to Pueblo with a number of families with the Higgins detachment accompanied by her son Gilbert and Hunt's nephew/officer servant, Milton Kelley. Matilda and her young siblings joined them later with the Brown detachment. At Pueblo, women cared for the sick and the many children with them. Caring for 17 year old musician, Joseph Richards, Celia often comforted him and took nourishment to him as he grew weaker, giving him his last food a few hours before his death in mid-November. It is quite possible, Celia helped care for her husband's teamster, Milton Kelly who died about the same time and provided support for his widow who gave birth in February. On January 1, Celia lost her one year old twin son, Parley. On a happy note, Celia's son Gilbert married one of the Mississippi Saints, Lydia Gibson, in April 1847. Arriving with the detachments in the Great Basin in July 1847, Celia and her family occupied one of the first adobe houses built in the Old Fort in Salt Lake and then moved to Fort Utah in Provo. Following her husband, Celia resided in various locations including San Bernardino and Ogden and cared for Matilda's children after she died during childbirth. Living with her adult children through her later life, she died at age 91 in San Bernardino in the home of her daughter Jane.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KWV9-K8L
Military, Church and Family records, autobiographies, Thomas Bullock roster, pension

Matilda Jane Nease Hunt (18)

Children: Peter (12, child sibling), Ellen (10, child sibling)

Spouse: Captain Jefferson Hunt, Co. A

Parents: Peter and Ellen Martin Nease

Birth: 1 January 1828, Butler, Pennsylvania

Death: 22 October 1865, Millville, Cache, Utah

Matilda was one of eight children, three of whom died before her family joined the Church in 1843. They moved near Nauvoo and were neighbors of the Jefferson Hunt family when her parents died in 1845. Matilda and her two youngest siblings moved in with the Hunt family while two of Matilda's sisters married in the next two years. Matilda married Jefferson Hunt as a polygamous wife just prior to leaving Nauvoo and he "adopted" her younger siblings.



As the Hunt family crossed the Mississippi, Matilda was accompanied by an elderly couple, Jane and John Bosco. Possibly, they were friends or relatives of Matilda's parents but there is no verification of that relationship. Matilda is listed in a "count" on the Brigham Young return (Church roster) for Jefferson and his family with Celia as his wife. The roster suggests the family was not originally planning to accompany Jefferson, being left in care of his nephew Milton Kelley. However, upon receiving word from Captain Allen that families could come if they were equipped, a group of family members including 5 women, 11 children, and 4 men traveled together, arriving at Fort Leavenworth about August 7. Two of the men were brothers and nephews of Jefferson – one became an officer servant to Jefferson and the other was added to the muster roll as a soldier in late August. The older couple accompanied Matilda and her siblings and John likely drove their wagon, but the couple died soon after leaving Fort Leavenworth. Matilda and her siblings continued with the command until Santa Fe where most of the remaining women and children were sent to Pueblo. A total of 20 women were sent with the Brown detachment and all 20 were designated as laundresses by Colonel Cooke including Matilda who joined Jefferson's first wife, Celia and her family in Pueblo.

After arriving in the Salt Lake Valley with the detachments in July 1847, Matilda lived in the Old Fort where the family greeted Jefferson as he arrived from California in October. She gave birth to her first baby the following August of 1848 in a tent set beside Celia's adobe cabin. In 1849, Jefferson and his family were sent to settle Provo and then traveled to California to help establish San Bernardino. Upon returning, the family settled in Ogden where Jefferson's first wife, Celia, remained and Matilda moved with Jefferson to an area called Hunt's Fort, later named Huntsville and finally, to a location near Idaho named Millville. Matilda gave birth to 10 children, dying shortly after giving birth to twins, one of whom died shortly after birth. Matilda and her child were buried together. Celia helped raise Matilda's children. These children said of Celia, "*If ever there was an angel on earth it was Aunt Celia.*"

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KWJC-VSV

Journals, Military, Church, and Family records, Obituary, Thomas Bullock Roster

Lydia Ann Edmonds Hunter (22)

Child: Diego (birth at San Diego)
William Hunter (15), soldier/musician (step-son)

Spouse: Captain Jesse Devine Hunter, Co. B
Parents: Joel and Eliza Brown Edmonds
Birth: 28 January 1824, Hanover, Chautauqua, New York
Death: 26 April 1847, San Diego, California

Little is known of Lydia's childhood. At the age of 22 she was living in Nauvoo where she became a polygamist wife of Jesse Hunter in February 1846. Due to the expulsion of the Church, Jesse moved his families to Iowa where he enlisted in the Mormon Battalion. Assigned by Brigham Young as the captain of Company B, Jesse brought his second wife, leaving his first wife and four children behind. Likely his son William came with him as an officer servant until he was added to the rolls as a musician. Lydia was a laundress, one of four women in Company B. Based on the birth date of Lydia's son the following spring, Lydia was likely pregnant from the very beginning of the Battalion's trek across the country. As they arrived in Sante Fe, Col Cooke ordered all remaining women whom he described as "laundresses" to travel to Pueblo where another detachment with families was located. But several officers approached Col Cooke who agreed to allow wives of two captains and three sergeants to continue, including Lydia. There was one other woman with the company who provided friendship. Sergeant William Coray noted in his journal that his wife, Melissa, was often allowed to ride with Lydia in their wagon, singing along the way. When they arrived in California, Company B was assigned to San Diego where Lydia spent the remaining months of her pregnancy. A local midwife provided care for the birth of Lydia's son, who was given the name of Diego. Lydia was the first American woman to give birth to a child in San Diego. But soon after Diego's birth, Lydia became ill and died one week later at age 23. Soldiers mourned her loss. The military doctor John Griffin provided an unsettling description of her death.

27 April. Last night the wife of Captain Hunter died of Typhoid fever or rather I think a malignant form of Quotidian fever. The attack was issued [ushered] in with severe rigors, some six days ago with great difficulty of breathing and oppression, followed by high fever. About 11 A M each day the same attack came with cramps & irregular nervous twitchings, serous diarrhoea, mind affected, purgative of Calomel, Massa ex Hyd &c given until slight ptyalism produced, her breasts became inflamed, and before death suppurated. The nervous twitchings were stopped by the use of small doses of morphia & Assafoetida. The chill checked by Quinine, her brain became very much excited Delirium for two days previous to death and deafness. She finally died last night about 1 o P M in great pain.

Various locations have been suggested for her original burial location but her remains were moved to Point Loma where a headstone was erected at the Fort Rosecrans Cemetery. Without a mother to care for the baby, Jesse gave Diego to the local midwife, Juana (or Juanita) Machado Wrightington, who helped with the delivery and raised him at least through his early years. Diego was found in two census records with his adopted mother, the last one in 1860, but his death date and location is uncertain. One record suggests he died in San Luis Rey but no death records have been found there. Other research suggests he moved to Los Angeles near his father and married there using the name of James Hunter, an English equivalent.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: LC3F-X6P
Military records, Journals, Church records, Census records



Fanny Maria Allen Huntington (35)

Children: Martha Zina (2), Betsey Prescindia (birth/death at Pueblo)

Clark (15), Lot (12) - officer servants

Spouse: Dimick Huntington, private, Co. D

Parents: Clark and Martha Thompson Allen

Birth: 26 October 1810, Lorraine, Jefferson, New York

Death: 14 December 1893, Pleasant Green, Salt Lake, Utah



Married in 1830, Fanny and Dimick joined the Church in 1836, leaving affluent circumstances in New York to join the Saints in Kirkland, Ohio and eventually Nauvoo. Two of their children died before leaving Nauvoo. Camped at Mt Pisgah, Fanny was about 6 months pregnant. Fanny did not originally plan to accompany

Dimick as he described their initial separation in the 1855 reunion "*I feel to say everyone will have as hard a time of trial as any of these my brethren had when we shook hands with our wives and bid farewell. I and my wife never saw a darker day; she said to me, Dimick, I fear I shall never see you again. I laid my hands on her head and blessed her in the name of the Lord, and told her we would live to see each other again, and spend many happy years together.*"

But those plans changed as Dimick recorded: "*Arrived at Pisgah about 10 of June plowed and put in 2 acres of corn...sold out for a cow & started about the 1st of July for Council Bluffs arrived 10 of July, 15 enlisted for one year...arrived at Fort Levensworth in August 2....my family came to me at the Fort.*"

This correlates with other documents that suggest Lt Col Allen sent word back three days after they left Council Bluffs that families could accompany the Battalion if they had sufficient provisions. Fanny apparently accepted that offer and followed not too far behind the Battalion, likely traveling with other families who did the same, arriving sometime in early August. In September, the family was sent with the Higgins detachment comprised of mostly larger families. Fanny gave birth in October shortly after arriving in Pueblo with two Indian women attending to her delivery. The baby died a few weeks later in early November. Fanny described the birth in a final testimony written in her own handwriting later in her life.

"Long and many sad tails could be told of this journey to Pueblo. At this place I had a lovely daughter after five days sickness. By the power of God and two old squaws the babe lived nineteen days and now rests among strangers."

Some accounts suggest the baby was buried in January with Parley Hunt, Jefferson and Celia Hunt's 18 month-old twin but this is unlikely. It is possible that Parley was buried next to or in the same grave. According to family stories, the Indian women helped nurse Fanny back to health.

After arriving in Salt Lake with her family and the detachments, she lived in Old Fort where another child was born in April of 1848. Soon after, they were sent to help settle Provo. Returning to the Salt Lake Valley for the remainder of her life, she likely helped feed and entertain Native American Indians who Dimick became closely involved with as an interpreter. She died at age 84.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: LKVF-BKD

Military, Church, and Family records, Journals, Thomas Bullock roster, Daniel Tyler Concise History, Original testimony originally in possession of John Hancock, son-in-law, Cyrena Merrill autobiography, Life & Times of Dimick Baker Huntington 1808-1879, By Ron Freeman (DB Huntington autobiography)

Sarah Price (Pierce) Brigman Bathrick Kelley (26)

Children: Parley Bathrick (8), Betsy Bathrick (1)

Spouse: Nicholas Kelley, Private, Co. A

Parents: James and Jermana Price

Birth: 1820, Virginia

Death: 30 December 1903, Vienna, Missouri



Not much is known of Sarah's childhood. She moved to Illinois and married Isaac Brigman at age 14. Isaac died a year after marriage and she married Almon Bathrick in 1836. They had three children although one source suggests the oldest child was from Almon's previous marriage.

Sarah and Almon are documented in Nauvoo by 1839 where she performed a proxy baptism for her previous spouse. They are listed in the Nauvoo Stake Ward census in 1842 with two sons Parley and Lamon Sidney, both under age 8. A daughter was born in 1845, the same year both Sarah's husband Almon and child Lamon Sidney died, likely from a cholera epidemic.

Sarah married Nicholas Kelley sometime in 1846 as he left Nauvoo with the Saints. In a colorful widow's pension deposition, a story described how Nicholas was married previously and left his first wife before marrying Sarah. The first wife declared if anyone got the widow's pension, it should be her. Military rosters suggest Nicholas did not leave with the Mormon Battalion at Council Bluffs. Nicholas and Sarah and two children arrived at Fort Leavenworth on August 7 with his brother Milton who was responsible for the large Hunt entourage. Nicholas and Milton were nephews of Captain Hunt. Nicholas was added by Lt Smith on August 30, 1846 as a late enlister when Smith noted that two men were equipped with supplies from Fort Leavenworth.

The family was part of the Higgins Detachment, spending the winter in Pueblo, and arriving in Salt Lake in July 1847. The Thomas Bullock roster identifies Parley (age 9) and Betsy (2) with them. Betsy died sometime after arriving in Salt Lake but no death record has been found.

