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SPECIAL COMMEMORATIVE ISSUE: MORMON HANDCART TREK

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In This Issue

FIVE HISTORIANS of the Mormon experience treat the details of the Mormon handcart trek of 1856–1857. William G. Hartley provides an overview of the experience, setting it in the context of the overall overland trail migration from the 1840s to the late 1860s. Don H. Smith discusses the leadership, planning, and management of the 1856 handcart migration. He argues that those aspects of the plan were executed with care and skill and that the disasters that befell the last two companies of 1856 were due to factors beyond the leaders' control. Fred E. Woods, often using the voices of the emigrants themselves, narrates the experiences of those emigrants as they made their way by ship from Liverpool to the United States and then by rail to Iowa City. Lyndia Carter picks up the story from there, following three of the handcart companies—the Willie, Haven and Martin companies—across Iowa as they were tested to see if they were up to the challenge of crossing the Plains all the way to the Salt Lake Valley. Finally, Steven F. Faux carefully maps the route the handcart migrants followed across Iowa.

Front Cover

In the early 1900s the Daughters of Utah Handcart Pioneers commissioned a statue to memorialize the handcart trek. Sculpted by Torleif Knaphus, the 3-foot-high bronze monument, unveiled in 1926, was displayed for years in Salt Lake City's Temple Square Information Bureau. Then, for the Mormon Pioneer Sesquicentennial in 1947, LDS church leaders commissioned Knaphus to create a heroic-size copy. Cast in bronze in New York, it has been displayed prominently ever since near the Tabernacle in Temple Square in Salt Lake City. The well-known and widely replicated image has come to symbolize for many the heroism of the handcart emigrants whose experience is commemorated in this special issue of the *Annals of Iowa*.

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Editor's Perspective

IN JUNE 2006, several hundred people gathered in Iowa City and Coralville to commemorate the sesquicentennial of the Mormon Handcart Treks of 1856 and 1857. In those two years seven handcart companies outfitted and left from a camp outside Iowa City in an area now part of Coralville. Some 200–300 of those who participated in the commemorative events spent a day listening to scholarly papers treating the events in some detail. Five of the papers from that symposium are gathered in this special issue of the *Annals of Iowa*.

In the articles that follow, William G. Hartley provides an overview of the experience, setting it in the context of the overall overland trail migration from the 1840s to the late 1860s. Don H. Smith discusses the leadership, planning, and management of the 1856 handcart migration. He argues that those aspects of the plan were executed with care and skill and that the disasters that befell the last two companies of 1856 were due to factors beyond the leaders' control. Fred E. Woods, often using the voices of the emigrants themselves, narrates the experiences of those emigrants as they made their way by ship from Liverpool to the United States and then by rail to Iowa City. Lyndia Carter picks up the story from there, following three of the handcart companies—the Willie, Haven and Martin companies—across Iowa as they were tested to see if they were up to the challenge of crossing the Plains all the way to the Salt Lake Valley. Finally, Steven F. Faux carefully maps the route the handcart migrants followed across Iowa.

Editing this issue has been a rewarding experience, but, as with most issues, it has presented special challenges. A set of words used repeatedly throughout the articles requires clarification. I am grateful to author Fred Woods for a clear statement of usage of the terms *migrants*, *emigrants*, and *immigrants* and their derivatives. With his permission, I have borrowed freely from his statement to try to clarify the distinctions among those terms.

According to Webster's Dictionary of English Usage, "*Emigrate* and *immigrate* make a case in which English has two words where it could easily have made do with only one. The two words have the same essential meaning—to 'leave one country to live in another'—and differ only in emphasis or point of view: *emigrate* stressing leaving, and *immigrate* stressing entering." To further complicate matters, *emigrate* is used once the *immigrant* has arrived in the new country and begins to move to the West. In the case of Mormon immigration, sometimes foreign immigrants were joined by Mormons who gathered from America's East Coast or merged with other LDS companies at frontier outfitting posts. Such Mormons would properly be termed *emigrants*. In this issue, the authors use *immigrate/immigration/immigrant* and *emigrate/emigration/emigrant* to reflect the situation in which they are used. In addition, the more generic terms *migration* or *migrant* are sometimes used for variety.

