Mormon Battalion After Discharge - A Complex Story

Compiled by Mary Ann Kirk, last edited, November 1, 2026

Past historians have written about the movements of Mormon Battalion veterans after discharge in July 1847. However, the publications often lumped together the accounts of groups without identifying the little details that make this story so complex. The men in Kearny's escorts and the detachments are generally more accurate in various publications with a few exceptions. Norma Ricketts' publication "*The Mormon Battalion*" provides the most detailed summary. Her version of the various groups and those arriving in the Great Basin from California is often used by the Church of Jesus Christ historical data base. Unfortunately the publication has various errors for those who were discharged in California. A major mistake was made when she assumed that those who weren't identified in California must have traveled to Salt Lake in 1847 and those who remained in California were Sutter's workmen. Both assumptions were inaccurate. The men were working in many different locations including Monterey, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Many of those who eventually mined did so in other locations along the waterways and did not work for Sutter. Both Ricketts and the Church Historical Database who based their information on Ricketts, over-simplified the groups traveling to the Great Basin in 1847 and 1848 and even created a company that did not exist and left out others. This article will attempt to identify, clarify, and in some cases, correct the groups that traveled during enlistment and after discharge. Utilizing a large database compiled by Kristine Forbes and her associate Tom Brown with assistance from the Mormon Battalion Association researchers, this article will also attempt to identify or clarify the groups individual veterans traveled with as they were faced with a variety of situations. This information and lists of men use primary sources that were often not available or fully analyzed by previous historians. Life sketches of the individual men can be found on Family Search or in a pdf attached on the Mormon Battalion Association website. Caution: While numbers in each company were sometimes included in journals, tracking who was where, when, and with whom is a monumental task that can change with newly discovered sources.

A Wide Range of Sources

Personal journals and autobiographies by the soldiers, family members or others who mentioned a soldier's name in a specific time and place after discharge provided critical information. Family history sites such as Family Search or Ancestry often provided additional information of where and when a soldier might have been located at a specific time based on family information such as a birth/location of a child.

A careful review of military records for discharge including narratives in pension and bounty land records provide specific information and additional clues to each veteran's movement. Since men between the ages of 18 and 45 were asked to join the Utah Militia, military rolls from the Utah Militia Rolls (also called Nauvoo Legion and now available on Family Search) also helped validate if and when Battalion veterans were located in the Great Basin by 1849 or later.

Digitized and searchable primary sources at the Church History Library (CHL) helped augment, validate, clarify and update soldier locations referenced in the many letters between soldiers, family, and Church leaders sometimes written later in life. Careful reading of the Journal of Church History helped identify original sources that documented companies, groups of men and individuals returning east and traveling west. It also identified church assignments, events, and church efforts to organize in the Salt Lake Valley such as property records in the "big field" and the Brigham Young gold account. Other church records such as rebaptisms in the Salt Lake Valley also identified a soldier's location. These documents helped place a soldier in a specific place and time, helping us to "deduce" in some cases what company they likely arrived with.

A collection of Battalion forms submitted for the 1897 Pioneer Jubilee documenting when and with whom soldiers entered the Salt Lake Valley in 1847 provided additional insight. Other public records such as census records and obituaries from newspapers.com often gave additional clues as to their travels.

First soldiers who returned to Council Bluffs

Even during enlistment, several soldiers returned to Iowa. Samuel Gully who resigned and Roswell Stevens who was detached at Santa Fe both returned with couriers John D. Lee and Howard Egan in October 1846 who were sent to collect the soldier's pay. Thomas Woolsey and John Tippets arrived at Pueblo with the Willis detachment in December 1846 and continued to Council Bluffs, arriving in early 1847 with letters for family and communication to Church leadership. Three of these soldiers, Stevens, Woolsey and Tippets traveled with the Brigham Young's Vanguard Company and were sent to meet the detachments.

Kearny's escort

Two groups of soldiers were on the move before the main command was discharged in Los Angeles in July 1847. Leaving Los Angeles in May 1847, a small number of Mormon Battalion soldiers were assigned to escort General Kearny with other regular army dragoons to take the rebellious John C Fremont to Fort Leavenworth for a court martial. According to several journals, Sylvester Hulett, Jeremiah Willey, Elanson Tuttle and possibly Ebenezer Landers traveled by boat with General Kearny and Colonel Cooke while the others traveled the coastal highway, meeting up at Monterey, then traveled to Sutter's Fort and east to Fort Leavenworth on government horses and mules. They were the first to come across the gruesome Donner Party on their way and Kearny halted the group long enough to bury bones and set fire to a cabin.

The number of Battalion soldiers differ between several accounts from twelve to fifteen. General Kearny noted there were thirteen men in a letter to Army headquarters. Captain Henry Turner, another army officer noted there were fifteen. Nathaniel Vary Jones, who kept the most detailed journal of the group, indicated three were selected from each of the four companies stationed at Los Angeles. However, through military records including bounty land applications, the men and their stories have been identified and clarified. Fourteen Mormon Battalion soldiers and one Battalion veteran who had resigned in March were among fifteen men. Military documents indicate Sylvester Hulett resigned, and proof was provided of his early resignation in a bounty land application. William Spencer stated he was assigned as hospital steward, so it is possible he was left out of the number in one account.

Thirteen soldiers at Fort Leavenworth - ten with the main group in August and the other three a few weeks later. As they approached Fort Leavenworth at Ash Hollow, Matthew Caldwell, Charles Webb and William Spencer were asked to stay behind to help an injured army dragoon and bugler. Although several men's bounty land files included a discharge notice indicating the men were discharged from the Mormon Battalion at Bear River Oregon, per the end of their one-year enlistment, the first group was paid through August when they arrived at Fort Leavenworth. William Spencer later complained he was not paid for his extra service as hospital steward. When Kearny's company heading east and the "Big Company" of Saints heading west crossed paths, private John Binley and resignee Sylvester Hulett, left Kearny's group to join their families on their way to the Great Basin. Kearny's other thirteen escorts were the first official organized group of Battalion soldiers to return to Council Bluffs. The first group arrived on August 22. The second group arrived on September 17. They included Gilman Gordon, Joseph Taylor, Charles Webb, Jeremiah Willey Thomas Ivie, Ebenezer Landers, William Reynolds, Elanson Tuttle, William Spencer, Nathaniel V Jones, Amos Cox, Mathew Caldwell, and Samuel Clark.

Pueblo Detachments

The Pueblo detachments included 158 soldiers who left the main command in three companies between September and November 1846. Subtracting deaths, two who left to Council Bluffs and two who stayed behind, a total of 139 soldiers left Pueblo in May 1847. Along the trail to the Great Basin, three who had gone to Council Bluffs earlier were now with the Vanguard Company and rejoined the Battalion. Initially, Captain James Brown intended to take the soldiers to the west coast to join the main command per orders received at Santa Fe. But Brigham Young sent Amasa Lyman and the three soldiers to intercept them in early June. After a small group from the detachments caught up with the Vanguard on July 4, Brigham Young was informed of the

challenge of discharge and pay. On July 8, a letter was sent from Brigham and the Council at Fort Bridger to Amasa with the following instructions. "*Brother Brannan direct from California, will accompany Srgt Williams to your camp. his command will go on with us, and from time to time, some of them will return to you, to assist in piloting you thro to our location in the Basin, and it is wisdom that you come on, as fast as the nature of the case will admit. We understand that the Troops have not provisions sufficient to go to the Western Coast; and their time of enlistment will expire about the time they get to our place. they will draw pay until duly discharged, if they continue to obey Council; and there is no Officer short of California who is authorized to discharge them, therefore when you come up with us; Cap.n Brown can quarter his troops in our beautiful City, which we are about to build; either on parole, detached service or some other important business, and we can have a good visit with them, while Cap.n Brown with an escort of 15 or 20 mounted men and Elder Brannan for Pilot, may gallop over to head quarters* [San Francisco]*, get his pay, rations, and discharge, and learn the Geography of the Country."* The actual number of men who went with Captain Brown to collect the pay was much smaller. (See later description)

Continuing toward the Great Basin, eight soldiers left to travel east or west and never made it to Salt Lake in 1847. William Walker stopped along the trail to wait for family coming in the "big company" and arrived in September.