Family records indicate Sarah, Nicholas, and Parley left the Great Basin by April 1849 for the gold fields in Nevada and California. They eventually settled in El Dorado, California by the 1850 census where two children were born in 1850 and 1852. Sometime by 1860 they went their separate ways, both returning east and the children following Sarah. Nicholas married again in Illinois in 1869 and had 8 children, eventually settling in Idaho. According to Shirley Maynes book, if accurate (several people have the same name), Sarah had at least two additional marriages and possibly four with two possible divorces. Two sons died in tragic situations. Sarah's daughter Isabella, known as Belle, was left with three young children when her husband died in 1874. When Isabella died in 1879, Sarah raised her three grandchildren. She was living with a grandson in the 1900 census. She died in Missouri in 1903 at the age of 83. She with her children and her last two husbands were buried in a private cemetery on her farm in Missouri.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: 96XN-W88

Military and Church records, Thomas Bullock roster, Census, Widows' pension application

Family research by direct descendant, Shirley Maynes Book (some errors)

Mary Elizabeth (Eliza) Clark Luddington (21)

Child: Angeline (7 months)

Spouse: Elam Luddington, Lieutenant, Co. B

Parents: Sandford and Jane Tibbets Clark

Birth: 24 July 1824, Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio

Death: unknown, after 1851



Little is known of Mary's childhood except that her mother was widowed twice. They both joined the Church sometime in the 1830s. A church record and family records document their visit to the Prophet Joseph Smith at Liberty Jail in Clay Co., Missouri in 1839. A story likely shared orally with Angeline by Mary's mother Jane, noted the Prophet commented, "*They look like two angels sent from the presence of God.*" They passed cakes and pies through the barred windows to the prisoners. She and her mother are on the 1840 census record in Ohio.

Mary married Elam Luddington in 1841 and resided in Nauvoo where their first child was born in 1842. They lived in New Orleans for a short time where their second child was born. Both of these children died in Nauvoo in 1845, the same year Mary gave birth to her third child, Angeline.

After leaving Nauvoo, Elam Luddington joined the Mormon Battalion and Mary, their daughter and Mary's mother were allowed to accompany him. Mary served as a laundress. On August 4, Samuel Rogers recorded: "*Sister Luddington commenced washing for me at 50 cents per month.*"

When the Battalion reached Santa Fe, Elam and his family were sent to Pueblo with the Brown detachment. After wintering in Pueblo, they followed behind Brigham Young's vanguard company, arriving in the Salt Lake Valley on July 29, 1847. Her daughter was shown as age one as they entered the Salt lake Valley. Mary was pregnant during this journey, giving birth to her fourth child in October 1847. The child died the following August.

In the fall of 1848, Elam took his family back east to get their belongings. Storms forced them to winter in St. Joseph, Missouri where Mary gave birth to her last child. Elam wrote "*My wife and children started back to Cincinnati, Ohio, [to visit family] and I took a steamer to Council Bluffs.*" Mary and her mother Jane were visiting Jane's sister, Sarah Noe. Sarah sent a letter to Brigham Young in July 1849, explaining Elam Luddington's family was well and asking Elam to write to them, noting cholera was raging in the community. Elam had returned to Utah and married another wife in December 1849. Mary and her last child died during this time period but there are no documents to identify dates and locations. Her mother Jane assumed care of Mary's daughter, Angeline, bringing her back to the Great Basin in 1852 with the James McGaw Company and settled in Pleasant Grove, Utah

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: K24C-FHP

Military and Church records, Autobiography of Elam Luddington, Thomas Bullock roster

History of the Church, Part 1, Vol. 3, pg 257 (see Jane Blevin and Liberty Jail)

Families of the Mormon Battalion, Gaylen and Shirley Maynes, 2009

Correspondence to Brigham Young, July 1849, Sarah Noe

Martha Jane Sargent Sharp Mowrey (18)

Child: Caroline Sargent (10, sibling), Sarah Ellen (birth at Pueblo)

Spouse: Norman Sharp, Private, Co. D

Parents: Abel and Sarah Edwards Sargent

Birth: 24 September 1827, Floyd, Indiana

Death: 20 December 1920, Vernal, Utah



Martha wrote "*I was in all the Missouri mobbings in my youth. My mother died in consequence of the hardships my father was in the crooked river battle when David Patten was shot.*" They fled to the home of Martha's mother in Indiana where

Martha's mother died, leaving Martha to care for her siblings. Three years later the family gathered with the Saints in Nauvoo where Martha married Norman Sharp in 1845.

When her husband and father joined the Mormon Battalion, Martha accompanied them at age 18, bringing along her youngest sister, Caroline. Several teenage siblings were left behind in the care of others. This decision required some last minute arrangements because they arrived late at Fort Leavenworth and Norman's enlistment is not formally recorded on rolls until August 30. Martha was in the last few months of her pregnancy when they joined the first detachment to Pueblo led by Captain Higgins. While taking his gun from the wagon, it accidentally discharged and Norman's shoulder was shattered. He was sent back a few miles by ox team and wagon driven by soldier Thomas Woolsey to a friendly Indian settlement accompanied by Martha and her sister Caroline. A family story noted they could only converse by signs. The medicine man was friendly, but gangrene set in and Norman died several days later. According to Nelson Higgin's account, Woolsey "*dug a hole, wrapped him in a blanket and buried him.*" Then they caught up with the company. Martha gave birth to a baby girl in November 1846 in Pueblo. A relationship developed with Harley Mowrey, another soldier in the Higgins detachment. They were married on July 4 at Independence Rock on the trail to the Salt Lake Valley. Abner Blackburn wrote: "*Their was a couple of young folks in the company spooning and licking each others ears ever since we started on the road. The whole company weare tired of it, and they weare persuaded to marry now, and have done with it and not wait until their journeys end. The next evening we had a wedding and a reglar minister to unite them. And after come the supper with the best the plains could furnish. Then came the dance or howe down. The banjo and the violin made us forget the hardships of the plains.*" Martha's father returned to Iowa and was with his 13-year-old son traveling back to Salt Lake when they both died along the trail in 1850.

Martha often related to her family that during the early days and while living in the Old Fort, she was compelled to listen helplessly to the cries of her family for food. The only thing she could offer them were roots and bulbs dug up from the earth. For several months her family did not taste of bread due to the lack of flour. She gave birth to two children before leaving for California where two more children were born. They resided in San Bernardino until 1856 and returned to Utah. She gave birth to a total of 11 children. The family lived in Beaver and Centerville Utah, Idaho, and eventually Vernal Utah. When their home was partly destroyed by fire, they found refuge in the home of their daughter. Martha's attempt to apply for both bounty land and widow's pension was met with difficulty to prove Norman's enlistment and death, and then trying to apply as Harley's widow. Dying at age 93 and just two months to the day after Harley died, Martha lived longer than any other woman with the Mormon Battalion. Martha's daughter Sarah Ellen was the last living person who was with the Battalion and died in 1937.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KWJZ-XNN

Journals, Military records, Thomas Bullock roster, Obituary, Pioneer 1897 Jubilee Entry

Elizabeth Fraim Mayfield Shelton (40)

Children: Sarah Mayfield (11), Elizabeth's 1st marriage
Emily (15), Marion J Shelton (12), Sebert's 1st marriage
Abraham (5), Thomas (4), Mary E. (1), their marriage
John Mayfield (14, officer servant)
Andrew Jackson Mayfield (18, adult son/family teamster)
Benjamin Mayfield (20, soldier)

Spouse: Sebert Crutcher Shelton, Sergeant, Co A and D
Parents: John and Sarah Wallace Fraim
Birth: 6 January 1806, Jackson, Tennessee
Death: 9 April 1872, Sonoma, California



Little is known of Elizabeth's childhood or when she joined the church. She married Alexander Jackson Mayfield about 1825-26 and five children were born. After his death in 1835, she married Sebert Crutcher Shelton in 1839 in Illinois. His wife had also died in 1835 leaving him to raise two children. Elizabeth and Sebert had three children together, eventually residing in Hancock, Illinois. Before leaving with the Saints as part of the great exodus in February 1846, one of Elizabeth's children from her first marriage died. When the call came for men to join the Battalion, Elizabeth's son from her first marriage, Benjamin, enlisted and her son John served an unnamed officer noted as an "acting commander" in a journal entry. Sebert was originally in Company A. He then was appointed as Quartermaster Sergeant for the command. He was later formally reassigned to Company D. Based on the Brigham Young Return (church roster), Elizabeth and seven other family members planned to stay behind "to go on" and travel with Brigham Young the following year. It is likely 18-year-old Andrew was staying behind to take care of his mother and siblings. But based on a memoir of Sarah Jane Brown, a few days after the Battalion left, Lt Col Allen suggested families could join the battalion if they were equipped to travel and the Brown and Shelton families traveled together to Fort Leavenworth. Andrew was likely driving the wagon as a family teamster. At age 40, Elizabeth was one of the oldest women traveling with the Battalion along with all nine children from their blended marriage. All but Elizabeth's son, Benjamin, became part of the Higgins detachment sent to Pueblo at the Arkansas River which consisted of larger families in Company D. Family records note the children attended school at Pueblo and the family enjoyed the friendship of the camp. Benjamin continued to California and reenlisted with the Mormon Volunteers and remained in California. Elizabeth and her family arrived in the Salt Lake Valley with the detachments on July 29, 1847. Struggling to survive, Sebert and several other men wrote a petition to the Stake High Council asking for help. A few months later, Captain Brown arrived back from California with the soldier's pay, providing some help to buy supplies for the family. Some of the soldiers contributed part of the pay to purchase the Miles Goodyear Ranch in Fort Buena Venture (now Ogden) and soldiers, including the Sheltons, were allowed to settle without purchasing the land. Her sons John and Andrew left for California to join their brother Benjamin. In November 1849 she wrote them "*Crops have come in exceedingly well throughout the valley we have raised an abundance of every thing for our comfort it is very healthy here...Mr Shelton his health is very poor he has not been able to do any thing since in June he has a very bad cough.* She and Shelton left for California with Elisabeth's daughter Sarah and their three youngest children where they appeared on a census record in 1850 with their sons in El Dorado County. Elizabeth became a widow in 1859 and was living with her son Abraham by the 1870 Census. Most of the family resided in California. John Mayfield married Captain Jefferson Hunt's daughter, Harriett. Elizabeth died in 1872, at age 66 in California.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: LC3R-QS4
Military and Church records, Thomas Bullock Roster, Family histories, Census

Catherine Campbell Steele (29)

Child: Mary (5)

Spouse: John Steele, Private, Co. D

Parents: Michael and Mary Knox Campbell

Birth: 16 November 1816, Strabane, County Tyrone, Ireland

Death: 15 June 1891, Toquerville, Utah



Catherine married John Steele in 1840 in Ireland and moved to Scotland where three children were born. Joining the Church in 1843, they sailed to America in 1845 and joined the Saints in Nauvoo. John wrote: *"I went to work put up some sheets made a tent ... fixed My wife and Children So that the falling rain would not drownd them for it was raining fast then I went to look for More Comfortable Shelter Soon found a large frame house ...one mile from the Temple."* Two of Catherine's children died in December 1845. After leaving Nauvoo, Catherine and her daughter Mary joined John as camp followers and Catherine served as a laundress as documented on a detachment payroll. According to John's journal, while on the way to Fort Leavenworth, the family took ill with ague and fever. Lt Col. Allen was very kind to them, and others who were ill, and had the army doctor wait upon them.