Whether the subjects are known as migrants, emigrants, or immigrants, the authors' attention to the details of their experiences enhances our understanding and appreciation of the pioneering adventure. In the 1970s the University of Iowa and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS) partnered to preserve the campsite outside Iowa City and to restore adjoining prairie. Their joint effort recognized that the handcart trek was a significant part of the heritage not only of the church but of Iowa and the nation as well. In opening remarks at the sesquicentennial symposium, Willard L. "Sandy" Boyd, who was president of the University of Iowa when the campsite preservation effort was launched, reflected, "At this campsite the cross-continental railroad once ended. Here the dense, tall, prairie grasses greeted the [Mormon] converts. . . . At this place those believers built the handcarts they pulled and pushed over more than 1,000 miles of prairies, mountains, and streams to create a new state. That arduous trek exceeds our modern comprehension. The physical and spiritual strength of those Mormon converts exemplifies the commitment and faith that builds civilization."

—Marvin Bergman, editor

The Place of Mormon Handcart Companies in America's Westward Migration Story

WILLIAM G. HARTLEY

DURING THE SUMMER AND FALL OF 1856, personnel at Fort Laramie witnessed a strange phenomenon: five separate companies of men, women, and children pulling and pushing simple two-wheeled carts westward. One year later, two more dusty handcart brigades passed by, another one in 1859, and a final two in 1860. In the history of overland trails migration to the American West, handcarts are an anomaly. Of about 350,000 trail emigrants to Oregon and California and 70,000 to Utah, nearly all traveled in wagon companies. In total, only about 3,000 pioneers went west in ten handcart companies during a five-year period, 1856–1860.¹

Among the first five brigades in 1856 were the ill-fated Willie and Martin companies, whose terrible sufferings in blizzards in present-day Wyoming have bestowed on handcart pioneers more public awareness than their small numbers justify and have made handcarts *the* symbol of all Mormon Trail travel even though handcart emigrants constituted less than 5 percent

1. The standard, albeit dated, handcart study is LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion: The Story of a Unique Western Migration, 1856–1860* (Glendale, CA, 1960). An excellent article-length overview is Lyndia McDowell Carter, "The Mormon Handcart Companies," *Overland Journal* 13 (1995), 2–18. Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (Lincoln, NE, 1964), devotes chaps. 8 and 9 to the handcart saga.

of all Mormon emigrants. The image of someone walking near a covered wagon is not nearly as suggestive as someone pushing a loaded handcart of the endurance, self-sacrifice, and bravery possessed by people who made the long trek west.

To be properly viewed, the Mormon handcart saga needs not only the close-up lens typically used in studies to date but also the wide-angle lens that places it in the contexts of overland trail travel in general and of 23 years of Mormon trail traffic. The discussion that follows provides an overview of all ten handcart companies positioned within those larger contexts.

WAGON TRAVEL to Oregon began in 1841 and to California in 1844. The Oregon and California trails started from Independence and Westport (now Kansas City), Missouri, and initially passed by Fort Laramie and Fort Bridger in Wyoming Territory, and then swung northerly to Fort Hall in Idaho. That common route, designated the Oregon and California Trail, split near Fort Hall, the right fork heading to Oregon and the left into Nevada and California. After what is termed the "Great Migration" to Oregon in 1843, wagon travel to Oregon became an annual event. One year later, in 1844, the Stephens-Murphy party became the first company of wagons to roll to California. Wagon travel to California in significant numbers began in 1846, the year 49 of the 89 members of the ill-fated Donner party perished in Sierra snows. After John Sutter's workmen discovered gold in 1848, argonauts swarmed to California during the next four years. The two peak years for emigrants going to California and Oregon were 1850 and 1852. After 1852, the flow decreased year by year until completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 made overland trail travel all but obsolete.²

2. Two excellent studies of the western trails are John D. Unruh Jr., *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1860* (Urbana and Chicago, 1979); and George R. Stewart, *The California Trail: An Epic with Many Heroes* (Lincoln, NE, 1962). Also useful are David Lavender, *Westward Vision: The Story of the Oregon Trail* (New York, 1963), and John Mack Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* (New Haven, CT, 1979). During the Gold Rush and in subsequent years, many on the California Trail took a Salt Lake cutoff near Fort Bridger, which rejoined the main trail midway across Nevada.

Mormon emigration to the Great Salt Lake Valley began in 1847. Over the next 22 years approximately 70,000 Mormons headed west in at least 329 wagon companies, using about 10,000 wagons total, and in ten handcart brigades. Mormon numbers crossing the Plains averaged nearly 3,000 per year.³ Unlike most other trail travelers, those Mormon emigrants “did not go west for a new identity, missionary work, adventure, furs, land, health, or gold, but were driven beyond the frontier for their religious beliefs.” They were followed by “thousands of European converts, at first mainly English, later with a heavy Scandinavian infusion.” Handcart pioneers amounted to less than 5 percent of all Mormon emigration and less than 1 percent of America’s overland emigration to the West.⁴