Deserted/stayed at Pueblo: James Glines, Thomas Burns (both traveled to Council Bluffs in 1847)
Deserted/left west: Charles Wright and likely Maxie Maxwell
Forloughed/traveled east: Eastman, Pugmire, Edmund/Almon Whiting, Jackson, Hulett
Rejoined: Roswell Stephens, Thomas Woolsey, John Tippets
Stopped along trail/Waited for Family: William Walker

A total of 133 veterans arrived in Salt Lake in July along with a number of women, children, and the Mississippi Company. Church recorder, Thomas Bullock, recorded their names including families who arrived with the soldiers and noting some who had "deserted." A full list of those who arrived in Salt Lake has been compiled in another document about the Pueblo detachments and Mississippi Company. The Bullock roster only included part of the Mississippi Company since some of them left Pueblo early and joined the Vanguard Company. Journals identified men who attended a sacrament meeting on August 8 and recorded specific assignments to prepare the area for incoming saints. A church record was later compiled with the names of those who were rebaptized in 1847 and subsequent years. Bullock then recorded a small, advanced group and two large companies of men from the Brigham Young's Vanguard Company and Battalion veterans from the detachments who were organized to return to Iowa in August to bring their families to the Great Basin. Although about eight turned around for other assignments or met family on the trail, about 86 veterans of 133 arriving in Salt Lake in July were on those lists - about 60%.

Detached Soldiers Going East After Arrival in Salt Lake
Soon after arriving in Salt Lake, many from the detachments and the vanguard company headed east to find their families The following lists and descriptions of the detachments illustrate the major challenge to keep track of numbers and who was where and when. A few men from the combined lists met their wives' and/or family on the trail headed west and turned around, returning to the Great Basin. A few returned to Salt Lake for a different assignment but then sometimes turned around again to catch up with those going east. A group of men including five veterans were sent ahead of companies on August 11 to hunt for food under the direction of Norton Jacobs including James Oakley (met family, returned to SL), Richard D Smith, David Perkins, Wm Beckstead, Isaac Carpenter along with others from the Vanguard. The advanced group and two organized companies arrived in Iowa in October 1847.

Aug 17, 1847 An organized company from Salt Lake valley left for Council Buffs. Thomas Bullock noted there were 46 veterans. They are listed below plus additional men from the Vanguard were with them. According to

Franklin Allen's journal, this group arrived in Council Bluffs on October 21. Also included in Neibaur's journal page 23.

* Assigned to drive the loose cattle and hunt for the company.
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Note lists have slight differences. Bullock incorrectly listed Lyman Curtis as Battalion member. The journal of Church History account included the name of Rufus Allen which is not accurate. He remained in Salt Lake in 1847-48.

Franklin Allen
Samuel Badham*
William Bird*
John Calvert
Albert Clark
Josiah Curtis
David Garner
James Hendrickson*
Jarvis Johnston
Lisbon Lamb
Harmon D Persons
Henry W Sanderson
Joseph Skeen
Roswell Stevens
Myron Tanner
Francis Whitney
Jeduthan Averett
Erastus Bingham (met wife)
William Burt
William Carpenter
Allen Compton
James Dunn
Phillip Garner
Charles Hopkins
Loren Kenney
William McLelland
Thomas Richardson
Andrew Shupe
John G Smith
James Stewart
Solomon Tindell
Lorenzo Babcock
Thomas Bingham* (met fam)
John Bybee
James Cazier*
George Cummings
Francillo Durfee*
Luther Glazier
Bailey Jacobs
Barnabas Lake*
Daniel Miller*
Benjamin Roberts*
Joseph Shipley
Lyman Stevens
Clark Stillman
John Tippets

Aug 26, 1847 The second organized company left for Council Bluffs with Brigham Young/Church leaders, 34 veterans plus Dr. McIntyre who met family, those from Vanguard Company not listed (2 records, slightly different). The Journal of Church History indicated the company arrived in Council Bluffs on October 31. Some may have arrived later. According to Arza Hinckley's memories, one group arrived in Council Bluffs about November 10.

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John Brimhall
George Clark
James C Earl
Samuel Gould
Elijah Holden (met mother, crossed out)
Thurston Larson (Capt Brown, crossed out)
Hayward Thomas
Judson Persons
William Rowe
Albert Sharp (on one, not other)
George Wilson
John P Wriston
John Buchanan
James Davis (met family, returned)
William Gifford
Arza Hinckley
Jesse Johnson (Johnstun)
David Laughlin
Peter Mesick
Benjamin Richmond
William Rust
Dexter Stillman
Thomas Woolsey
Joseph [James] G Camp
Ralph Douglas
John Gould (met company, returned)
Lucas Hoaglund (met family, returned)
Thomas Karren
Jabez Nowlin (met wife, returned)
William Park
C [Caratat] Rowe
Abel Sargeant
Joel Terrell
Isaac Wriston (on one/not other)

Note there was a Benjamin Franklin Stewart in this company who had arrived with the Vanguard Company. He is a different person than the Benjamin Stewart of the Battalion who remained in Salt Lake.
William Wesley Willis traveled initially with Captain Brown headed west and broke off to find family coming with the Big Company. Haden Church stayed in Salt Lake until wife and children arrived in September. Binley and Hulett from Kearny's escorts also arrived with the Big Company in the fall of 1847. One soldier Erastus Mecham left for CB in December as a mail carrier arriving in January 1848. About 75% of those going east, returned to Salt Lake with their families over the next several years.

Aside from the soldiers whose wives were with them, only four wives and five parents/family members of the detachments came to Salt Lake in 1847, most meeting the veterans along the trail which explains the large number of soldiers returning to Iowa. The same situation played out as the California veterans arrived in October of 1847.

Captain Brown Going West, August 1847
Letter to Jefferson Hunt
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Under the leadership of Captain Brown, a small group of men from the detachments headed west to collect the pay for the detachments on August 9, crossing the path of eastbound veterans from California on September 7, 1847. They included Captain James Brown, Abner Blackburn, Jesse Sowel Brown, Lysander Woodworth, William Squires, William Gribble, and Gilbert Hunt plus Sam Brannan and one other (Fowler). Captain Brown was carrying a letter from Brigham Young with instructions to come to Salt Lake but Brown gave verbal instructions to return to California if they did not have sufficient supplies. Gilbert left Brown's group when they met his father, Jefferson Hunt's small company, and Hancock's company, traveling to Salt Lake. Only some of the men who arrived in California with Brown returned to Salt Lake in 1847. Others came later and William Squires never returned. Samuel Lewis, who had remained behind near Sutter's when the first group of veterans headed east from California in August joined Captain Brown on his return trip to Salt Lake, leaving October 5 and arriving on November16 according to Abner Blackburn's account. The return company included Captain Brown, Abner Blackburn, Jesse S Brown, Lysander Woodworth and Samuel Lewis.

After discharge in California, July 1847
Prior to discharge in California, a lengthy discussion occurred between Mormon Battalion officers, US Army officers who were anxious to recruit the men for additional service, and religious leadership within the ranks. Levi Hancock and a few other religious leaders plus some officers expressed their opinion that they had completed their duty and needed to rejoin the Saints and the majority supported that counsel. After the main body of the Battalion was discharged in July 1847, many men followed Levi Hancock. Another group followed Captain Jefferson Hunt with several officers. However, a total of 79 veterans plus three former officer servants chose to enlist in the Mormon Volunteers, serving until March 1848 under the direction of former Captain Daniel Davis of Mormon Battalion Company E, one of whom advocated for the men to reenlist. After discharge in March 1848, some of these men traveled east along a southern route with the Boyle Company in 1848, others traveled north and eventually traveled to Salt Lake in subsequent years, and others resided in California or other states for the rest of their lives. One group initially worked near Los Angeles before going north after gold was discovered. Andrew Workman identified a few of the volunteers who were with him. He recorded "*After our discharge, I and sixteen others went to the ranch of Colonel Williams...There we took a job of building fence...Our company consisted of myself and C.C. Workman [Cornelius], my brother, and Philander Fletcher, Jerome Zabriske, Lot Smith, Harold MacBride, Edward Walker, Philo Carter and Hyrum Fellows.*