John wrote: *"We went through a great forest of cedar wood and came to the town of San Miguel, where ladies were on top of the houses and then they saw that I had women in my wagon, they hastened down and sent their old father to invite us in. Then, when my wife and daughter got out of the wagon, there was such a hugging as I had never seen before ... We didn't stay there long as I discovered, sulking around the corrals, a great number of men were there and as my team was the last and I was alone, I must hasten on. It was well I did as I was told they were planning to steal my little girl, Mary."*

Arriving in Santa Fe, John was instrumental in securing orders for the men to accompany their wives to Pueblo in the Brown detachment which was comprised of almost all remaining women. Arriving in Pueblo, Catherine and the others were blessed with a house and other buildings. John wrote *"We got our house built by the 1st of December and by Thursday, 24, we were all into our houses and felt somewhat comfortable."* According to John, the men built a blacksmith shop, a large corral to house their animals, and a building for church meetings and socials. On the final payroll for the detachments, a payment to Catherine is recorded, likely for work as a laundress. Leaving Pueblo and six months pregnant, Catherine and her family arrived in Salt Lake on July 29, 1847 with the detachments and Mississippi Saints. Catherine gave birth to a baby girl two weeks after arriving, the first white child born in the valley.

John soon created an adobe house with a chimney on top, reportedly the first in the valley. Catherine gave birth to a son in 1849 before the family was called to help settle Parowan, Utah. She gave birth to four more children in Parowan for a total of nine children, six of whom lived to adulthood. The family then moved to Kanarraville and eventually Toquerville for the last several decades of her life where Catherine died in 1891. She was buried in Parowan, reportedly per her request, where her first and last children were buried. There are sixteen women's portraits gracing the four piers at the two main entrances to the Salt Lake City and County Building. Catherine's likeness is found on the building's east facade, north pier facing south.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: LHPS-JSS

Church and Military records, Thomas Bullock roster, Family records, John Steele Journal, Grave/Obituary

Albina Marion Merrill Williams (19)

Children: Caroline Marion (3), Ephraim (1), Pheobe Isabell (birth/Pueblo)

Spouse: Thomas Williams, Sergeant, Co. D

Parents: Samuel and Phoebe Odell Merrill

Birth: 25 July 1826, Byron, Genesee, New York

Death: 28 November 1914, Pocatello, Idaho

Albina's parents moved from New York to Michigan, and then Illinois where they were baptized in 1839. They were part of the exodus of the Saints to Iowa. The Merrill family had a number of individuals in the Mormon Battalion effort. Albina's brother, Philemon, and nephew, Ferdinand, both enlisted along with Albina's brother-in-law Philander Colton whose son ran away to join the unit and became an officer's servant.

At the 1855 reunion, Thomas shared: "*I started as a private soldier, and when we raised the liberty pole I had but a yoke of oxen and an old wagon. My wife and children I left with only about five days' provisions, and not having the least idea where they would get the next. The day following I ascertained that Brother Higgins was going to fetch his wife and family. I, therefore, determined that if I could raise means any way I would take my wife with me, and I made up my mind to do it if I had to tramp all the way and carry my knapsack. I was there a private soldier, without a dime in the world, but the blessings of prosperity and peace had been pronounced upon the Mormon Battalion, and I, of course, knew that it was right for me to take care of my family, and hence I determined to take them with me. I am proud to say, that I have my wife and daughters and sons here this evening.*" Albina's younger sister was married the day they left, based on Phebe's account later in life. Their brother's wife, Cyrena, came along too, but was sent back by her husband when they arrived at Fort Leavenworth in early August.

Leaving Fort Leavenworth, Albina, who was pregnant, and her two young children and her sister Phebe rode in their private wagon which was also used to carry some of the sick men and to haul the soldier's knapsacks. According to Daniel Tyler's written history for the Church, this situation caused a confrontation between Thomas and Lt Smith who intended to drag the sick men out of the wagon. The story suggests Thomas stood his ground.

Albina and Phebe and their spouses arrived in Santa Fe and were sent to Pueblo with the Brown detachment. Not one of the original 20 laundresses, Albina became a laundress as Colonel Cooke's orders provided that all 20 women accompanying the detachment serve as such and receive rations. Albina gave birth to a daughter in January 1847. In May 1847, the detachments and Mississippi Saints left their isolated little colony and commenced their journey for the Salt Lake Valley. Thomas and a group of men were sent ahead when they heard that Brigham Young and his Vanguard Company were not too far ahead of the detachments, catching up with them on July 4. John Steele notes that Thomas and a few members from his party entered the Salt Lake Valley and immediately began to implement the irrigation techniques they had learned in New Mexico. Living in Salt Lake, Albina's husband and brother-in-law started a successful freighting business. On a trip to California in March 1860, he was shot with an arrow by Indians and died one month later in San Bernardino, California. Albina gave birth to her 13th child later that year according to Family Search. She never remarried and eventually moved in with her son where she died in Idaho at the age of 88.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KWJD-NYX

Military, Church, and Family records, Thomas Bullock Roster, John Steele Journal, Tyler/1855 Reunion



Women traveling with soldier only

**Most are documented or likely laundresses.
Nearly all in Brown detachment.
Some were pregnant.**

Ruth Markham Abbott (35)

Spouse: Joshua Chandler Abbott, Private, Co. D
Parents: James and Lois Leach Markham
Birth: 20 December 1810, Salina, Onondaga County, New York
Death: 13 September 1888, Annabella, Sevier, Utah

Ruth was one of 10 children. Her mother died when she was four and her father died when she was ten. It is unclear who she lived with, but likely older married siblings. Ruth married in 1843 in New York where one child was born and then moved to Ohio where two more children were born and died near the time Joshua and Ruth joined the Church. Moving to Illinois and then traveling with the Saints to Council Bluff, their oldest and only living daughter, Ellen, was left behind with Ruth's sister Betsey and her husband who brought Ellen to the Salt Lake Valley. Ruth was 35 when she left Council Bluffs, one of the older women with the Battalion.

In her widow's pension application, Ruth declared she was a laundress and nurse and drew her rations from the government the entire time of said service.

Joshua and Ruth traveled with the Brown detachment leaving from Santa Fe to Pueblo in October 1847 where Joshua reported he wounded his hand with a bullet (pension file). They arrived in the Salt Lake Valley with the three detachments on July 29, 1847.

Ruth gave birth to their last daughter in December 1848 in the Salt Lake Valley. According to the pension, her husband left for California in the spring of 1849 and never returned. She presumed he was dead. She then became a polygamous wife of her sister's husband, Elias Gardner, who had a number of wives and a large posterity.

Ruth lived in Payson, Richfield, and Salem, Utah. She helped with the work and raising of the Gardner family as a mother, nurse, and midwife. She died in 1888 at age 77.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KWV7-ZXQ
Military and Church records, Pension application



Susannah (Susan) Smith Adams (27)

Spouse: Orson Bennett Adams, Sergeant, Co. C
Parents: Anthony and Sarah Mahurin Smith (stepfather Priddy Meeks)
Birth: 30 May 1819, Grayson, Carter, Kentucky
Death: 23 January 1892, Washington, Utah Territory

Susan's father died just before her birth and her mother remarried and gave birth to 5 additional children. In 1833 the family moved from Indiana to Illinois where Sarah met and married Orson Adams in 1836 in Morgan, Illinois. They joined the Church in 1840 and gathered with the saints in Nauvoo. Sarah's first two children died at birth. While in Nauvoo in 1844, they adopted a son whose mother had died a few weeks after childbirth.

Leaving Nauvoo, Susan stayed back to sell their property while Orson went ahead with the advanced company, eventually returning to get Sarah and their two-year-old son John. When Orson enlisted, Sarah accompanied him and appeared on a company payroll that showed Susan being paid \$1 by a soldier. Their young son John was left with Susan's parents. Her role as a laundress was acknowledged in a pension deposition of Augustus Dodge, describing an incident between Fort Leavenworth and Santa Fe. She apparently was riding with a baggage wagon. Augustus noted he was having fever and chills and was ordered by Captain Brown to get into the baggage wagon where other sick men were riding. As he handed the gun to Mrs. Susan Adams, wife of orderly sergeant Orson Adams, he started to climb into the wagon and the "*mules suddenly started with fright....*" She also likely used nursing skills she observed as a child of her stepfather who was a doctor.

She was one of twenty women sent to Pueblo in the Brown detachment leaving Santa Fe in October. According to family stories, she went to a creek to get water where she saw a man with bleeding feet. He told her that he had walked with no soles on his shoes and as a result his feet were sore. Another time, some of the men went hunting and shot some turkeys. Susan asked for the turkey feathers and was granted her wish. She washed and dried them and made a feather pillow.

They traveled with the detachments arriving in Salt Lake in July 1847. Two months later, Susan was reunited with her parents and son who arrived with a large company of Saints. They had scant supplies for the winter and Orson went to the bench at Cottonwood Creek to dig up three pecks of sego lily bulbs which would last them for five or six days.

The following summer of 1848 he returned to Iowa likely to gather supplies and possibly to visit his widowed mother and returned in 1849. After his return, the family moved to Parowan, Utah where Sarah served as a midwife and spent much of her time among the sick. Sarah gave birth to at least one more daughter in 1853. Two additional children are listed in one account but no official records exist to verify those births. She died at age 72 and was buried in the Leeds Cemetery.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: L87B-Y3S
Military and Church records, Journals, Personal autobiographies



Eliza Bridget Manwaring Allred (24)

Spouse: James Tillford Sanford Allred, Private, Co. A
Parents: Edward and Margaret Nash Manwaring
Birth: 23 November 1821, Herefordshire, England
Death: 20 April 1866, Circleville, Piute, Utah Territory



Born in England, Eliza joined the Church at age 21 and crossed the ocean to join the Saints. By 1842 she was living in Nauvoo in the employment of the Prophet Joseph Smith as a cook in the Mansion House. She then made her home with a family where she met her husband and they were married in November 1845 with temple ordinances completed on January 9, 1846.

On May 20, 1846, the couple crossed the Mississippi River and traveled to Council Bluffs where James joined the Battalion. The Brigham Young return (church roster) indicated Eliza was “with him” as he enlisted. Eliza was pregnant but experienced a miscarriage or stillborn birth sometime on the trail between August and November. Two accounts exist - one written in 1855 and the other housed in BYU Special Collections supposedly written in his later years and retold by his daughter and granddaughter. In his autobiography and diary written in 1855 he stated *“In February 28, 1848, my first daughter, Eliza Maria was born. My wife had three miscarriages before she had a live child, on account of the hardships she had to go through in our travels.”* He never mentioned anything about the child and does not list a name or a gender although family records include the name of a male child, Fent. The later account stated *“While we were traveling across the plains the men were grouped into groups of ten each and there was one woman allotted to each group to wash and cook for them. I was head of ten men and my wife washed and cooked for them. My wife was ill a good deal of the time and inasmuch as we did not have a wagon, another couple shared their wagon with my wife. She gave birth to a baby boy which died, but the company could not wait while it was buried, so I stayed behind to bury the baby. I was so weak and tired from exposure and exhaustion that I could scarcely catch up with the rest of the company.”* This account is problematic because the men did not “mess” with ten men and there were only four women allowed for a company of 100 but may have some element of truth. Both James and his nephew had their wives with them and likely were in the same mess together. It is unknown who Eliza rode with. Several couples were with Company A in the large Hunt entourage who included an elderly couple who died in late August. Or it could have been a couple with the Brown detachment.

They traveled to Utah with the detachments, arriving on July 29, 1847, where their first living daughter was born in 1848. Then a pattern of colonizing various communities began. They were sent with 30 other pioneers to help colonize Manti, Utah. Living in a dugout on Temple Hill, they often killed snakes before they could sleep at night. Three additional children were born over the next several years. They were asked to help settle Spring City but returned to Manti after Indians drove off their horses and cattle.