The trail experience for Mormon emigrants was much like what their contemporaries bound for Oregon and California experienced. “Their daily routine, their food, wagons, animals, sicknesses, dangers, difficulties, domestic affairs, trail constitutions, discipline, the blurring of sexual distinctions relative to work, and so forth, were typical.”⁵ However, Mormon emigrants differed from most westering Americans in several important ways. They migrated because of religious beliefs that required them to move to develop a religious haven. Generally they were much poorer than the average westward migrants. By and large Mormons traveled as families and in church-organized companies led by captains appointed by church authorities. Mormon emigration “was organized and directed by conscious policy.”⁶ Compared to other Plains travelers, the Mormons, according to Wallace Stegner, “were the most sys-

3. For a list of annual totals, see Stanley B. Kimball, *Historic Resource Study: Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail* (Washington, DC, 1991), 134–35. Kimball cites now dated statistics from Andrew Jensen showing that 68,028 people went west on the Mormon Trail. But my study of 1853 Mormon wagon trains shows more than 3,000 Mormon emigrants, compared to Jensen’s 2,603. And for 1861 Jensen listed only 1,959, whereas my study of that year’s emigration shows 2,000 more than that. Hence, the larger 70,000 figure used above. Further studies of individual years probably will increase that total.

4. Kimball, *Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail*, 9; Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, 197.

5. Kimball, *Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail*, 2–3.

6. William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (1957; reprint, Minneapolis, 2000), vii.

tematic, organized, disciplined, and successful pioneers in our history." He also noted that "Oregon emigrants and argonauts bound for the gold fields lost all their social cohesion en route," but for Mormons, "far from loosening their social organization, the trail perfected it." Positioning the Mormon migration within western history, he found that, "in the composition of its wagon trains, the motives that drove them, the organization and discipline of the companies, it differed profoundly from the Oregon and California migrations. These were not groups of young and reckless adventurers, nor were they isolated families or groups of families. They were literally villages on the march, villages of a sobriety, solidarity, and discipline unheard of anywhere else on the western trails."⁷

By 1856, when the first Mormon handcart companies pulled in to Utah Territory, the Oregon-California Trail, including the Salt Lake Cutoff, had been "more heavily traveled, more firmly beaten down, and more improved by planned work — was ceasing to be a trail and becoming what we may better term a road."⁸ Therefore, after handcart pullers followed existing state roads across Iowa, they trekked the next 1,000 miles along well-used roads to the Great Salt Lake Valley.

MORMON is a nickname that outsiders had given to members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, who, by 1856, called themselves "Latter-day Saints" (later abbreviated as LDS). During the nineteenth century, LDS converts were expected to uproot and move to church gathering places, first in Ohio, then in Missouri, Illinois, and Iowa, and finally in Utah. "Wherefore the decree hath gone forth from the Father," a Mormon scripture reads, "that they shall be gathered in unto one place upon the face of this land."⁹ Gathering centers were created to be places of refuge from persecution. For converts, "emigration was practically synonymous with conversion." Saints in England were

7. Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, 1, 9.

8. Stewart, *The California Trail*, 296.

9. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Doctrine and Covenants*, 29: 7-8. The *Doctrine and Covenants* is a collection of revelations recorded by Mormonism's founding prophet, Joseph Smith Jr., and his successors.

told in 1855 that God had commanded them "to gather up out of Babylon, just as emphatically as He did His ancient people, through Moses, to go up out of Egypt."¹⁰

When violent citizens forced Mormons to leave Nauvoo, Illinois, and vicinity in 1846, more than 15,000 vacated their homes, basically uncompensated for their losses. That year, upwards of 12,000 Mormons moved across Iowa and then encamped for the winter at the Missouri River. The next spring, Brigham Young led a vanguard group west to find a new home for the refugees, following the north side of the Platte River along a faint route taken by fur traders in previous decades. Near Fort Laramie that track joined the Oregon and California Trail and followed it across present-day Wyoming to Fort Bridger. There, where the main trail bent north, the Mormons plodded southwesterly toward the Great Salt Lake Valley along a rough track the Donner party had blazed the year before. Leaders designated that arid expanse along the Wasatch Mountains as the new gathering center, their new "Zion."¹¹

In addition to "gathering," church members took seriously a commandment given them in 1831 to "look to the poor and needy, and administer to their relief that they shall not suffer."¹² When the Latter-day Saints were forced out of Missouri in 1839 and again from Illinois in 1846, members in special meetings covenanted with uplifted hands to assist anyone lacking the means to move.¹³ Soon after the first Mormons settled by the

10. Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 137; *Millennial Star* [a newspaper then being published by the Latter-day Saints in England] 18 (3/1/1855), 138.