Mormon Volunteers enlisted July 20, 1847 and discharged March 14, 1848
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Daniel Davis, Capt	Lt Cyrus Canfield	Lt Ruel Barrus
Lt Robert Clift	Sgt Edmund Brown	Srg Samuel Myers
Srg Benjamin Mayfield	Sgt Lafayette Frost	Srg Henry Packard
Corp Thorit Peck (Thomas)	Corp Isaac Harrison	Corp Hiram Mount
Corp Edwin Walker	Mus Richard Sprague	Mus Henry Jackson
Addison Bailey	Jefferson Bailey	Gordon Beckstead
Orrin Beckstead	Henry Bowring*	Henry Boyle/Miller
Benjamin Brass	Henry Brizzee	William W Brown
John Bryant	Edwin Calkins	Thomas Callahan
Isaac P Carter	Riley G Clark	John R Clawson
James Clift	Jeptha S Condit	John A Covil
Neal Donald (died)	Willard Dayton	Thomas P Dutcher
Jacob S Earl	Justice/Jesse Earl	William Evans
Ezra Faitoute	Hiram W Fellows	Philander Fletcher
Ebenezer Harmon	Lorenzo F Harmon	Oliver Harmon
James S Hart	William Hickenlooper	James Kibby
William Lance	James W Lemmon	Benjamin Maggard
Harlen McBride	Thomas Morris	James Mowrey*
John T Mowrey	John C Naegle	Christin Noler
James P Park	Edwin M Peck	Isaac Peck
Peter F. Richards	John J Riser	John Ritter
Levi Runyan	George S Sexton	Aurora Shumway
Lot/Luther Smith	Willard G. Smith	George E Steele
Isaiah C. Steele	Andres j Steers	Jonathan Miles Thompson
John S Watts	Benjamin West	Henry Wheeler
John L Wheeler	James V Williams	Jacob Winters
Andrew J Workman	Oliver G Workman	Nathan Young*
Jerome Zabriskie		

* Officer servants for Mormon Battalion.
Note Ricketts incorrectly included Ebenezer Brown on this list.

Where were the Saints?

Although Hunt did not reenlist, he was not ready yet to head east with Hancock. There is no evidence that Hunt was a captain of 50 within Hancock's organized company as historian Ricketts suggested. They traveled separately on different routes for different reasons. Their choice of route and the men who followed them did not reflect their loyalty to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as some have suggested. The reenlistment question was still unresolved. But most importantly and often overlooked, it reflected the men's uncertainty and understanding about where the Saints would permanently settle. In September 1845, Samuel Brannan and a group of Saints traveled to California via sea and Brigham Young wrote *"we will meet you there.*" Just prior to the muster at Council Bluffs, the officers were told that the Saints were planning to travel to the Great Basin. But there is evidence that Brigham Young was still exploring whether Salt Lake was only a temporary stopping point. For instance, in a letter dated July 3 sent to Amasa Lyman who was guiding the detachments into Salt Lake, Brigham Young and the Council indicated *"our destination is the Great Basin, or Salt Lake, for the present at least, to examine the country*." Multiple documents including journals and letters indicate many soldiers thought the Saints would eventually settle on the coast in California. While some suggest references to California referred to the territory that incorporated the Great Basin, many primary sources

of soldiers' letters to family challenge that general description. For example, Thomas Richardson wrote "tell Laurance if He will take Hold and Help the family through that he shall share in the thousand acres of land Which I escpect to Have fall to me in California ….we will all mett again in California if we Don't meet Before… Tell John and Robert that they will Have merry Rides on the ocean and catch many a large fish."

On May 8, a military express arrived at Los Angeles via Santa Fe with letters for the U.S. military command and some letters for some Battalion men from church leaders per two journal entries. But these letters have not been found. There is evidence one letter was sent to William Muir since he wrote a letter dated May 16 which was received and read along the trail on August 30 by Brigham Young's company returning to Iowa according to Thomas Bullock. Bullock also noted letters also were read from Hunt and Hancock. It is unknown what the letter from Hancock contained, but it is likely the letter from Hunt was the same as one written on May 14 from California.
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Given the time frame, it is likely the letters received in California was written just prior to when Brigham Young and his vanguard company left Winter Quarters in late April. If one was addressed to Hunt, it apparently didn't give definitive information as to the Saints' final destination. Officers Hunt, Merrill, Davis and Clark sent a letter to Church leadership via the Battalion men who were escorting General Kearny dated May 14, 1847 or with the express returning east the same way they came. It stated "We are in perfect suspense here. In two months we look for a discharge, and know not whither to chart our course. We have a very good offer to purchase a large valley sufficient to support fifty thousand families, connected with other excellent country which might be obtained. The rancho connected with the valley is about thirty miles from this place, and about twenty miles from a good ship landing..." This may have been the letter Bullock referred to on August 30.
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Even an agreement between the Mormon Volunteers for reenlistment and Colonel J.D. Stevenson acknowledged California could be the Saints final destination. Dated July 20, 1847, it stated the US government would "furnish us with the rations and pay allowed by law to the Salt Lake, into which Bear river empties, or to the bay of San Francisco, if preferred by us."

Since there had been only one known account of letters coming from Church leadership after Santa Fe, and those letters were likely written before the vanguard company left Iowa, Hunt was searching for answers. Perhaps Brigham Young had sent communication to northern settlements where some Saints were living. If the Saints' final destination was to be California, Hunt and other officers saw advantages to the men reenlisting. Hunt was still considering that possibility and started on his way to Monterey with almost 50 men, many of whom were officers. In contrast, some interpretations of early minutes of Church leadership meetings suggest Levi Hancock was aware of Salt Lake being the final destination but only known to Brigham Young's inner circle including Hancock. No matter what Hancock knew, a large majority of discharged soldiers were anxious to follow his direction and reunite with their families, wherever that might be. Traveling with the Hunt Company, William Coray recorded *"those who believed the counsel of Bro Levi made preparations and started with him for Walker Pass."* The reason for those who traveled with Hunt were varied. Coray noted "*Captain Hunt also marched for the Bay of San Francisco expecting to there hear something from the Church, as this was the place the Twelve supposed we would be discharged*." Coray wanted to get to San Francisco quickly because of his wife's delicate condition - she was almost eight months pregnant. Missionary Addison Pratt who had arrived from the Sandwich Islands also noted the possibility that the Saints may be coming to the coast. He wrote "*& as there was some prospect that my family would come to California if the body of the Church did, I expected to occupy a part of it."*

Subtracting the combined number of those who were with the detachments, died, drummed out, and left as

Kearny's escorts, 317 men were discharged in July 1847 in Los Angeles. A total of 79 reenlisted (not including the 3 officer servants). Just under half the men chose to start east with Hancock (164), just under 50 chose to go north with Hunt and 2 went north by boat (Borrowman and James Park). The remainder estimated in the range of 24-27 initially worked in southern California, many hired by prominent rancher, Isaac Williams. Both Ricketts and the Church Biographical data base lumped Hunt and Hancock's companies with two captains of 100 - Pace and Lytle - into one abbreviation using the first letters of each surname - HHPL. Perhaps this was done for simplicity since Hancock's group was organized in even smaller groups of 50s and it was difficult to definitively identify who was traveling with whom. But it misses the narrative between the smaller Hunt and larger Hancock companies.

Two different routes, two different destinations

Hunt and former officer George P. Dykes traveled north along the coast. William Coray recorded "about forty or fifty of those discharged went north to Monterey with Hunt." On July 20, Azariah Smith recorded *"There was a company started for the Bay of San Francisco called Dikes Company."* Hunt and Dykes were essentially the same group.

The day Hunt left, Hancock's group was organized. Daniel Tyler noted it was organized into companies with Andrew Lytle and James Pace assigned as Captain of 100s. Only three sergeants were mentioned as captains of 50s including William Hyde, Daniel Tyler and Redick N. Allred. Perhaps that is why Ricketts thought Hunt's company of 50 was part of the "200" based on the description that Lytle and Pace were each over 100. Tyler mentioned Elisha Averette as a captain of ten pioneers, a group of scouts leading the way and under the direction of Pace. Pace and Lytle left a few days apart, starting northeast planning to travel eastward on an emigrant trail. On July 30, James Pace wrote *"Here all the brethren caught up. We numbered 164 in all."*

Things did not go as planned when the separate groups left Los Angeles. Hunt and Dykes traveled up the coast toward Monterey arriving on August 9 where some men stopped. Based on journals, some of these men included William Coray, Ebenezer Brown, Samuel Thompson, Elijah Elmer and Thomas Treat. Elijah Elmer wrote '*So myself and Samuel Thompson and Thomas Treat in company pardership and some other stopped there for work. Hunt and the balance of company went to San Francisco*." Hunt left a note to Col Mason at Monterey on August 10 stating "*Sir - on my arrival here yesterday I regretted to learn that you had not yet returned. I am situated in regard to the party that accompanied me that I must leave here today For here I shall proceed to the P de San Jose and there I shall be highly gratified to receive any communications you may wish to make."* He went on to note the effort to raise another force in California. *"Should I find it impossible to raise a force on account of the emigration not having arrived, and you required a mail taken to the States this season, I should be glad to form a party for the purpose.*" Traveling to San Francisco, Hunt received another offer from Mason to form a new battalion under Mormon leadership. On August 16, Colonel Mason acknowledged he missed Hunt at Monterey and wrote a response, hoping another battalion could be recruited. "*Should the number of privates, on being mustered, not fall below sixty four effective men in Compy it will be received. Some convenient point to be hereafter designated --between Sutters Fort & San Francisco will be named as the place of Rendezvous...The Mormon Company at San Diego will be added to the three which it is proposed that you should raise...when your people arrive in the country you can inform me whether the companies can be raised and at what time."* But Hunt wanted direction from Brigham Young which had not been received yet. While additional men from Hunt's group remained at San Francisco, he arrived at Sutter's with only part of his original company. Missionary Addison Pratt noted in his journal most men with Hunt intended to work around San Francisco.