They were then called to settle Ephraim where one of Eliza’s sisters joined them. The family then accompanied James’ call to serve a mission to Las Vegas where he served as an Indian interpreter. Another child was born there. Returning to Ephraim two years later, three more children were born. According to family stories, James and Eliza would take in Indian children who had been abandoned. By 1864, the family was called on another Indian Mission to Circleville where Eliza gave birth to her last child in 1866. She died from complications from this birth at age 44. Eliza was buried there but later re-interred at Spring City.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KWJ4-LM2

Church, Military, and Family records, Thomas Bullock list, James TS Allred diaries, Government records

Elzadie Emeline Ford Allred (18)

Spouse: Reuben Warren Allred, Private, Co. A
Parents: William and Hannah Mayo Ford
Birth: 2 December 1827, Harmony, Chautauqua, New York
Death: 20 December 1887, Pima, Arizona Territory

Elzadie's family moved to Nauvoo sometime prior to the exodus. Both just 18 years old, she married Reuben Allred in February 1846. She accompanied Reuben as he enlisted in the Mormon Battalion where she likely served as a laundress. The extended Allred family had four soldiers serving in Co A including Reuben's uncle James T.S. Allred and his wife Eliza who also served as a laundress. The Brigham Young return list (church roster) documented Elzadie was "with him" as he enlisted.

When Colonel Cooke ordered most of the women to Pueblo with the Brown detachment, the men insisted they be allowed to accompany their wives. Elzadie and Reuben left Santa Fe in October, arriving in Pueblo in November, spending the winter of 1846-47 there. They left Pueblo in May and arrived in the Salt Lake Valley on July 29, 1847. In May 1849, Elzadie gave birth to her first child. Both of Elzadie's parents died in Council Bluffs but five of her six siblings made their way to Utah.

Enticed with the gold rush, the family traveled to California and spent almost a decade near Salmon Falls, not far from Mormon Island where a large gold vein was discovered by Battalion members. Elzadie gave birth to two children who both died within a month of each other. Returning to Utah in 1858, they settled in Ephraim where another child was born. Over the next twenty years, the family lived in Mt Pleasant and Wallsburg, Utah where Elzadie gave birth to four more children, the last one dying within the year of birth. In 1878 they moved to Gila Valley, Arizona to help their teenage son who suffered from rheumatic fever and needed a warmer climate. It was here that Elzadie's husband purchased a stock ranch called "Buttermilk Point," developing a successful dairy business. Undoubtedly, Sarah and her children were involved in that endeavor.

Family stories describe how Elzadie took long walks where she often found Indian relics and pieces of pottery that she carried home and placed under a tree near her house. Over the years this pile grew to be quite large. Not realizing the value of her collection, she left it when they sold the ranch and moved to Pima, Arizona. The collection was sold by the new owner for a good sum of money.

She died at age sixty and was buried in the Pima Cemetery.



Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KWV7-ZXQ
Military and Church records, Government records (census, deaths), Grave

Jane Tibbets Clark Blevin Luddington (41)

Mary Luddington's mother

Spouse: Elam Luddington, Lieutenant, Co. B
Parents: Theophilus and Sarah Bailey Tibbets
Born: 27 August 1804, Gorham, Maine
Death: 14 March 1873, Pleasant Grove, Utah



The Tibbets family moved to Ohio between 1809 and 1819 where Jane married Sandford Clark about 1823. They had one daughter, Mary

Elizabeth Clark. After the likely death of her spouse, Jane married a Mr.

Blevin by the 1830 census but it is uncertain what happened to him. A church history publication and family records described Jane's visit to the Prophet Joseph Smith in 1839 at Liberty Jail in Clay Co., Missouri. Jane likely shared this experience with her granddaughter Angeline. Upon their meeting, the Prophet commented, "*They look like two angels sent from the presence of God.*" They passed cakes and pies through the barred windows to the prisoners. This event indicates that Jane and her daughter probably were baptized members of the Church and among those who had to flee the mobs in Missouri.

Jane Blevin with her daughter appeared on the Ohio Census record in 1840 but arrived in Nauvoo by 1841 where they resided until 1846. A temple record documents a sealing to Joseph Smith and marriage for life only between Jane and Elam Luddington, her daughter's husband, the only other polygamist relationship besides Jefferson Hunt that existed with the Battalion. It is likely this was merely a marriage for protection and care. She accompanied Elam, her daughter, and one grandchild on the Mormon Battalion trek. It is likely Jane was an official laundress since she was one of only four women in Co B. When the Battalion reached Santa Fe, they were detached with the Brown detachment and arrived in Pueblo where they spent the winter. They arrived in the Salt Lake Valley on July 29, 1847, five days behind Brigham Young. On August 8, Jane, Mary Elizabeth, and Elam were re-baptized with most of the detachment members.

In the fall of 1848 Elam took his family back east to get their belongings. Storms forced them to winter in St. Joseph, Missouri where Jane's daughter gave birth to one additional child. After the winter, Jane and her daughter Mary Elizabeth with two children went to Cincinnati to visit Jane's mother and sister, Sarah Noe. Sarah sent a letter to Brigham Young in July 1849, explaining Elam Luddington's family was well and asking Elam to write to them, noting cholera was raging in the community. Elam had returned to Salt Lake and married another wife in December 1849. Mary and her last child died about 1851 and Jane assumed care of her granddaughter Angeline, bringing her back to Utah in 1852 with the James McGaw Company. It appears that her sister Sarah may have also joined them in Pleasant Grove.

By 1860, Jane married Joseph Chandler Clark (shown as Josh C. Clark on 1860 census) and lived in Battle Creek (Pleasant Grove, UT) with her granddaughter where she died in 1873 at age 68. Based on a census record, Jane's sister Sarah may also have been a polygamist wife of Joseph C Clark.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KJ5J-5S8

Military and Church Records, Census, Military records, Thomas Bullock roster

Elam Luddington autobiography

History of the Church, Part 1, Vol. 3, pg 257 (see Jane Blevin and Liberty Jail)

Church History Record for sealing/marriage, Film 183374 page 503

Correspondence to Brigham Young, July 1849, Sarah Noe

Harriett St. John Brown (16)

Spouse: Daniel Brown, Private, Co. E
Parents: Stephen and Sally Slayton St. John
Birth: 7 November 1829, Clymer, Chautauqua, New York
Death: 18 November 1920, Bakersfield, California



The St John family was living near Nauvoo by about 1840. Harriett was the oldest child, although just 16 when she married Daniel Brown in January of 1846. Leaving Nauvoo with the Saints, Daniel and Harriett were residing in Mt Pisgah. Daniel and "his wife" are listed as volunteers at Mt Pisgah where church leaders were recruiting soldiers. Harriett is also listed on the Brigham Young return list (church roster) as "with him" as Daniel enlisted in the Battalion. These documents suggest that Harriett became a designated laundress. Stephen St. John, Harriett's father, enlisted and served in Company E with Harriett and Daniel. Daniel's brother John was in Company A and his half brother Francis was in Co. B.

When the Battalion arrived in Santa Fe, Harriett was part of the Brown detachment as Lt Colonel Cooke ordered the remaining women and children to Pueblo with a few exceptions. However her father, spouse and his brother and half brother continued. Daniel was sent with the Willis sick detachment due to an injury, retracing their trail back to Santa Fe and eventually joining Harriett in Pueblo. Harriett sent a letter from Pueblo to her mother-in-law Mary Brown (Mary Ann Quade) who was at Council Bluffs.

*"Dear mother and sisters and brothers,
With pleasure I improve this opportunity in writing to you to let you know that we are both enjoying good health at present and want to see you very much. The battalion was separated at Santa Fe, and those that were sick and worn out with fatigue was sent back to pueblo ... Daniel and John and our Francis and my father all went with the battalion and left me alone to come back with the sick. After the battalion got 400 miles below Santa Fe there was a company of fifty-five men [actually 59] sent back under command of Lieutenant Willis, being sick and worn out with fatigue, Daniel being one among them. He got his leg broke by a horse, but is most well, and he is now building a house for us to live in this winter."*

Daniel and Harriett left Pueblo in May with the detachments and are listed on the Thomas Bullock list arriving in Salt Lake on July 29, 1847. Harriett's mother and two younger siblings arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in October of 1847 from Council Bluffs about the same time her father arrived from Los Angeles.

Harriett struggled in marriage relationships. After arriving in Salt Lake, Harriett and Daniel obtained a divorce. In late 1847 or early 1848, Harriett married a Battalion veteran named John Binley who had been allowed to leave as a Kearny escort and joined a company headed to Salt Lake, arriving in October of 1847. Harriett gave birth to their child in November of 1848. Separating and moving to California with her family, Harriett married another Battalion veteran, Hamilton Swarthout, in 1850, giving birth to five children. That marriage ended with a divorce. Her last marriage to John DeWitt in 1879 in San Bernardino also ended in a divorce. Harriett was 91 years old when she died in Bakersfield, California.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: LQR4-RXS
Military/Church records, Family records and communication, Census records, Death Records

Melissa Burton Coray (18)

Child: William (birth after discharge, Monterey, CA)
Spouse: William Coray, Sergeant, Co. B
Parents: Samuel and Hannah Shipley Burton
Birth: 2 March 1828, Mersea, Essex, Ontario, Canada
Death: 21 September 1903, Salt Lake City, Utah

The Burton family left England in 1817 and settled in Canada. Melissa's parents and some of her siblings joined the church in 1837. They left Canada and joined the saints when Melissa was ten years old. The Burtons left Nauvoo the last week of April and were at Mt Pisgah, Iowa by June where Melissa was married on June 23. A journal records: "*Wednesday 24th a rainy day was at Bro Burtons until ½ past 5 in the eve. then was brought home by the Bridegroom & Bride Mr & Mrs. Cory in a coverd wagon. they intended to start for the west the next morning.*"



Arriving at Council Bluffs, Melissa rebelled at the proposed separation from her husband when he enlisted with the Battalion. "*If he must go, I want to go, too,*" she said. "*Why must women always stay behind and worry about their husbands, when they could just as well march beside them.*" In a letter dated July 29, George P Dykes noted he planned to ask Melissa to cook for him. Serving as a laundress, Samuel Rogers recorded on July 31 that "*Sister Coray commenced washing for me.*" On September 9, Azariah Smith wrote "*I have been helping Sister Coray wash.*"

When they arrived in Santa Fe, Colonel Cooke ordered the ill and feeble soldiers and all women and children to travel to Pueblo. William Coray writes: "*but Capt. Hunter chanced to hear of the calculation, and informed Capt. Davis, Sergt Brown and myself of it, and we concluded to go over and make a contract with the Colonel to let our wives go with us.*" Five women were allowed to continue to California, the wives of two captains and three sergeants. Melissa often rode with Lydia Hunter in Captain Hunter's wagon until the weakened animals could not pull additional weight. Sometimes she walked. "*I didn't mind it,*" she declared. "*I walked because I wanted to; my husband had to walk, and I went along by his side.*" On November 25 in New Mexico, William wrote "*The pass in the mountains was very difficult and the road somewhat impracticable; my wife rode a mule this day.*" Melissa later noted that she would teach the men how to manage their rations over a period of time. When she became thirsty, she placed a smooth pebble in her mouth to keep her lips moist. In December of 1846 or January of 1847, Melissa became pregnant. On Jan 13, William wrote: "*J Cloud proffered to lend me a horse for my wife to ride to the settlements, which I accepted.*" As part of Company B, they spent the last half of enlistment in San Diego.