11. Most histories dealing with the Mormon Trail focus only on the historic 1847 Brigham Young company of pioneers who were the first to reach Utah. A standard overview history of the trail is Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*. For facts and summaries about trail history, routes, and sites, see Kimball, *Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail*. A brief guidebook to trail sites and scenes is William E. Hill, *The Mormon Trail: Yesterday and Today* (Logan, UT, 1996).

12. Doctrine and Covenants, 38:35.

13. On January 29, 1839, a gathering of LDS church members "resolved that we this day enter into a covenant to stand by and assist each other to the utmost of our abilities in removing from this state, and that we will never desert the poor who are worthy." Brigham H. Roberts, ed., *History of the Church*, 7 vols. (1902-1930; reprint, Salt Lake City, 1974), 3:250-54. Then, on October 6, 1845, a similar pledge was made that "every man will give all to help to take the poor" when the Saints left Nauvoo the next spring. *Ibid.*, 7:464-65.

Great Salt Lake, their leaders created a revolving loan fund, the Perpetual Emigrating Fund (PEF), to aid those needing help to make the journey. Many benefited, such that by late 1852 "all the exiles from Nauvoo who wished to come had been removed to Zion," and "the obligations of the Nauvoo pledge had been faithfully discharged."¹⁴

By 1852, some 30,000 Saints living in the British Isles were clamoring to emigrate, so leaders shifted the PEF aid from helping Nauvoo exiles to assisting Europeans.¹⁵ Scandinavian converts joined the flow on a large scale starting in 1853. European converts, as Stegner observed, were "gripped by the double promise of economic betterment and eternal life."¹⁶ PEF money helped emigrants, too, by funding agents who chartered sailing ships and riverboats for the emigrants, obtained wagons and teams, and organized church-supervised wagon trains. In priority order, the fund assisted (1) those for whom Utah relatives had made donations; (2) converts with skills needed in pioneer-era Utah Territory; and (3) converts of ten years or more. Aid recipients signed agreements to repay costs the PEF had covered for them. Peak PEF assistance came during the early 1850s when the fund subsidized one out of every three Mormon emigrants.¹⁷ Often underwriting the PEF and covering its losses, the church remained the driving force behind the promotion, management, and financing of the emigration, devoting enormous financial and human resources to make the emigration happen.¹⁸

14. Gustive O. Larson, *Prelude to the Kingdom: Mormon Desert Conquest, a Chapter in American Cooperative Experience* (1947; reprint, Westport, CT, 1978), 113.

15. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Lincoln, NE, 1958), 97.

16. Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, 12.

17. See Larson, *Prelude to the Kingdom*. Between 1850 and 1859 the fund financed 4,769 emigrants at a cost of \$300,000. By the time of its demise in 1887, the fund had helped more than 100,000 people emigrate at a total cost of about \$12.5 million. See Kimball, *Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail*, 10.

18. Economic historian Leonard J. Arrington found that "the Fund realized very little from repayments. . . . The best evidence that there was little rigor in pressing for repayment is the constant mounting of these obligations [unpaid PEF debts], which totaled over \$100,000 in 1856, reached \$700,000 by 1872 and exceeded \$1,000,000 in 1877." Years later the PEF was dissolved. See Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 101-2.

DURING 1855, Utah Territory (it gained territorial status in 1850) suffered from a severe drought and grasshopper invasion. Resulting scarcities meant that PEF loans did not get repaid, new donations dried up, and the church's financial resources dwindled. Leaders issued passionate appeals for PEF donations, arguing that "the cry from our poor brethren in foreign countries for deliverance is great, the hand of the oppressor is heavy upon them, and they have no other prospect on earth through which they can hope for assistance."¹⁹

Most trail travelers favored two- or three-yoke ox teams rather than horses or mules. Oxen were bigger and stronger and could pull more weight. They could graze better on available grasses and plants along the way, sparing emigrants from hauling feed that horses and mules required. And, being castrated bulls, oxen were docile and easier to manage than horses and mules. Some emigrants used their own farm wagons and oxen, but most had to buy new outfits or hitch rides with someone else. Many Mormons wanting to emigrate could not afford the traditional wagon-and-team outfit because they cost too much. Trail scholar John Mack Faragher found that during the overland trail period in general it cost a party of four approximately \$90 for a wagon, \$100 for two yoke of oxen, and approximately \$300 for food and supplies, or \$490 total. In 1860 a Mormon elder made the same estimate of about \$490 for a fully supplied outfit. (The equivalent in 2006 dollars is \$10,000–\$12,000.)²⁰ Such huge out-of-pocket expenses meant that thousands who could not afford wagon outfits could not go west. They needed assistance.