Hancock's group missed Walker's Pass on their way to find the Saints and their families. Although Daniel Tyler's history suggested the Hancock company was originally headed to Sutter's Fort, William B Pace's journal on August 13 provides a more accurate view of their original plans. He noted "*their report [scouts] was*

that we could not pass and it was thought best to turn for Sutter's Fort." On the same day, Henry Bigler noted they missed the pass "*and it was decided that we take Fremont's route and go by way of Sutter's Fort, for we had no good map."*

On about August 22, both Hunt and Hancock were approaching Sutter's Fort. Surprisingly, neither knew the other was headed there. But eventually the two groups converged, and Hunt finally had his answer about where the Saints were located. On August 24, Azariah Smith recorded *"Bro Little and Hunt came in camp with Hunt having received news from the church that the twelve are at Salt Lake with the pioneers*." This information likely came from Charles C Smith who initially traveled east with Brannan and returned west in July with Archibald Lytle who was with part of the Mississippi Company who wintered at Pueblo and met up with Brigham Young's Company in June. In his journal on June 30, 1846, William Clayton noted "*Samuel Brannan arrived, having come from the Pacific to meet us, obtain council &c He is accompanied by "Smith" of the firm of Jackson, Heaton & Bonney, bogus matters of Nauvoo."*

Missionary Addison Pratt who had returned from Sandwich Islands also described the two groups in his autobiography. "The Brethren began to arrive in San Francisco from the Mormon Battalion that had been stationed at Pueblo de Los Angelos, & San Diego, the most of whom were intending to seek employ in & about Francisco till the next spring. & Then we would all start for Salt Lake. But Capt Hunt told me he should go to Salt Lake forth with & by him I sent a letter to my family. He told me if they were not on the road, he would forward it to Winter Quarters. There had another large party of the Battalion under Brother Levi Hancock, started from the lower country for Salt Lake, by way of [...] valley, in hopes of crossing the Sierra Nevada range at Walkers pass. But they not having pilots, missed it & they passed down the San Joaquin Valley & up to Sutter's fort, at the junction of the Sacramento and American fork rivers."

Hunt Company

Hunt started east to carry mail from the military and intended to confer with Brigham Young about the reenlistment offer and plans for the Saints permanent location. On August 26, Levi Hancock recorded "*This day, Jefferson starts out, I understand, with recruiting orders [to raise five companys from the Mormons, we think he can't come it. He is gone ahead of all with his picked company officers, the "old Fathers' as the soldiers call them*." At least eight were with Hunt. It is unknown if more than eight were with him when they left Sutter's, but likely only a few, if any, who then turned around when they met Captain Brown. Per Lt Merrill's 1897 Pioneer Jubilee form, Hunt arrived in Salt Lake with a group of eight, referring to those who actually arrived with Hunt's company. Analyzing several Pioneer Jubilee forms, the group of eight included officers, but also relatives. An additional young officer servant who was the son of Philander Colton and nephew of Lt Merrill, Charles Edwin Colton, was also with them and doesn't appear to be included in the count. As noted earlier, Captain Hunt's son, Gilbert, who was with the detachments and accompanied Captain Brown in his travels to collect the pay, met them along the trail at Truckee Meadows and returned to Salt Lake with his father. Charles Edwin Colton listed the date of arrival as October 7. Philemon Merrill used the date of October 11 and Lorenzo Clark and John C Thompson recorded they arrived with Hunt on October 14, possibly a difference in memory. Hunt did travel with one of the Hancock groups at times. In his journal on September 24, Hancock noted "*this morning found another letter from father Pedegrooo who is with Capt Pace stating that they was with Capt Hunt on the 20th*." On September 26 he wrote "passed Haisting cutoff found that Hunt and Capt Pace had gone there the letter from the twelve was not to go it." It was later discovered that Pace and Hunt had not used the Hasting cutoff.

Captain Jefferson Hunt
Marshall Hunt (son of Jefferson Hunt)

Lt George P Dykes (assumed because of military relationship)
Lt Philemon Merrill - stated 7 arrived with him excluding child
Ferdinand Merrill (nephew of Lt Merrill)
Philander Colton (brother-in-law of Lt Merrill)
*Lt Lorenzo Clark
*John C Thompson
*Charles Edwin Colton (now 12-year-old son of Philander, nephew of Lt Merrill)

Many of those likely leaving Los Angeles with Hunt stopped at Monterey or San Francisco. A few may have stopped at Sutter's or gone on with Hunt but turned around when they met Captain Brown. Some are confirmed in journals and autobiographies. Others are guesses based on other factors.

William Beers
Ebenezer Brown
William Coray
Henry S Dalton
Augustus Dodge
Elijah Elmer
Meltair Hatch
Orin Hatch
Henry Hoskins
Sanford Jacob
Orice Murdock
Marcus Shepherd
Robert Boyd Stewart
John Stoddard
Samuel Thompson
Thomas Treat
Franklin Weaver
Miles Weaver
James Bailey
James Owen
David Pulsipher
John Roylance
Edward Wilcox
Phineas Wright
Dennis Winn
Ezra Allen
William Barger
Hiram Chase
William Coons
Henderson Cox
Joseph Dobson
Thomas Dunn
Israel Evans
James Ferguson
Daniel Henrie
Richard Ivie
William Johnstun
Zadock Judd (info conflicting)
William Kelley
David Moss
William Muir
Elijah Thomas
John S White

A Company That Did Not Exist
Interestingly, historian Norma Ricketts added another small company she called the Horace Alexander Company traveling the southern route in 1847. The source at Church History attributed the account to the diary of Newman Bulkley which did not identify any men by name. Bulkley's diary described crossing the Truckee River thirteen times which was clearly a northern route - not southern. It is unclear how Horace Alexander was identified as the leader since he was not mentioned by Bulkley, but he is mentioned in James Pace journal on August 6 as part of the large Hancock Company. The 1897 Jubilee documents challenged other names Ricketts included in the so-called Horace Alexander Company including Charles Edwin Colton who stated he arrived in Salt Lake with Hunt and presumably his father. Also listed in Rickett's list of non-existent Alexander Company, Dorr P Curtis stated he was with the R.N. Allred Company which was part of the large Hancock company. No primary document validates any group of veterans traveled the southern route going east in 1847. This non-existent company has since been removed from the Church database.

Hancock, Pace and Lytle Company
After arriving at Sutter's Fort, the story becomes very complex. Some stayed behind and others continued east. Norma Ricketts created a new name for those who continued east called the Hancock Sierra Company, combining Hunt with Hancock's companies. It is difficult to verify the number and names of those who continued on and the small number who initially stayed behind although a few men staying behind were specifically mentioned in journals including Sutter himself. Arriving at Truckee Meadow on Sept 7, 1847, the

combined groups of men met Captain James Brown coming west with a small group from the detachments to collect pay for them with a letter from Brigham Young indicating the valley of the Great Salt Lake "*will be our head quarters for the present, and our dwelling place as quick as we can go and bring up our familys, which we have left behind this season...*" The document also encouraged the veterans to continue to Salt Lake but Captain Brown verbally gave additional but conflicting guidance. A number of journals or later written memories recorded this event. Henry Bigler's journal entry summed up what they heard "*which was for all who had not families and those who had, that unless they had plenty of provisions with them that it would be wisdom for all such to turn back to California and go to work, fit themselves out and then come on to Salt Lake the next spring, for at Salt Lake there was but little provisions and they had already sent out a hunting party to kill buffalo, and provisions were scarce at Fort Hall.*" Zadock Judd wrote ""*advising all who had not provisions enough to last them until the next harvest to return to California unless they expected to go right through to Winter Quarters, for provisions were scarce in Salt Lake. There I, with a number of others returned to California.*" Samuel Rogers wrote "*The counsel which is given to us from the Twelve, is that those who have no families at the Salt Lake, nor provisions to last over winter, to stay in California until spring."*

Samuel Miles wrote "*This caused about half our company to return."* Robert Pixton wrote *"So the company divided right where we met each other. Some went on to Winter Quarters, some to the valley and some turned back*" noting he turned back and "sent a mule to my wife with Bro Harris." Interestingly, four men returned/stayed in California although their wives arrived in 1847 - Edwin Calkins, Jonathan Holmes, Daniel Browett, and William Kelley. Calkins died before leaving California in 1848 and Browett died on the trail to Salt Lake.