After discharge from Los Angeles, they stopped at Monterey where William rented a room and began working to wait for the birth of their child. Melissa often walked along the beach, finding a moonstone which she later made into a ring and wore throughout her life. William records in his journal that their baby boy was born on September 2. The child was born in a small adobe room with the aid of two Mexican midwives. Sadly, the baby died a few weeks later. Burying the baby, they read scriptures and Melissa placed wild flowers on the tiny grave. Years later, Melissa traveled back but was unable to locate the grave site. The Corays spent the winter in the area and started toward the Salt Lake Valley in 1848 in a company that constructed the first trail over Carson Pass. The only woman in that company, a peak was named in Melissa's honor. Traveling pregnant again on the trail, Melissa and William arrived in Salt Lake in October 1848. They lived outside the Pioneer Fort where her brothers built them a home because William was not well. A baby girl was born January 20, 1849. William died from tuberculosis two months later. Melissa married William Kimball and gave birth to seven more children. She was pictured in an 1896 Battalion photo in Ogden and was recognized in the 1897 Pioneer Jubilee parade and events. She died at age 75 in 1903 in Salt Lake.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of 1 Apr, 2022: KWV7-1JN

William Coray Journal, Azariah Smith journal, George P Dykes letter, autobiography, military/church records, Mary Haskin Richards journal, Ogden Newspaper of 1896 event, Melissa Coray interview with reporter in 1901.

Hulda Sophia Smith Gribble (17)

Spouse: William Gribble, Private, Co. D
Parents: Elansing and Sophia Clemons Smith
Birth: 28 June 1829, New York
Death: 1903/04, Olmsted, Minnesota



Hulda, referred to as Sophia, was the oldest child in her family. Her father joined the church in 1836 but it is uncertain if they joined the Saints in Nauvoo. Her youngest sister was born in Iowa in 1844. Making her way to Nauvoo, she married William Gribble in the Nauvoo Temple in February 1846 just a few weeks after William's first wife married another man, separating him from three young children. At age 17, Sophia accompanied her husband when he enlisted in the Mormon Battalion. There are no primary sources that document Sophia was an initial laundress but she likely was since it appears she was one of the approximately twenty women who left Council Bluffs with the Battalion. The other fifteen women joined the Battalion at Fort Leavenworth.

Past historians have suggested that Sophia was married to William Tubbs and continued past Santa Fe as the fifth woman, then traveling with him in the Willis sick detachment. But they were not married during the march and no woman has been documented in any primary source with the Willis detachment.

William Gribble and Sophia were among the Brown detachment who were sent from Santa Fe to Pueblo for the winter. They arrived in the Great Basin the following July. Suggestions have been made that Sophia's marriage to Gribble struggled during the march and Sophia developed a relationship with William Tubbs, another soldier in Company D who arrived at Pueblo in the Willis sick detachment. Shortly after arriving in Salt Lake, she and Gribble obtained a divorce. Sophia married William Tubbs in August 1847, three weeks after her divorce to William Gribble. Based on her widow's pension application that said William lived in Salt Lake for two years, Sophia and William Tubbs moved to California in 1849. It is unclear if a child was born in Salt Lake in 1848 or California in 1849 based on conflicting census records. By 1851 the family lived in Iowa, possibly moving near her family. They then moved between Wisconsin and Minnesota where Sophia gave birth to eight more children. She died in Olmsted Minnesota at the age of 74, the same place her father died twenty five years earlier. He had joined the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ in 1870.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: M92X-BFC
Military and Church records, Marriage record, Census

Jane Wells Cooper Hanks (28)

Spouse: Ebenezer Hanks, Sergeant, Co. E
Parents: Samuel and Wealthy Ann Wells Cooper
Birth: 4 October 1817, Cambridge, Washington, New York
Death: 27 March 1896, Parowan, Utah

Growing up in a home of wealth and refinement, Jane became a school teacher. In 1838, the Coopers moved to Illinois where one of their boarders was Ebenezer Hanks who was working until he could open his own cooper shop. They were married in 1839, building a two-story home. Ebenezer's cousins introduced them to the Church and they lived for a short while in the Nauvoo area.

After the Nauvoo expulsion, Ebenezer joined the Mormon Battalion and Jane accompanied him as a laundress according to a pension witness. When most of the remaining women were sent to Pueblo with the Brown detachment, Ebenezer was involved as a hunter on their way. They lived in a tent until Eb, as he was called, built a cabin. Leaving in the spring, Ebenezer traded for a pony and rigged up a sidesaddle for Jane according to family histories. An independent woman, she was well adapted at handling and shooting a pistol that she carried with her.

Arriving in Utah in July 1847, they spent the first winter in the Old Fort. They became discouraged and left for California where they appear on the 1850 census at El Dorado on the American River where Ebenezer was mining, showing \$500 of daily product. In 1851, they were asked to help settle San Bernardino where Ebenezer ran a freighting business from California to Salt Lake for three years. Some records suggest they returned to Mormon Island and built a three room home where Jane prepared meals for boarders. In 1855, Jane left for the winter and sailed from the coast of California to New England to visit her family while Ebenezer returned to San Bernardino. When she returned in 1856, Ebenezer gave her a grand tour of the home and gristmill at San Bernardino Ranch.

They returned to Salt Lake when Brigham Young called the Saints back in 1858. Settling in Parowan, Ebenezer started up a cotton business and Jane managed the store. By 1860 Ebenezer was a prosperous businessman with stores in Provo, Parowan and Beaver, Utah. They were living in Provo by the 1860 census where he served for a short time as Mayor of Provo City but resigned 6 months later. He married a second wife and returned to Parowan. Ten children were born to this union. Jane and Ebenezer were childless. During this time period Jane and Ebenezer adopted a girl and named her Martha Catherine Hanks. Becoming bitter against the Church, Jane and her child Martha remained in Parowan while Ebenezer moved the rest of his family to Iron City where he had started a mining business. Old Iron Town was founded in 1868 about 22 miles from Cedar City. It lasted until 1876. Known as an exceptional business woman, Jane invested in a mine that she called "Mother Eve" even though she did not live in Iron City. She was interested in flowers, especially roses, winning blue ribbons at county fairs. Ebenezer died in 1884 in Hanksville, a community that was named after him. Jane died in 1896 in Parowan. Her obituary stated "*She was a remarkable woman and assisted her husband in various enterprises such as the cotton factory in Parowan and also the development of iron in Iron City.*"

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: LZLK-R1N
Church and military records, Family histories, Census, Pension



Emeline Bigler Hess (21)

Spouse: John Hess, Private, Co. E
Parents: Jacob and Elizabeth Harvey Bigler
Birth: 20 August 1824, Shinnston, Harrison, West Virginia
Death: 31 January 1862, Farmington, Utah Territory

The fourth of five children, Emeline grew up in a poor but industrious family. At age 3 her mother died and her father remarried, adding six additional children. In 1837 Emeline's brother heard missionaries speak and her family became members of the Church. The family experienced the persecutions in Missouri and Illinois. Emeline met John Hess in Nauvoo where they were married in November 1845. They waited until April 3 to leave Nauvoo because her father was ill. Arriving in Mt Pisgah in June, John built a temporary shelter of bark. While there, he heard that Brigham Young was organizing a company to go to the Rocky Mountains. When arriving in Council Bluffs, he was invited to join the Mormon Battalion and Emeline joined him. In a letter to Anthon Lund years later, John verified Emeline's appointment as an official laundress. *“... my wife Emeline Bigler Hess who accompanied me the entire trip as a laundress, the government providing the transportation and provision for the same.”* He also wrote in a later autobiography *“My wife Emeline enlisted, as the Government had provided for four women to each company of 100 men to go as laundresses.”* John was asked to drive one of the government wagons and he stated, *“For the comfort and convenience of my wife, I consented to do so. I was thankful that I had done this because I could position the equipment in the wagon so that Emeline would have a place to lay down at night.”*

On September 16, her brother Henry Bigler noted her service as a laundress. *“The day was spent in washing clothes. My sister, Emeline, the wife of John Hess, washed a shirt and garments for me.”*

Arriving in Santa Fe, Col. Cooke ordered most of the remaining women to Pueblo and John was involved in getting permission for the spouses of the women to accompany them. As they left Santa Fe, John wrote *“They had with them only the outfit of a discharged soldier which consisted of a small tent, an iron kettle, a mess pan, two tin plates, two spoons, two knives, two forks, a pair of badly worn blankets, two old quilts, and ten pounds of flour.”*

After the winter in Pueblo they traveled with the detachments to Salt Lake where they lived in the Old Fort. They moved to Millcreek where John found work cutting timber. Emeline was left behind during the winter of 1848-49 as John traveled to Mt. Pisgah to help his mother and family travel to Utah. Emeline gave birth to her first child while he was away. The family then helped settle Farmington where John and Emeline were active in church and community affairs. At age 38 Emeline died in childbirth with her tenth child.

John wrote: *“She was the wife of my youth, and had been with me throughout all our poverty and trials in life that we both passed through ... She died as she had lived: a faithful wife, a devoted mother to our nine children and a true Latter-day Saint.”*

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KWNT-5VD
Church and Military records, John Hess journal, Letter to Anthon Lund, Historian Office
Henry Bigler Journal, page 55, MS 4453



Mary Ann Jameson Hiron (21)

Spouse: James Pettyjohn Hiron, Private, Co. D
Parents: Charles and Mary Ann Hedrick Jameson
Birth: 13 September 1824, Perry Township, Richland, Ohio,
Death: Between 1847-1850

Mary Ann was the oldest of ten children. Her parents joined the Church in 1834, and the family eventually arrived in Nauvoo where she married James Hiron in 1846. Leaving Nauvoo, the family was likely residing in Mt Pisgah where Mary Ann's name appeared with her husband's on a volunteer list for the Mormon Battalion. Her father also enlisted, leaving her mother with six living siblings, with one sibling marrying while they were gone. It is likely she was one of the initial laundresses. Arriving in Santa Fe, James was allowed to accompany Mary Ann to Pueblo in the Brown detachment while her father continued to California. Mary Ann's name shows up on a soldier's payout for the detachments with money owed to her, validating her roll as a laundress. They entered the Salt Lake Valley on July 29, 1847 behind Brigham Young's vanguard company. After arriving in the Salt Lake Valley, she was divorced from James Hiron in November 1847 with her father's assistance who had returned from California. Mary Ann's sister Julia and her husband, Jehu Blackburn arrived in the valley in September of 1847. It is uncertain when Charles and his daughter Mary Ann traveled back to Iowa. There are no known groups that left after October and Charles was not listed with any of the organized groups that traveled to Iowa in the fall of 1847. It is also unknown exactly when and where Mary Ann died. The 1850 census has caused some confusion. Both Charles and his daughter Mary Ann are listed in the Iowa census dated in October with his daughter Lucinda and her infant daughter, Eliza, and his wife Mary Ann who had already left for Utah. It is unclear who is providing this information. It should be noted that the 1850 census asked to list anyone who was there on June 1. Since a death date of 8 Jan 1848 was attached to Mary Ann at one time in Overland Travel but with no known source, one wonders if Charles and his daughter Mary Ann might have attempted returning in the winter and Mary Ann died on the trail. Mary Ann's mother was on the trail to Utah with four children in early June, while Mary Ann's father remained behind to close out some business interests in hopes to catch up with the company. When Mary Ann's mother died of cholera just a few weeks on the trail, her four children continued to Utah where they joined their older sister Julia and her husband Jehu Blackburn. A few years later, Charles returned to Salt Lake with a new wife. His daughter Lydia and her child also traveled to Utah but date unknown. Much confusion was created when Susannah, Mary Ann's other sister also married Jehu Blackburn along with a woman named Mary Ann Hiron in Salt Lake in 1852. After additional research and studying church temple records, it was verified that Mary Ann Jameson Hiron whose father was born in Ohio and Mary Ann Hiron Blackburn whose father was born in Germany were two different people who had birth dates ten years apart. Additional clues can be gleaned from Charles Jameson's will in 1881 and his second wife's pension application in 1887, neither mentioning Mary Ann while listing other living children. The most important clue came from a church temple record in Manti. On 6 December 1893, Mary Ann's sister, 65-year-old Susannah Jameson Blackburn, acted as proxy for most of her sisters including Mary Ann to seal them to their parents. The temple information provided by Susannah includes the approximate death date of her sister, Mary Ann, as "about 1847" distinctly separating the two women. Mary Ann Hiron Blackburn was still alive in 1893, also confirming Mary Ann Jameson was a separate person since Mary Ann Hiron Blackburn would have completed the sealing ordinance herself if they were the same.



Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KWVS-YJP
Military, Thomas Bullock roster, Church records, Divorce record, Census records

Caroline Emeline Sessions (24)

Spouse: John Sessions, Private, Co. A
Parents: Richard and Unity Baneston Sessions
Birth: 20 May 1822, Bedford, Tennessee
Death: 2 August 1851, Salt Lake, Utah

Although Emeline Sessions was born in Tennessee, she spent her childhood in North Carolina and appeared on different records as Mary Caroline. She and John Sessions were distant relatives sharing the same last name, but it doesn't appear that Emeline's family lived in Nauvoo. Her husband's family moved to Nauvoo in 1845 but it is uncertain when or where they met. They were likely married sometime in 1846 and were living in Mt. Pisgah in July.



Emeline's husband enlisted in the Mormon Battalion with his brother and his father at Mt. Pisgah on July 7. She is listed on the volunteer list as "wife" and her name is also listed on a detachment payroll as being paid by one of the soldiers as a laundress.

A Find A Grave memorial suggests a baby boy was born in October 1846 on the way to Pueblo but there is no journal or record to verify this event. Someone was possibly confused with a later birth the following year since an 1850 census record shows a daughter (age 3) born in Iowa and then the correct birth location of Utah shown in the 1860 census record for the same child.

Detached with the Brown detachment at Santa Fe, Emeline and her husband traveled to Pueblo in a "mess" with another couple and Henry Sanderson.

Soldier Henry Sanderson wrote: *I had when leaving Sante Fe got into the mess with John Hess and his wife and John Sessions and his wife. Although it was expected a mess numbered six, we continued thus until we reached Salt Lake where we were disbanded ... On the 17th the detachment spent most of their \$40.00 that they had received previously for teams and wagons to haul luggage. Nearly all the women that had accompanied the Battalion as laundress were with us. When we arrived at Pueblo we were out of provisions. We went to work building houses. Also teams were sent to Fort Bent, a distance of ninety miles, to obtain supplies. John Sessions let me use his rifle. With this rifle I manage to keep my mess supplied with turkey and geese. It was always gratifying to me to see the two women in our mess relish the game that I had cooked.*

Emeline was pregnant as she left Pueblo, giving birth to a baby girl in October after arriving in Salt Lake in July 1847. Emeline was rebaptized on August 8 along with most individuals from the detachments. The family lived in Old Fort, Heber, and Vernal, Utah as two more children were born. Just four years after arriving in the Salt Lake Valley, Emeline died in 1851 in Salt Lake City where she is supposedly buried in the Salt Lake Cemetery, but no grave has been located.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: LHGJ-HBK
Military, Church, and Family records, Journals

Sarah Coats Prunty Shupe (23)

Child: Elizabeth Margaret (birth at Pueblo)

Spouse: James W Shupe, Private, Co. C

Parents: Robert and Judith Farris Prunty

Birth: 28 September 1822, Franklin, Virginia

Death: 22 June 1865, Riverdale, Weber, Utah

Little is known of Sarah's childhood. In 1842 Sarah joined the Church against the wishes of her family and traveled to Nauvoo, never to see her parents again. The Shupe family moved to Nauvoo in 1845 where Sarah and James met and married in 1846.

Leaving Nauvoo with the Saints, James and his brother Andrew enlisted. Although no first hand document exists to verify, it is deduced that Sarah was likely a laundress since each company was allowed four and she was one of only four women traveling with Company C. Sarah was possibly about two months pregnant as they left on the trek. James' brother Andrew Jackson noted in his journal, *"was organized into messes with Six persons in a mess the names of the mess that I belong to Andrew J Shupe Henry B Miller, Shadrick H Holdaway, George Pickup James W Shupe, and Sarah his wife."*

After arriving in Santa Fe, Sarah, James, and his brother Andrew left in the Brown detachment. The day after they reached Pueblo, November 17, 1846, the men began cutting timber to build cabins. James' brother Andrew wrote in his journal: *"Their cabin was completed in ten days. They moved into it and were comfortable and warm."* Sarah gave birth to her first child, Elizabeth Margaret Shupe, on March 2, 1847. On March 5, Andrew described how he, James and others killed a number of deer for food over several days. *"In the evening, we returned to camp. Sarah [James' wife] has gotten better. She has been afflicted with a sore leg."*

Arriving in Salt Lake on July 29, 1847, they lived in the Old Fort for the first winter. Her husband wrote in a Pioneer Jubilee survey: *"Two dayes after our arrivel in the valley I was called upon to help erect a bowery which was the first building in the Valley of any kind built by the church."*

Along with other families, Sarah and James settled in Cottonwood Canyon where Sarah gave birth to three more children. Sadly, her first daughter Elizabeth died in October 1848. By the fall of 1851, James' brother and family had arrived back from Council Bluffs and together they moved to Ogden. The families first moved into the Ogden Fort for protection from Indian raids and lived in cabins that had been moved from the Goodyear Ranch to the Fort. The family lived in Ogden from 1851 to 1857, building a home outside of the Fort just west of the old Ogden Post Office. Three more children were born before moving to Riverdale where four more children were added to their family. In the spring of 1865, the rising waters from the Weber River destroyed their home. At that time Sarah took sick and had to be taken to a neighbor's house where she died at age 42, leaving James with three daughters and six sons, the youngest being 6 months old. She was buried in the Ogden Cemetery.



Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KWV7-Y55

Church and Military records, Andrew Jackson Shupe journal, and family records

Phoebe Lodema Merrill Stillman (13)

Spouse: Clark Stillman, Private, Co. D
Parents: Samuel and Phoebe Odell Merrill
Birth: 5 August 1832, Elba, Genesee, New York
Death: 18 January 1909, Rexburg, Madison, Idaho

Phoebe recorded her birth date on a Pioneer Jubilee document. Based on a land record, Phoebe's parents sold their land in New York in May 1833 and moved to Michigan, then Illinois where family members were baptized in 1839. They were part of the exodus of the Saints to Iowa. The Merrill family had a number of individuals in the Mormon Battalion effort. Her brother Philemon, brother in-laws Philander Colton and Thomas Williams, and nephew Ferdinand Merrill all enlisted. Philander's son, Charles Edwin ran away to join the unit and eventually became an officer's servant. Her sister was also with them. Her marriage was recorded in a pension statement.

"I was married to Stillman in a tent by Brigham Young at Council Bluffs....I was not 15, and Stillman was about 20. I never lived with Stillman as his wife. Brigham Young came into our tent and asked me if I would marry Stillman and go with the Battalion. I said I didn't know and my mother said Yes do it. So Brigham married us and we went right off that same day - on a Monday morning. When I came back from Santa Fe, I worked as a laundress for the troops." Clark was a late enlister in Company D, so their marriage date was either Monday, July 20 or 27. Her divorce record in August 1847 noted the marriage location as Liberty Pole in Council Bluffs. Based on two different potential marriage dates, it is uncertain if she left before but likely with her sister when Thomas Williams came back to retrieve his wife and children.



Phoebe and her husband Clark along with her sister and her spouse and children were part of the Brown detachment sent to Pueblo. Not one of the original 20 laundresses, Phoebe became a laundress as Colonel Cooke's orders at Santa Fe provided that all 20 women accompanying the detachment serve as such and receive rations. They arrived in Salt Lake in July 1847. Within days of her divorce in early August, Phoebe used her maiden name of Merrill on a rebaptism record, likely considering her marriage was "annulled." Phoebe married Parmenio Adams Jackman in 1851 and resided in Salt Lake. She gave birth to five children, two of whom died before she gave birth to her last child just a few months after she received notice that her husband and her sister's husband had been killed by Indians on a freighting trip returning from California. She married again in 1865 to Sylvanus Collett and moved to Cache Valley. This appears to be a polygamous marriage based on birth dates of children from two wives just a few months apart. Sylvanus' wife, Lydia, died a month after her son Thomas Karren was born. According to family stories, he was given to others to care for during most of his early childhood. Except for Thomas, the family appeared on the 1870 census record with children from Sylvanus' first wife and Lydia's second and third marriage. It is likely someone providing information for the census record accidentally listed the mother's name as Lydia who was dead instead of Phoebe. Sylvanus married two additional wives in 1868 and 1872. Sometime before 1880 Phoebe and Sylvanus' marriage ended. She is listed on the 1880 census record with William A Thompson, her children from her second and third marriages, and one of his children from a previous marriage. William died in 1896. According to a newspaper article published in December 1908, Phoebe was being cared for by two daughters and a granddaughter in Rexburg, Idaho just a few months before she died.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KWJ2-S4K
Military, land record, church/family records, Census records, Newspaper article, Dec 1908

Isabella McNair Wilkin (25)

Spouse: David Wilkin, Sergeant, Co. C
Parents: Duncan and Isabell McGregor McNair
Birth: 9 December 1820, Paisley, Renfrewshire, Scotland
Death: 7 June 1877, Woodbridge, San Joaquin, California



Isabella was the youngest of 9 children. Her oldest sister was the only other family member who joined the church and emigrated to Utah. Isabella married David Wilkin in 1839 in Scotland. Family Search indicates she may have given birth to a few children who did not live. They were among the early converts to the Church in Scotland and emigrated to the US in 1843 on the ship Swanton and traveled to Nauvoo. They left Nauvoo with the Saints and traveled to Council Bluffs where David enlisted in the Mormon Battalion and Isabella became a laundress.

Arriving in Santa Fe, they were part of the Brown detachment sent to Pueblo. Her name appeared multiple times on the detached soldier's payroll, noting the amount she was due for her assumed service as a laundress for several soldiers.

They traveled to Salt Lake with the detachments arriving in July 1847, although Isabella's name was accidentally left off the Thomas Bullock roster that recorded those entering the valley. They were both rebaptized on August 8 in Salt Lake with many other battalion members and families.

In an 1855 Battalion reunion in Salt Lake, Sergeant Wilkins said: "*I am full of pleasure and delight when I look upon so many with whom I had the honor of walking with knapsack and musket. I say that a braver set of men and women never lived.*"

David married at least four other wives during the 1850s and took Isabella and his last wife, Charlotte, to Washoe Valley Nevada where a child from that marriage was born. By 1860 they were still living in Washoe and identified in a census record with Isabella, Charlotte, and children including an adopted child and a son from David's plural wife Sarah Foxall who left the child with his father to raise.

In March of 1868 Isabella wrote to Battalion veteran, John Steele, sharing details of a recent visit to Salt Lake in December of 1867. "*I was received by all my old friends with whom I chanced to meet with the greatest kindness. I had the pleasure of a visit with B.Y. who also treated me with the greatest kindness and politeness I never in all my life enjoyed better. I have just finished a letter to E. R. Snow who always was and is one of my best and truest friends....Oh! My friends what is life. It seems a wild dream.*"

In her letter of 1868, Isabella noted their home had been in Carson, Nevada for the last six years but they were now renting a home in a new location. Two years later Isabella and David appeared on an 1870 census in Shermantown, White Pine, Nevada. A widow's pension record indicated Isabella was admitted into an insane asylum in San Francisco where she died in 1877. David then returned to a plural wife in Emery County, Utah where he died.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KV23-WS3
Military, Church, Pension, Emigration records, and Census Records
Isabella's letter, 1868

**Women who were
traveling with men
who were not
soldiers**

Jane Harrison Bosco (55)

Spouse: John Bosco, camp follower with Co. A
Parents: Abraham and Betty Hatton Harrison
Birth: 17 November 1790, Farington, Lancashire, England
Death: 27 August 1846, Council Grove, Morris, Kansas



Family Search shows Jane as the oldest of 7 children. John and Jane married in England, but it is unknown if they had any posterity. They are shown on a New Orleans Passenger Lists 1820-1945, with arrival 13 Mar 1841 on the ship Sheffield with 255 Saints under the leadership of Hiram Clark. They were traveling steerage class indicating poverty or at least trying to preserve their resources. They were listed in the

1842 Nauvoo Census record with the last name spelled Burscough. Some records suggest that Jane and John might have been friends or relatives of Matilda Nease's parents. They accompanied Matilda who was a polygamist wife of Jefferson Hunt as they left Nauvoo. That association continued as they met Jefferson and the Mormon Battalion at Fort Leavenworth and started a long trek across the state of Iowa into Kansas and a few weeks beyond. Jane was the oldest woman who traveled with the Battalion although only briefly.

Daniel Tyler in his Battalion history for the Church wrote on August 28, 1846: *An aged English lady by the name of Jane Bosco, who was traveling in company with Captain Hunt, died, and her husband, John Bosco – not a soldier – died before daylight the next morning. Thus they gained an oft-repeated wish, that neither should be left to mourn the loss of the other ... They were buried in one grave, and a dry substantial stone wall was built around and over the tomb, under the supervision of Elisha Averett, to mark their last resting place and to shield their bodies from the wolves.* (Tyler).

Robert Bliss recorded: *Sunday 30th 1846 we buried the Husband of the Lady that died on the 27th John and Jane Boscough they were buried side by side on the west bank of the creek near our encampment we carried Rock from the Bluff built a wall 7 by 10 ft. around their Graves and covered the graves over with stone level with the wall and left them to sleep till the Resurrection.*

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KJW9-1SX
Christening Record, Nauvoo Census record, Journals
Emigration Record

Malinda Allison Kelley (30)

Child: Catherine Malinda (birth at Pueblo)

Spouse: Milton Kelley, Officer Servant for Capt Hunt, Co. A

Parents: Isaac and Jane Hunt Allison

Birth: 16 October 1815, Crawford, Laurel, Kentucky

Death: 18 November 1894, Circleville, Piute, Utah



Malinda was the ninth of 14 children. Malinda and Milton were cousins as their mothers were sisters of Jefferson Hunt. She married Milton in 1836 in Illinois, soon giving birth to a daughter as described in a letter she sent to George Albert Smith in 1860 although Family Search shows one additional son with no name.

Milton and Malinda joined the Church in 1842 in the same year their firstborn daughter died. They experienced the trials in Nauvoo and traveled to Iowa with the Saints.

In a church roster for the battalion, Jefferson Hunt was shown as leaving 12 family members with Milton Kelley. Milton was assigned \$20/month from Jefferson's pay for the benefit of the Hunt family while he was gone. But this changed soon after. In her letter to George Albert Smith in 1860, Malinda wrote: *We moved out of Nauvoo at the time of the Church come as for as Council Bluffs and was one of the familys called on to go with the Mormon Battalion.*" A large Hunt group including Jefferson's two wives and children, an elderly couple and Milton and his brother with their wives arrived at Fort Leavenworth about August 7. Milton became an officer's servant for Captain Hunt and likely drove a wagon for his wife Celia and her children. Malinda was about two months pregnant as they left on the trail. They were part of the Higgins "family" detachment, leaving the main group in September and arriving in Pueblo in October with a number of Hunt family members. Malinda wrote: *..traveled with them to Purbalo {Pueblo} New Mexico and not being very strong constituted was stayed With the sick and weak and was the Winter shortly after we arrived ... with some others, went out on the long expedition to get meat to supply those familys. While out camping on the wet ground he took cold and was brought in sick and died.*" Now a widow, Malinda gave birth to her second baby girl on 7 February 1847. Malinda and her baby daughter traveled to Salt Lake with the detachments, arriving on July 29, 1847 and lived in the Old Fort along with Aunts Celia and Matilda Hunt, cousin Gilbert Hunt, and her husband's brother Nicholas and his family. She married Robert Covington in 1848, becoming a mother to his three living children. She gave birth to a daughter in late 1849 before the family was sent to the Dixie Mission in Washington County. In about 1856, a two or three-year-old Indian girl was rescued from men who had stolen and were likely trying to sell her. Given the name of Alice, she was adopted by Malinda and Robert. A temple record shows two deceased children were sealed to Milton and Malinda in the St. George Temple on February 28, 1879 including her first daughter, Martha Jane, and the Indian girl. Robert married another wife about this time who died eight years later. Malinda became the mother of her four children whom she raised as her own.

Malinda was a busy mother. The family grew cotton on their farm and Malinda carded, spun, and weaved by hand all the cotton used to make her family clothing. A successful farmer, church and community leader, Robert built a large three-story home for the family. Malinda was involved hosting dances and other social events on the upper floor. Malinda died at age 79 while visiting family in Circleville, Utah. She was buried in Washington, Utah.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: LYVB-6RM

Military and Church records, Journals, Marriage records, Statue located in Washington County Museum.

Rebecca Smith Burns (30), maiden name unknown

Parents: Unknown
Spouse: Elisha Smith, Officer Servant with Co. E
Spouse: Thomas Burns, Private, Co. E (married in Pueblo)
Birth: 5 December 1815, Niagara, New York
Death: Unknown

Nothing of Rebecca's early life is known. By 1846, she and Elisha were living in Nauvoo where their names were listed together in Nauvoo Temple Records on 2 February 1846. She should not be confused with another woman named Rebecca Smith recorded on the same day with William Smith and associated name of Mary Grimshaw.

Elisha was originally listed on Daniel Tyler's roster for Company E although his name does not appear on any official military rolls. According to James V Williams autobiography, he became the teamster for Captain Davis. Referring to Captain Davis, James wrote "*on the 21st, he and his wife and his son, not hers, came rolling into camp with Elisha Smith as his teamster and Smith's wife also.*" So it is uncertain if Elisha was possibly a soldier first and Rebecca was an original laundress before Elisha switched to an officer's servant. But she was one of 20 women designated as a laundress per Colonel Cooke's order #15 as she left Santa Fe in October with the Brown detachment. Elisha continued on with the main command, but died along the trail on December 8 in Arizona in a place called "Ash Creek."

Daniel Tyler's history records the following: *Large wolves, probably scenting the corpse, made the night hideous with their howls. Their grim voices almost rent the air only a few feet from our camp. He was buried in the wilderness, alone, and, like the others, without a coffin, or a slab, to mark his last resting place. Brush and billets of wood were piled upon his grave, and there burned to conceal his remains from the Indians and wolves.* Nathaniel V Jones wrote, *On the night of the sixth, a brother by the name Smith died. He did not belong to the Battalion, but was a servant for Capt. Davis of Company "E". He was an old man. His wife had gone back from Santa Fe under Capt. J. Brown, by the way of Purbalo Pueblo.* It is uncertain who gave Rebecca the news of her husband's death. She married Private Thomas Burns in Pueblo sometime after he arrived with the Willis detachment.

Both Thomas Burns and James Glines are listed as "deserters" on the Thomas Bullock list of those arriving in Salt Lake. According to James Glines' journal, Thomas Burns and Rebecca left Pueblo and traveled east to Council Buffs, Iowa. Their travels are uncertain after arriving in Iowa. Various census records list the birth location of their first child in Texas, Wyoming, and Utah. It is possible they stopped in Texas where a Mormon settlement had been established in 1848. They were in the Great Basin by 3 August 1848 when he was charged with stealing cattle from Oregon emigrants near Green River. Minutes of the trial mention that his wife Rebecca traveled to Salt Lake with him in 1848. At a public meeting in Salt Lake City in March 1849, the Court ordered that he be made to work to pay a fine. By 1852, they are found in a Sacramento California Census record with three children, Laura (5) born in Texas and Rosa (2) and Elizabeth (0) born in Sacramento. After that, their names appear only on census records for their daughter Laura with no record of deaths.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: G7NZ-9DW
Military and Church records, Journals, Census



**Woman who began
as daughter
but married a soldier
in Pueblo**

Almira Higgins Chase (16)

Spouse: John Darwin Chase, Corporal, Co. B
Parents: Nelson and Sarah Blackman Higgins
Born: 28 May 1830, Florence, Ohio
Died: 23 February 1873, Moroni, Utah



One of ten children, she experienced the persecutions of the saints since her early childhood. Arriving in Council Bluffs at age 16, Almira's father enlisted in the Mormon Battalion and was selected as captain of Company D. Her fourteen-year-old brother Alfred likely started as an officer servant before becoming a soldier at Fort Leavenworth. Her father originally left his wife and five living children behind, but returned to retrieve his family at Council Bluffs three days later. They traveled to Fort Leavenworth with a number of other families. Almira's family with other large families were detached from the main command to Pueblo in September just one month after leaving Fort Leavenworth. Another detachment joined them in Pueblo a few months later including a soldier named John Chase. They were married sometime in the following spring. Her marriage changed Almira's status of "child" to a "woman" in the count of women accompanying the Mormon Battalion.

Leaving Pueblo in May, they entered the Salt Lake Valley in July 1847. Soon after arriving in Salt Lake with the Vanguard Company, William Clayton wrote in his journal on 16 Aug 1847: "*I owe Almira Higgins a dress Pattern from washing and mending my clothing and have promised to pay her when I return to the City of the Great Salt Lake, either a dress pattern or if I can something that will suit her better.*"

They lived in Salt Lake until 1849 where two children were born. In October 1849 the Higgins family joined a group of over 200 saints who were called to settle the Sanpete Valley in a community named "Manti." Almira's little family lived in a dugout near the future site of the Manti Temple. John's young son from a previous marriage was on the 1850 census record with them so he likely arrived in Salt Lake with another family in 1848 or early fall 1849 before their move south. The family moved to Fort Ephraim where John was called as a bishop. Almira gave birth to three more children before the family followed Almira's father to settle Carson Valley, Nevada in June of 1856. Almira gave birth to a baby girl on the trail at the Humboldt River. After Brigham Young called the Saints back to Utah for the Utah War, the family moved to Kaysville with a birth of another daughter and then settled in Nephi.

By the 1860 census, eight children are with them. Two children were born in Nephi with one born likely after Almira's husband left for a mission to England in 1861. Left with nine children at home, Almira was alone for three years, burying a son who died of a fall while repairing a roof while John was away. When John returned in 1864, they settled in Moroni where Almira gave birth to her last three children and died 14 months after her 12th child was born. She was 42 years old.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KWV9-JTF
Military, Church, Family records, Clayton journal

**Women who were
not originally
with the Battalion
but married a
soldier during
one-year enlistment**

Lydia A Gibson Hunt (19)

Spouse: Gilbert Hunt, Corporal, Co. A
Parents: George Washington and Mary Ann Sparks Gibson
Birth: 31 July 1826, Union, South Carolina
Death: 16 February 1915, Springville, Utah

One of 11 children, Lydia's family was living in Mississippi when they joined the Church in 1845. They joined the John Brown Company, leaving in April 1846 to journey west and wintering at Pueblo in 1846-47 when they realized Brigham Young had not left Council Bluffs yet.

Family records suggest Lydia's father was stricken with mountain fever and he and his family were cared for by the Spanish women. One of the children remembers having these kind women take them to their homes and give them good dinners or sometimes tend them in Fort Pueblo. They brought generous amounts of vegetables from their gardens. Lydia's mother noted she was much impressed with the immaculate cleanliness of her Spanish friends. Though their homes were of logs, the floors were scrubbed snowy white and everything was spotless.