While about 90+ continued toward Salt Lake, John King's journal identified a group of seven men who left the trail before arriving in the Great Basin and traveled to Fort Bridger. William Pace noted on October 7 "*apart of our company took the main road to go to Fort Bridger and wait for the remainder of the company, that wished to go by the City of Salt Lake."* They then waited for those who went into Salt Lake for supplies and eventually reconnected. These men continued to Council Bluffs in several groups, arriving just before Christmas according to John King's journal. Just over half the men remained in Salt Lake for the winter.

Arrived in Salt Lake from California, 1847

For some, the decision to go on was related to learning their wives and/or family had arrived - nine of them, a few with children. (See chart below) In October 1847, the men began arriving in small companies including Hunt and the smaller units from Hancock's larger company. According to Philemon Merrill, Hunts group arrived on October 11. In his autobiography, James Pace arrived October 16. From the approximate 84 veterans plus three officer servants who arrived in Salt Lake, a little over half (about 50) stayed in Salt Lake for at least a year. About twenty of those who remained in Salt Lake for the winter of 1847-48 started on their way to Council Bluffs the following year with some of them meeting family on the trail and returning to Salt Lake. Two left for California with the Hunt/Lathrop Company a month later.

For about 36 men, Salt Lake became a brief resupply station before leaving for Iowa. On October 16, Hyde noted he left in company with 16, combining some from his company and some from Hunt's group including Philemon Merrill. A second group left two days later comprised of 20. The overall numbers vary by account. On October 18, Pace indicated some 30 men left even though a statement in Church History Journal coming from Daniel Tyler suggested 32 left. David Pettegrew stated 36 left for Winter Quarters by the end of 1847 which is likely the combined numbers between the two groups. The second group joined the seven veterans who broke off earlier and were waiting for them. Using the number of 36 (likely including 2 officer servants) added to the seven who broke off, about 43 arrived in Iowa in December just before Christmas on several different dates. Several

men kept contemporary journals including John King and William Pace (officer servant). A pioneer journalist, Hosea Stout, who was a church member living in Winter Quarters recorded on December 11 "*Sixteen of our Brethren who went in the army returned today from the valley."* On December 17 he stated *"Some 20 more of the brethren came in from the valley*" matching the number leaving Salt Lake but missing the other seven who joined them. It is uncertain when the few other men arrived.

Broke off/waited at Fort Bridger. King journal mentions Harris and Rainey. Reddick Allred mentions Averett. Judd is named in Robert Pixton's journal with several of these men after several groups combined.

Reddick Allred (A)	Elisha Averett (A)	Robert Harris (E)	
Hyrum Judd (E)	John King (B)	David Rainey ((B)	*unidentified fr/below

Remained in SL	Cont to Council Bluffs in 47*	Started/Cont to Council Bluffs in 48**
Company A		
Clinton Bronson	Lorenzo Clark* (Hunt)	Albern Allen** (met family on trail)
William Caspar (wife in SL)	Andrew Goodwin*	Rufus Allen** (met family on trail)
Jefferson Hunt (Hunt/west)	George Oman*	Robert Egbert**
Marshall Hunt (Hunt/west)	John C Thompson* (Hunt)	Richard Ivie**
Merrill Wheeler	Joseph White*	Alexander McCord**
		Richard Sessions**
		William Sessions**
Company B		
George Allen	Philander Colton* (Hunt)	Horace Alexander**
Dorr Curtis (wife in SL)	William A Follett*	Robert Bliss**
Ephraim Hanks	William Hyde*	William Garner**
Edward Hunter (wife in SL)	Nelson McCarty*	Isaiah Huntsman**
John Lawson (met fam 49)	Philemon Merrill* (Hunt)	Thomas Kirk**
John Murdock	George Taggart*	Albert Smith** (met family on trail)
Robert Owens (wife in SL)		
Henry Wilcox (CB 49)		
James Lawson (officer serv)		
Charles E Colton (off serv) -(Hunt)		
Company C		
Augustus Dodge	Russell Brownell*	
Charles Hancock	George Catlin*	
Levi McCullough	George Hancock*	
George Rosecrans (wife in SL)	Edward Martin*	
Moses Wade (CB 49)	Levi McCullough*	
	James Myler*	
	James Thompson*	
	Daniel Tyler*	
Company D		
John Forsgren (wife in SL)	James Casto*	Charles Perrin?**
William Hendricks (fam in SL)	Sterling Davis*	
Lewis Lane	George Dykes* (Hunt)	
Ferdinand Merrill (Hunt)	Alpheus Haws*	
Levi Savage	Abraham Hunsaker*	
	William Maxwell*	
	James Pettegrew*	

Alonzo Raymond*
William Robinson*
Luther Tuttle*

Company E

Joseph S Clark? (CB 48)	Edward Bunker*	Newman Bulkley**
Charles Jameson (CB 48 or 49)	Abraham Day*	Simon Dike**
David Pettegrew	John Ewell*	Frederick Forney**
Sanford Porter (fam in SL)	William Ewell*	Thomas Howell**
John Spidle (CB 49)	Andrew Lytle*	Levi Hancock** (met fam on trail)
Stephen St John (wife/fam SL)	James Pace*	Henry Standage** (met fam on trail)
Lenard Scott? (Or arrived 48)	William Pace * (officer serv)	
	Wilson Daniel Pace* (officer serv)	

Using a combination of sources for the 317 men in California at discharge, about 220+ men or almost 70% were found in California by the end of 1847 - far more than what has been represented by other publications. Besides the 79 soldier reenlisters (3 additional servants also enlisted making 82 in Mormon Volunteers) , men found work in various locations. About 25 remained in the south, about 40 of Hunt's group were in Monterey, San Francisco, and Sutters. About 15 of Hancock's company likely started work at Sutters. It is unknown the exact number who continued to Truckee Meadow but likely in the 170-180 range with approximately 80+ turning around after they met Captain Brown and 90 veterans plus 3 officer servants continued on with seven breaking off before arriving in Salt Lake. For those who returned to California, some were hired by Sutter. Others found work elsewhere. In a letter dated April 1, 1848 written by James Ferguson from San Francisco to the High Council in Salt Lake, he wrote: *"By the request and decision of a meeting held last evening by a few of the brethren of the Mormon Battalion I beg to make a brief report of the movements of the "Boys" since their arrival in this town. About twenty of them took up quarters in this place during the fall and were generally successful in obtaining business. Others found business in the Red Woods on either side this bay and others called a halt about the Rio Sacramento and the Pueblo de San Jose."*

Although Sutter used a larger number in his later memories, three sources give us some basic data that indicate about 50+ of the MB worked for Sutter at one point. Addison Pratt states *"[Sutter] employed fifty-six Mormon boys and all the Indians he could get.* " Daniel Rawson recollections stated "*there were about 40 or 50 Battalion boys that worked for him, cutting mill logs and building saw mills in the mountains*." While dates are a little confusing because Hancock Company left Sutter's on August 29, Henry Bigler wrote in later memories "*Quite a number, say forty to sixty of us, called on Mr. Sutter between August 29th and September 5. Some were employed to work on the gristmill, other took contracts on the mill race of that mill*." He was likely referring to the men after about half the company returned to Sutters. Using the figure Pratt recorded, the count suggests 60+ worked elsewhere including San Francisco and Monterey. Just because family accounts suggest the men did some mining, doesn't mean they worked for Sutter. Many mining locations were established along the American River. Those who have been named as working at Sutter's and a few others who may have worked there are listed below. Others eventually were in mine fields established along the river, sometimes only briefly as they made their way to join up with the veterans leaving for Salt Lake. Some men have conflicting information. Ricketts states John White, Jonathan Holmes, and Orlando Mead were working as shoemakers with six others at Sutter's. However Jonathan Holmes only mentions himself and Sutter said there were three. Francis Hammond noted John White and Orlando Mead worked for him in his shop in San Francisco. But they could have eventually made their way to Sutter's. On February 13, 1848, Samuel Rogers mentioned the shoemakers met with others in a meeting about their plans to travel to Salt Lake.

John Wesley Adair	Ezra Allen	James R Allred	William Barger
Gilbert Bickmore	Henry Bigler	George W Boyd	Daniel Browett
James S Brown	Richard Bush	William Coons	Henderson Cox
John Cox	Foster Curtis	Daniel Dennett	Joseph Dobson

James Douglas	Thomas Dunn	Israel Evans	Levi Fifield
Thomas Frazier	Ephraim Green	Meltiar Hatch	Orin Hatch
Daniel Henrie	Jonathan Holmes	Timothy Hoyt	Wilford Hudson
William J Johnstun	George Kelley?	William Kelly	Guy Keysor
Samuel Lewis	Jesse Martin	Orlando Mead?	David Moss
William Muir	George Pickup	Ephraim Pearson	Ebenezer Pierson
Robert Pixton	Daniel Rawson	Levi Roberts	Samuel Rogers
Richard Slater	James Sly	Azariah Smith	Alexander Stephens
Elijah Thomas	Jacob Truman	Edward Wade	Thomas Weir
John White?	Samuel White?	Ira Willes	William S Willis
Francis Woodward			

By the end of December 1847, the locations of 471 living veterans can be identified with a few who were "deduced." About 220 or 47% were still in California in December 1847. Of those, around 120 were in northern California and about 100 were in southern California including the 79 reenlisters. An estimated 23% were in Salt Lake comprised of those who remained from the detachments and the men who arrived from California who did not continue east that year. About 30% were in Winter Quarters which included those who accompanied Kearny who arrived in August/September, a few members of the detachments who went directly from Pueblo to WQ, those who were furloughed along the trail to Salt Lake or traveled from Salt Lake to WQ between July and October as described earlier, and California veterans who arrived in December.

A New Number - Seven Companies traveling east from California in 1848

As spring of 1848 approached, many veterans in California began to gather by June 20 for their trek east according to Bigler. As men traveled to the gathering spot of Pleasant Valley described by Robert Pixton, they often stopped and mined along the way. A little beyond Pleasant Valley, Sly Park became a staging location. After in-depth research by Kristine Forbes, a revised data base was created to clarify the number of companies and update those traveling the southern and northern routes to Salt Lake. By using primary documents and deductions based on when a company arrived in Salt Lake and where individual soldiers are identified at a specific place and time such as dates of property records and gold deposits as previously described in sources, each soldier was placed in a specific company. In some cases, there are several companies an individual soldier may have traveled with. By separating the groups that had been combined by Norma Ricketts and utilized by Church History, seven groups or companies were identified in their travels to the Great Basin in 1848 with specific arrival dates. Of the approximate 136 who traveled that year, the lists that follow carry a fairly high level of confidence with about 56% confirmed in primary sources, and about 38% deduced by comparing other detail that places an individual in a specific company. Only a handful were placed in a company by default or a "floater" as a possibility to come up with the needed number identified in accounts for each company. After 1848, additional men eventually made their way to Salt Lake over the next 10-15 years, but others never joined the Saints in the Great Basin including those who were not members of the Church.

Southern Route - One missing company

Hunt Lathrop "Rescue" Company was not your typical company of soldiers leaving California. In fact, it was initially headed in the opposite direction. This company was the first to travel a southern route, going west in late 1847. After arriving in Salt Lake in October 1847, Jefferson Hunt was informed that the Church had no intention of forming another military unit and he encouraged Church leaders to organize a group to travel to California after the cattle from the incoming companies had immediately devoured the grain the vanguard company and detachments had so carefully planted to sustain their families in Salt Lake. Food and supplies were desperately needed including grain and cattle. The High Council approved a plan (labeled a "mission" on Church History site) on November 13. The company traveled on the little-known trail through the desert and Cajon Pass near Los Angeles which the Battalion had guarded for influential ranchero Isaac Williams. It was Isaac Williams who had offered to sell his rancho to the Saints and had employed a number of men after discharge. Hunt knew him well. The High Council sent three agents - Orrin P. Rockwell from the Vanguard and two who had just

arrived with the Big Company in Sept: Asahel Lathrop and Elijah K Fuller. But it was Hunt who had the ability to negotiate assistance for supplies. Although the Church History site only lists the leaders, two accounts give us plenty of detail about the company - one by Elias K Pearson, and another by Jefferson Hunt's son John Ephriam Hunt who described the account fifty years later in the Deseret News. Both identified 18 men on their way west although John misidentified a few.

The newspaper article gave John Hunt's account of those who were with them - a mixture of Battalion veterans, vanguard and big company members. He named four Battalion veterans along with himself and Hunt's stepson, Peter Nease - both of whom were teenagers with the Pueblo detachments. The article noted "The Church authorities decided to send an expedition back to the ranch to make purchases, and my father and I were among those chosen to go. The party was under the leadership of Horace K. Lathrop, with E. K. Fuller as his lieutenant. There were 18 in the party and the names were Horace Lathrop, Elijah K. Fuller, William Peacock, Orrin P. Rockwell, Joseph M. Davis, Eli Harvey Pierce, Thurston Larsen, James Hyrons, Jake Workman, Jackson Workman, Jefferson Hunt, who was my father, Gilbert Hunt, my brother, Peter Nease, my adopted brother, James Shaw, John Y. Greene, Elias F. Pearsons, William B. Cornogg and myself." John mixed up a few names including the leader who was Asahel Lathrop - not Horace. Andrew Jackson Workman was still in California. There is a possibility that Montgomery Button was with them unless he traveled west via a northern route in 1847. He arrived with the Pueblo detachments in July but was in California to travel to Salt Lake with Holmes Thompson Company in 1848.

Those in the return group to Salt Lake were different than the outbound. Accounts differ on number and timing. The May 15 council minutes and cited in Mormon Gold stated "14 men plus 5 hired Indian guides arrived in Salt Lake", giving a good report of places all along the route where there was water and towns could be built. Another account suggested they were traveling with 200 cows and left from Williams Ranch in Chino in February. Two accounts suggest they arrived on May 10. Elijah Fuller noted, "I got back the 10th of May, and was offered $100 for one bushel of my potatoes." Eliza Snow recorded that 7 Battalion boys arrived on May 10. An account by Elijah Allen indicated he arrived with cattle on about the 23rd of May and was not counted among the 14 men described on May 15, 1848. Synthesizing all the descriptions, it was concluded that 17 men traveled in the returning company to Salt Lake, but not all were in the original company leaving from Salt Lake. Some in the original company either remained or came east in a different company in subsequent years. A few veterans traveled to Salt Lake with the company for the first time. Those who arrived in California in February 1848 and returned to Salt Lake in May include:

Jefferson Hunt (MB)	Gilbert Hunt (MB detach)	John Hunt (MB family detach)
Peter Nease (MB family)	Eli Pierce (BYV)	Joseph M Davis (Big Co)
Elijah Fuller (Big Co)	Asahel Lathrop (Big Co)	William Peacock (Big Co)
Elias F Pearson (Big Co)	John Greene (Big Co)	Thurston Larsen (MB detach)

Other Battalion veterans who were in California likely traveled to Salt Lake for the first time with this group:

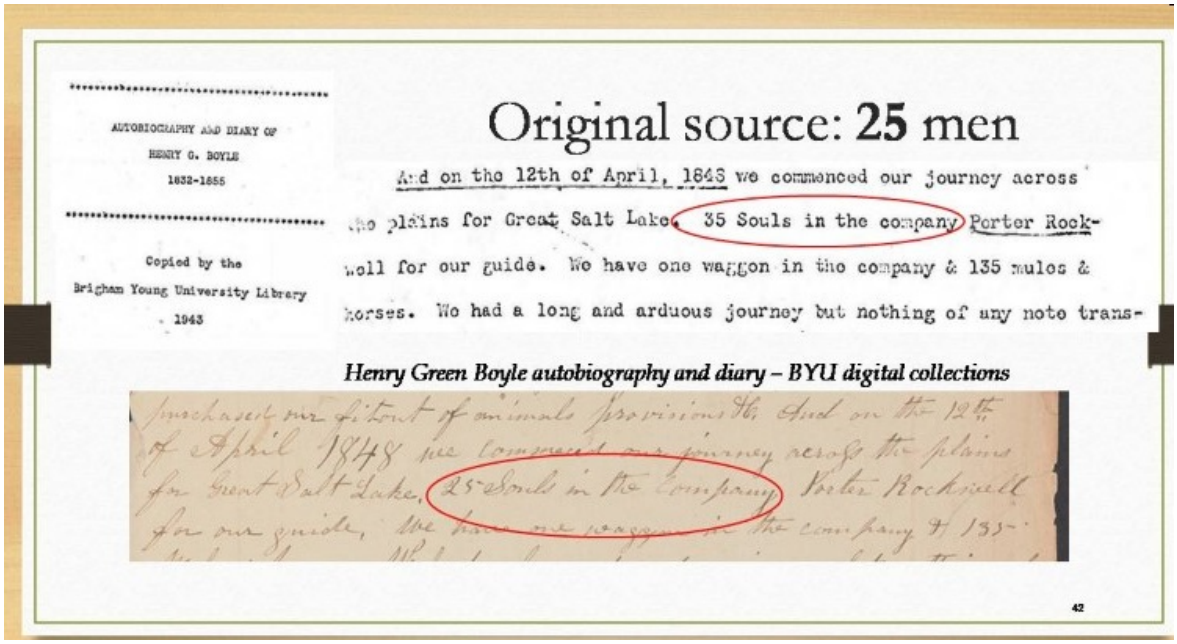
Robert Collins	Jacob Butterfield	Eleazer Davis
John Roylance (left before SL)	Elijah Allen (arrived late)	

Elijah Allen arrived late according to his journal. John Roylance broke off in Utah County according to his granddaughter. Neither have been counted in Eliza Snow's number of 7. It is unclear if two camp followers –John Hunt and Peter Nease–who were with the Battalion might have been included as "Battalion boys" as Eliza describes them. If they were, then 1-2 names of veterans above may have arrived with the Boyle Company. A daughter-in-law recorded an account that Jonathan Campbell shared with her stating he traveled through Sutter's Fort and arrived in Salt Lake on October 20, 1847 which would be the Ebenezer Brown Company. However, his obituary stated he traveled the southern route in 1848 which is quite possible, traveling with the returning Hunt company in May 1848 or Boyle Company in June. It is uncertain if John Brown came to Salt Lake and then returned to California before traveling to Iowa. If he did, he would likely be traveling with this company.

Boyle Company was the second company to travel the southern route - just a month behind Hunt. They left California on 12 April 1848 according to Henry Boyle and John Riser (Ricketts says March 21) traveling the old Spanish Trail via what would become Las Vegas and breaking off just north of what is now Cedar City and arrived in Salt Lake on June 6. Historian John Yurtinus suggested this company was the first to bring a wagon over the southern route, however he did not account for the Hunt rescue company who arrived a month earlier. It is unclear if their route through southern Utah was slightly different. Ricketts used a journal entry by Boyle that identified 35 "souls" in the company. Finding the original document, it was discovered the number 25 had been transcribed incorrectly as 35. Another account by John Riser used the number of 23. The numbers could differ depending on whether they included guides or family members. Most but not all were reenlisters. The wife and child of Captain Davis were among this group. Some of these men have been verified but others are informed estimates or possibilities.

Henry Boyle	Edwin Calkins	Riley G Clark (likely)	
Capt Daniel C Davis	Thomas Dutcher	Jacob S Earl	
Justice C Earl	William Hickenlooper	James W Lemmon	
Hiram Mount	Henry Packard	Isaac Peck (likely)	
John Riser	Aurora Shumway (likely)	Willard Smith	
Richard Sprague	Andrew J Steers	John L Wheeler	Oliver Workman

It is possible Addison Bailey and William Evans might have come with this group, but no document exists to place them in Salt Lake. Neither Addison nor William had family there but both of them were in the Mormon Volunteers. If they did, they soon returned to California. A family record suggested Riley Clark rejoined his brother in Sacramento after discharge in March 1848 and traveled together in Brown Co but his obit states he went the southern route. He was also in the Mormon Volunteers.



Northern route

Previous historians and publications suggest there were three companies that traveled to Salt Lake along a northern route in 1848, identified as the "Sierra Companies" by Ricketts, excluding Star Express. By separating two groups who traveled separately for much of the time, there were five companies including Star Express. Except for the Star Express, the men initially started to gather at Pleasant Valley, coming from San Francisco,

Monterey and those working at Sutters. Some veterans who had worked or served in the Mormon Volunteers in southern California made their way north, often to mine, and eventually joined other veterans.
Star Express was the first group to leave northern California in 1848 - leaving shortly after the two groups left on the southern route. It included a group of men who were hired by Sam Brannan to deliver a special edition of the newspaper, The California Star, to locations east and hoping to entice people to come west. At the last minute, the announcement of the gold discovery was added. Ten men, seven of whom were part of the 317 discharged at Los Angeles, left San Francisco on April 15, 1848, traveling the old Truckee route and arrived in Salt Lake on June 1. A small group of four continued on to St Louis, arriving on July 28, while a few joined other veterans headed east a few months later.

William Hawk	Nathan Hawk	Silas Harris
Daniel Rawson	Richard Slater	Sanford Jacobs
James Owens		

Holmes Thompson Company was the first large company headed east in 1848 and left July 14. Samuel Thompson and Ebenezer Brown had made their way to Monterey with Hunt and stayed to work for the winter of 1847-48. Moving to a staging area at Sly Park, a large number of veterans began to organize. Thompson joined Holmes in the first company to start on the trail east with both wagons and packers, leaving Brown behind to lead another company of wagons/packers. Based on journal accounts, the Church History Department's Pioneer Database description for Holmes Thompson Company suggest 45 men were with Holmes Thompson company including 38 veterans and 7 other men. Nine were packers and 36 with wagons. Seven of the nine packers and 31 of the 36 with wagons were Battalion veterans. One of the others was Philo Behunin, an officer servant from the Battalion. One woman, Melissa Coray was also with the company. The Church History account accurately describes how the group divided between wagons and packers (* starred in list below) after the Carson River Valley but doesn't mention a separate group of packers who caught up to them before it divided. Additional confusion was created when the arrival date for the Holmes Thompson Company was recorded on the Church History Pioneer Database as September 6. That date actually reflected the arrival date of the separate packers under Miles and Duun combined with some packers from the Holmes Thompson Company who went ahead and were able to travel much faster. The main Holmes Thompson company with wagons and some on horseback/packers arrived in the Salt Lake Valley between September 26-28. Azariah Smith noted he rode ahead of a group he was with, stating he arrived in the valley on September 28. It is uncertain if he was an actual packer or just used a horse. Note three men who had gone out to scout a route were murdered including Ezra Allen, Daniel Browett, and Henderson Cox before the company was officially organized under Holmes and Thompson.

Samuel Thompson	Jonathan Holmes	John Adair
James Allred	William Barger	Henry Bigler
James S Brown	Richard Bush	William Coray
John Cox	Daniel Dennett	James Douglas
Elijah Elmer	Israel Evans	Ephraim Green
Meltair Hatch*	Orin Hatch *	William Holt
Wilford Hudson	William Johnston*	Zadock Judd*
George Kelley	Jesse B Martin	Miles Miller
William Muir*	George Pickup	Robert Pixton
Samuel Rogers	James Sly	Azariah Smith*
Alexander Stephens	William Strong	Jacob Truman
Thomas Weir*	John White	Samuel White
Ira Willis	W Sidney Willis	

The other seven men with this company were Jacob Workman (arrived in Salt Lake in Big Company who traveled to California in 1847 with Hunt) Philo Behunin (MB officer servant), James Diamond and Francis

Hammond (new converts), John Eager and John Hyatt (Brooklyn Saints) and Addison Pratt (missionary).

Miles Dunn packers left on July 30, several weeks after Holmes Thompson Company. Elijah Elmer is one of five Holmes Thompson journalists who mentioned packers on Aug 3rd - fourteen of them. When no longer needed, on August 8, Zadok Judd noted that not only the original packers went ahead, but some of the Holmes packers joined them on Aug 8th.