Gilbert Hunt, son of Captain Jefferson Hunt, arrived at Pueblo in the Mormon Battalion Higgins detachment with his mother and siblings in October 1846 where he and Lydia were married in April of 1847. Arriving with the Mississippi Saints and the Mormon Battalion detachments in the Great Basin in late July, Lydia gave birth to four children over the next four years, losing two of them. The extended Hunt family made their way to San Bernardino in 1851 where they established an active community and Lydia added two more children to her family. When Brigham Young asked the Saints to return to Utah they settled in Pleasant Grove. Shortly after, her husband was on a trip back east when he was murdered in 1858.

In her widow's pension application, Lydia wrote she *"lived alone and kept house, and raised children and kept them together."*

Her obituary noted she was left with four young children after her husband's death and *"gave birth four months later to her fifth child. Her parents moved to Cache Valley and she with her family followed them as a pioneer of the north. Later her father was called as a pioneer of the Dixie country, and Mrs. Hunt again joined the family. She drove two yoke of oxen from Cache Valley to Dixie. Mrs. C. N. Stanford, her oldest child of 12 years, rode a horse and drove the cattle the whole distance. Here in Dixie Mrs. Hunt with her young family, suffered poverty and privations. At one time to keep away starvation she hitched up her ox team and took her best cow 120 miles to Beaver and traded it for 250 pounds of flour. On this trip she was gone two weeks with one little boy, having left the other four at home at a time when the Indians were hostile. Her parents died in the south after which she moved to Springville and has lived with her daughter Mrs. Sanford for the past 30 years."* She died at age 88 in 1915.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KVP1-25T
Family records, Church records, Pension application, Obituary



Magell Mancheeta Brown (Age unknown)

Spouse: Francis Brown, Private, Co. B
Parents: Unknown
Birth: Estimated as 1835, California
Death: 1857, Fort Thompson, Utah Territory (now Iron County)

Magell's birth is unknown although some family records suggest she was born about 1835. Nothing is known of Magell's parentage or childhood. According to some family stories and a book written by Kate Carter, Magell met Francis Brown when Company B was assigned to San Diego.

The story suggests Francis was sick at the end of March, 1847, as Company B arrived in San Diego from San Luis Rey. A young Indian girl named Magell cared for him, nursing him back to health, then marrying two months later. But no primary documents have been found to validate this story. There were a number of local natives living in San Diego during this time, many used as slaves or providing service to the local residents, so this story is plausible. No census has been found to reflect Magell, but indigenous people may not have been included in census records.

Based on various documents, Magell gave birth to a child in 1850 without her husband being present since he is on a census record in Missouri with his family in 1850. It is unknown who she was living with or helping her at this time. A California pioneer emigration index of Francis' sister might suggest he possibly arrived back in California in 1852 with his mother and most of his siblings traveling in a small party. Magell gave birth to their second child in 1853 in Santa Cruz about the same time as Francis submitted a bounty land application witnessed by two of his brothers. According to Francis' second wife's grandson, Francis and his "Indian wife" and children were living in San Bernardino when they became acquainted with Elizabeth Burch Potter who was running a business while her husband was on a mission. Due to some marital difficulties, Elizabeth left her husband and traveled with her children and the Browns to Utah arriving at Fort Johnson (in current Iron County) where Elizabeth recorded that Magell (McGill) died in 1857. Elizabeth's oldest son also testified that he was well acquainted with Magell (McGill) in his mother's pension application. He would have been seven at the time they arrived at Fort Johnson. A century later the family found a headstone in Leeds, Utah marked "Maggie, Indian girl" which they believe is Magell's burial site. Francis' half brother and battalion member, John Brown, is also buried in the Leeds Cemetery. John states in his pension application that he came to Utah about 10 years after discharge so he may have traveled with his brother's family in 1857.

Family histories suggest that both women were pregnant en route to Utah but when Magell died, Francis gave the baby to a family in St. George to raise. No further information has been found on this third child. Francis married Elizabeth in 1858. In the 1860 census, Francis and his wife Elizabeth and her children from her previous marriage are listed but Magell's children are not listed. They are found in the Salt Lake 1860 census as ½ Indian with Thomas and Miriam Ford, suggesting Francis gave the children to another family to raise. Francis was killed in an avalanche in 1872.

Sources: Family Search pid# as of January 2025: KNBY-Q49
Pension and Census records, California records, Family histories
Kate Carter, DUP Treasures of Pioneer History, Vol. 4, p.454



WOMEN OLDEST TO YOUNGEST - (age as of July 16, 1846)

<u>Age</u>		<u>Birth</u>	<u>Death</u>	<u>Age at Death</u>
55	Jane Harrison Bosco	17 Nov 1790	27 Aug 1846	55
48	Phebe Draper Palmer Brown	9 Oct 1797	28 Feb 1879	81
41	Mary Clark Steele Brown	27 July 1804	25 June 1873	68
41	Jane Tibbets Clark Bliven	27 Aug 1804	14 Mar 1873	68
40	Elizabeth Fraim Mayfield Shelton	6 Jan 1806	9 Apr 1872	66
40	Sarah Blackman Higgins	5 Apr 1806	14 Aug 1864	58
40	Celia Mounts Hunt	19 Sept 1805	29 Jan 1897	91
38	Eunice Reasor Brown	4 Mar 1808	18 July 1858	50
35	Ruth Markham Abbott	20 Dec 1810	13 Sept 1888	77
35	Fanny Maria Allen Huntington	26 Oct 1810	14 Dec 1893	83
30	Malinda Allison Kelley	16 Oct 1815	18 Nov 1894	79
30	Rebecca Smith Burns	5 Dec 1815	unknown	?
30	Mary Bittles Button	15 Dec 1815	26 June 1896	80
29	Catherine Campbell Steele	16 Nov 1816	15 June 1891	74
28	Jane Wells Cooper Hanks	4 Oct 1817	27 Mar 1896	78
27	Susan Smith Adams	30 May 1819	23 Jan 1892	72
26	Sarah Price Bathrick Kelley	1820	30 Dec 1903	83
25	Mary McRee Black Brown	28 Oct 1820	2 Nov 1906	86
25	Isabella McNair Wilkin	9 Dec 1820	7 June 1877	56
24	Eliza Manwaring Allred	23 Nov 1821	20 Apr 1866	44
24	Caroline Emeline Sessions	20 May 1822	2 Aug 1851	29
23	Sarah Coats Prunty Shupe	28 Sept 1822	22 Jun 1865	42
22	Lydia Edmunds Hunter	28 Jan 1824	26 Apr 1847	23
22	Susannah Moses Davis	16 Feb 1824	30 May 1895	71
21	Mary Eliza Clark Luddington	24 July 1824	after 1851	27+
21	Emeline Bigler Hess	20 Aug 1824	31 Jan 1862	37
21	Mary Ann Jameson Hirons	13 Sept 1824	unknown, 1847-50	23+
19	Albina Merrill Williams	25 July 1826	28 Nov 1914	88
19	Lydia Gibson Hunt	31 July 1826	16 Feb 1915	88
	(not originally with Battalion, married in Pueblo)			

18	Martha Jane Sargent Sharp Mowrey	24 Sept 1827	20 Dec 1920	93
18	Elzadie Ford Allred	2 Dec 1827	20 Dec 1887	60
18	Matilda Jane Nease Hunt	1 Jan 1828	22 Oct 1865	37
18	Melissa Burton Coray	2 Mar 1828	21 Sept 1903	75
17	Hulda Sophia Smith Gribble	28 June 1829	1903/1904	74
16	Almira Higgins Chase (married in Pueblo)	28 May 1830	23 Feb 1873	42
16	Harriett St John Brown	7 Nov 1829	18 Nov 1920	91
13	Phoebe Lodema Merrill Stillman	5 Aug 1832	18 Jan 1909	76
UNK	Magell Mancheeta Brown (Indian girl married in San Diego)	est 1835	1857	est 22

CHILDREN OLDEST TO YOUNGEST (not officer servants/soldiers, age as of July 16, 1846)

18	Andrew Jackson Mayfield (Adult son)	1828	17 Nov 1912	
15	Emily Carolyn Shelton	May 1831	Jan 1917	
15	Neuman Brown	18 July 1830	6 Apr 1879	
14	Robert Brown	11 May 1832	14 Mar 1877	
14	Jane Hunt	1 Oct 1831	26 Dec 1899	
13	John Hunt	9 Mar 1833	1 June 1917	
12	Peter Nease or Neas (sibling)	5 July 1834	28 Sept 1910	
12	Marion Jackson Shelton	30 Aug 1833	2 Nov 1886	
12	Druzilla Higgins	18 Dec 1833	10 Feb 1892	
11	Sarah Mayfield	3 Jan 1835	14 February 1903	
11	Harriett Hunt	9 Feb 1835	10 Apr 1918	
11	Sarah Brown	27 Oct 1834	25 Sept 1920	
10	Ellen Nease or Neas (sibling)	12 Mar 1836	2 Mar 1882	
10	Caroline Sargent (sibling)	28 Oct 1835	2 May 1905	
10	James Button	1836	1859	
9	Joseph Hunt	9 May 1837	2 Sept 1916	
8	Parley Bathrick	1838	7 Aug 1871	
6	Jutson Button	24 July 1839	19 Jan 1924	
6	Heber Kimball Higgins	4 Sept 1839	14 Mar 1873	

5	George D Black	18 Feb 1841	7 Apr 1913
5	Hyrum Hunt	7 Oct 1840	25 Dec 1880
5	Abraham Cooper Shelton	Dec 1840	29 Dec 1916
5	Mary Catherine Steele	23 Dec 1840	12 Dec 1874
4	Thomas Shelton	1841	2 Feb 1856
4	Louisa Button	1842	circa 1868
4	Carlos Smith Higgins	2 Jan 1842	21 Nov 1919
4	Daniel C Davis, Jr	4 Jan 1842	5 Oct 1878
3	Caroline Marion Williams	24 Apr 1843	21 Dec 1916
3	Mary Ann Brown	2 Oct 1842	15 Feb 1901
2	Samuel Button	1844	21 Nov 1880
1	Betsy Bathrick	1845	1847
1	Mary Elizabeth Shelton	1845	after 1880
1	Martha Zina Huntington	19 Jan 1844	5 Apr 1883
1	Ephraim Williams	15 Jun 1845	28 Apr 1885
1	Mary Hunt	12 July 1845	29 Sept 1930
1	Parley Hunt	12 July 1845	1 Jan 1847
7 mo	Angeline Luddington	17 Dec 1845	1 Sept 1922

Births

Does not include the “stillborn birth or miscarriages” for Eliza Bridget Manwaring Allred (Aug/Nov 1846) and possibly Caroline Emeline Sessions in Oct/Nov 1846.

0	Betsey Prescinda Huntington	21 Oct 1846	9 Nov 1846	Pueblo (infant death)
0	Sarah Ellen Sharp	28 Nov 1846	1 March 1937	Pueblo
0	Phoebe Isabell Williams	15 Jan 1847	12 Nov 1880	Pueblo
0	Catherine Malinda Kelley	7 Feb 1847	17 Feb 1899	Pueblo
0	Elizabeth Margaret Shupe	2 Mar 1847	2 Oct 1848	Pueblo
0	Diego Hunter	20 Apr 1847	unknown	San Diego
0	Wealthea Higgins	2 May 1847	22 Nov 1849	Pueblo
0	John Taylor Brown	2 June 1847	20 Sept 1849	en route to SL
0	William Coray	2 Sept 1847	4 Oct 1847	born/died after discharge

Note: Some officer servants 16 and under were traveling with their father or male relative without mother/both parents. With the exception of Alroy Root, all of these servants arrived in California.

William Bowring (16) with 18 year-old brother who was also officer servant

Charles Edwin Colton (11) with father Philander Colton

James Lawson (13) with father John Lawson

James Allen Mowery (16) with brother John Mowrey

William Pace (14) with father James Pace

Wilson Daniel Pace (14) with uncle James Pace

Alroy Root (15) with uncle Eleazer Davis