August 9: Yesterday [Aug 8] we travailed eleven miles, and encamped on Pilot River. The pack Company went ahead. --Azariah Smith

Friday, August 11, 1848 We made the usual preparation and started. We traveled 12 miles down the river then camped, it being the place where the Packing Company camped last night, they having left us on the 8th of August but tarried here two days This valley we call Holmes Valley --Samuel Rogers

10 Aug –The Pack Company left us on the 10 . 11 Aug –Some of the pack Company made us a visit on the 10 & left us & went on their way. – Holmes
Thomas Dunn provided an arrival date in Salt Lake of September 8 and Samuel Miles stated the arrival date of September 10 - the first to arrive over the Sierra mountains labeled the Sierra Companies.

Samuel Miles	Thomas Dunn	Gilbert Bickmore
George Boyd	William Boyd	Samuel Chapin
Thomas Frazier (or Shepherd)	John Gilbert	Jacob Hofheins (or Holmes)
David Jones	Levi Roberts	Nathan Swarthout
Edward Wade	Walter Barney (or Brown)	

Ebenezer Brown Company also included both wagons and packers. The number of men in this company was 41 with 35 veterans, 11 of which were packers. Additional individuals traveled with them including Phebe Brown, the wife of Ebenezer Brown and her son Zemira, along with others mostly from the Brooklyn Saints. As described earlier, Ebenezer traveled to Monterey with Hunt and remained there for the winter with Samuel Thompson and others. Leading a company with Thompson to Pleasant Valley in the spring, Brown led the second group of wagons and packers, leaving after Holmes/Thompson Company and the separate Miles/Dunn packers. Both wagons and packers with the Brown Company left on August 8. On August 26, eleven packers decided to go ahead. Traveling faster, the packers arrived in Salt Lake between October 6-8. In later memories, packers Orrice Murdock used the date of October 6 and Joseph Bates provided the date of October 7. Samuel Rogers who had arrived with the Miles Dunn packers recorded a celebration in Salt Lake which extended from October 6 through 8, noting eight men from the battalion arrived in the evening on October 8, documenting some of Brown's packers. The wagons arrived on October 20 based on John Borrowman's journal. Some men are uncertain. Documented and possible packers are starred below. *

Ebenezer Brown	Joseph Bates*	William Beers*
John Borrowman	Benjamin Brackenbury*	Montomery Button (see note below)
Cyrus Canfield (likely)	Joseph Clark	Zachariah Decker
Joseph Dobson	James Ferguson	Levi Fifield*
William T Follett	Benjamin Hawkins	Shadrack Holdaway
Timothy Hoyt	Henry Johnson	Albert Knapp
Orlando Mead*	Calvin Moore*	David Moss
Orrice Murdock *	James Park	Thorit Peck
William Prows	William Simmons*	Robert Boyd Stewart*
John R Stoddard*	Elijah Thomas	Franklin Weaver
Miles Weaver*	Dennis Winn (likely)	Francis Woodard (likely)
William Wood	Phineas Wright	

Montgomery Button arrived in Salt Lake with the Pueblo detachments. Based on his obituary, he possibly traveled to California via Fort Hall in late spring 1848 or he traveled west with Jefferson Hunt arriving in February 1848 and moving north.

Shepherd Company

After discharge at Los Angeles in July 1847, a number of men worked in various locations in both the north and south parts of California. By the fall of 1848, about 42 men were working in the gold fields including reenlisters who made their way north. Marcus Shepherd found employment, first at whip-sawing and later found a gold mine with four other veterans according to Bigler but could only remember two of the five - Benjamin Hawkins and George Haskell. Hawkins likely traveled with the Brown Company. Shepherd stated, "*I remained in California after my discharge, working in the Redwoods until gold was discovered."* Thomas Bullock noted fifteen "brethren" arrived in Salt Lake on November 13. Fourteen were Battalion veterans and one was the father of Marcus Shepherd. Another account documented they left Mormon Island in October. An additional small group of eight with a family from the Brooklyn Saints arrived a week later. Combining the last two groups mentioned by Bullock, the company totaled 23 with 19 men, likely 14 from the Battalion.

Marcus Shepherd	James Bailey	Samuel J Campbell
Hiram Chase	James B Cole	William Coons
Foster Curtis	George Haskell	William Kelly (or earlier company)
Ephraim Pearson (Pierson)	Ebenezer Pierson (likely)	David Study
Thomas Morris	Edward Wilcox	Samuel Shepherd, Marcus' father

Location summary with numbers

While nearly 70% of the 317 soldiers who were discharged in California in July 1847 were still there in December 1847, that number changed significantly between 1847 and 1848. By the end of 1848, the numbers reflected about 48% were now in Salt Lake while the others were closely split between California (26%) and Iowa (25%). Additional men and families would make their way to Utah from Iowa and California over the next decade. Some would leave Utah in efforts to settle new Church settlements. Others would leave Utah and the Church itself, making a new home for their families. But some would remain in California or Iowa (or surrounding states) for the remainder of their lives. A few have been lost with no identifying information about their later lives.

About 35 men remained or likely remained in California or arrived in Salt Lake briefly and returned, living there for a number of years. (See below). Norma Ricketts list some of these men as traveling with Hancock but can't be found in Salt Lake or northern California. Many were Mormon Volunteers. A few came to Utah briefly in 1857 for the Utah War but returned. Sometimes California became their home for the rest of their lives. Others eventually moved to other surrounding states, never residing in Salt Lake. Not listed here, a number of men later returned to California or traveled there for the first time from the detachments and were buried there. Almost 70 men are identified in cemeteries throughout the state including those who possibly never left. Those with question marks shown below may have arrived in Salt Lake and then returned to California soon after.

Addison Bailey (V)	Jefferson Bailey (V)	Orrin Beckstead (V)
William Beddome	Edmund Brown (V)	William Brown (V)
John Bryant (V)	Robert Clift (V)	Jeptha Condit (V)
Walter Davis?	Willard T Dayton (V)	William Evans? (V)
Hiram Fellows (V)	Thomas Finlay	Philander Fletcher (V)
Thomas Gibson	John Hickmott	Jesse D Hunter
William Hunter	James Kibby (V)	Benjamin Maggard (V)
Benjamin Mayfield (V)	Samuel Myers (V)	Christian Noler (V)
James Park (V)	Peter Richards (V)	William Richmond

Levi Runyan (V)	George Sexton (V) (east 1860)	Hamilton Swarthout?
Jonathan Thompson (V)	Benjamin West (V)	Robert Whitworth
Mathew Wilcox	Adna Vrandenburg?	(V) = Mormon Volunteers

About 50 (or 10%) of veterans returned east to live in a variety of states. Some traveled within a few years of discharge or 10-15 years later leaving California or Utah and remained the rest of their lives. A few lived in several eastern locations before moving west in their older age to live with their children.* A few died before they had a chance to travel back to Utah. Those who traveled east at some point and remained are as follows.

Franklin Allen	Samuel Badham	William Barger
Benjamin Brackenbury	Alva Calkins	James Calkins
James Cazier*	Joseph S Clark	Amos Cox
Josiah Curtis	Eleazer Davis	Sterling Davis
Thomas Dutcher	Simon Dike	Marcus Eastman
John Martin Ewell	Henry Fairbanks	Frederick Forney
William A Garner	Gilmon Gordon (Kearny)	James S Hart
James Hendrickson*	Eli Hewitt	William Hickenlooper
James Hirons (later)	Schuyler Hulett	Thomas C Ivie (later)
Charles Jackson	Bailey Jacob (died 1850)	Sanford Jacobs
Nicholas Kelley (later)	Alexander McCord	John Mowery (Iowa/Utah several times)
Isaac Peck	Charles C Perrin	William Reynolds (Kearny)
Richard T Sanders (Canada)	George S Sexton (CA/east)	Albert Sharp
Richard Smith (died abt 1850)	John Spidle	Andrew J Steers
Clark Stillman	Dexter Stillman	David Study
Hayward Thomas (later)	Solmon Tindall (native Amer)	William Tubbs
John L Wheeler	Almon Whiting	Edmund Whiting

Conclusion

In conclusion, by compiling many different data bases, research has identified the companies or groups of men traveling east with names assigned to each through confirmed sources or deduced conclusions with a few logical estimates or “guesses”, correcting errors from previous publications. By comparing the number of Mormon Battalion veterans who were located in California, Salt Lake, and Iowa in 1847 and 1848, a new perspective of the overall story of the Mormon Battalion after discharge has been created and its impact as the Great Basin was established.