19. "Thirteenth General Epistle of the Presidency," 10/29/1855, in James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1833–1964*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1965), 2:181–82.

20. Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail*, 192–93; Robert G. Athearn, ed., *The Look of the West, 1860: Across the Plains to California by Sir Richard Burton* (Lincoln, NE, 1963), 171. In 1853, when Mormon wagon trains outfitted in Keokuk, Iowa, a wagon cost \$70 and 2 yoke of oxen \$150, or \$220 total before adding the cost of food and supplies. William G. Hartley, "LDS Emigration in 1853: The Keokuk Encampment and Outfitting Ten Wagon Trains for Utah," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4 (2003), 49. For dollar comparisons from past years into today's dollars, consult Lawrence H. Officer and Samuel H. Williamson, "Purchasing Power of Money in the United States from 1774 to 2006," *Measuring Worth*. Com, August 2007, at <http://measuringworth.com/calculators/pppowerus/>.

For the emigration year of 1856, the church's First Presidency, rather than suspend church-directed emigration because of PEF shortages, announced a new, lower-cost travel system whereby emigrants would pull simple handcarts across the Plains. "Let them come on foot, with hand-carts or wheelbarrows," the instructions to Europeans read; "let them gird up their loins and walk through, and nothing shall hinder or stay them." Walking west was nothing new. Contrary to television and movie depictions, almost everyone in ox-drawn wagon companies walked; few rode in the wagons. Leaders reminded British Mormons that people heading for California gold fields had crossed the Plains with but a pack on their back or had used simple carts. "Can you not do the same? Yes. . . . start from the Missouri River, with cows, hand-carts, wheel-barrows, with little flour, and no unnecessaries, and come to this place quicker, and with less fatigue than by following the heavy trains with their cumbersome herds, which they are often obliged to drive miles to feed." Rather than being delayed at outfitting posts to locate and train "wild ungovernable cattle," the instructions noted, handcart emigrants could simply load up and move on. A church leader in England, Elder Franklin D. Richards, enumerated several advantages handcart travel offered: less major labor to yoke, drive, and care day and night for oxen; fewer animals to tempt Indians; no night duty guarding cattle; and reaching Utah Territory faster, which also would save food costs.²¹

Under the handcart plan, costs to travel the entire distance from England to Utah Territory were projected at 9 pounds (between \$800 and \$1,000 in today's dollars).²² Handcarts them-

21. "Thirteenth General Epistle," 10/29/1855, in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 2:186; "Sixth General Epistle," 9/22/1851, *ibid.*, 2:87; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 156–60. Oxen plodded along at about 2 miles per hour; people could walk faster than that. A driver walked beside the lead oxen while others walked away from the wagons to avoid dust, visit with others, explore, gather firewood or buffalo chips, pick wild fruit, and hunt. To ride in the wagon meant bumping and jolting, heat under the canvas top, constant trail dust, and terrible boredom. Walkers reduced the weight load of the wagons, sparing the oxen extra work. See Kimball, *Historic Resource Study*, 15–16.

22. For British pounds conversions, use Lawrence H. Officer and Samuel H. Williamson, "Computing 'Real Value' Over Time with a Conversion Between U.K. Pounds and U.S. Dollars, 1830–2005," *MeasuringWorth.com*, August 2006, at <http://measuringworth.com/calculators/exchange/>.

selves cost church agents \$10 to \$20 each compared to \$220 for a wagon and two yoke of oxen. The handcarts resembled those used by porters and street vendors in American cities. They were simple vehicles weighing 50–75 pounds, with two wheels, a cart bed, and two handles protruding ahead and connected at the end by a crosspiece. On average, five people were assigned to one cart; each person was limited to 17 pounds of clothing, bedding, and belongings, which meant 85 pounds per cart. Therefore, loaded carts generally weighed less than 200 pounds. To propel the cart, one or two people stood within the handle framework and pushed on the front crossbar. One wagon accompanied each twenty carts, carrying food and tents and other equipment. Twenty people were assigned to one tent. Men with trail experience were chosen to captain each company and oversee subcaptains in charge of 50 people and 10 handcarts.²³

Built into the plan were several safety nets. Handcart companies from Iowa City would be resupplied and get their carts repaired at Florence, Nebraska. Companies could obtain some supplies and services at Fort Laramie and then at Fort Bridger (which by then was part of Utah Territory and belonged to the Mormons). Also, resupply wagons from the Salt Lake vicinity met Mormon Trail companies usually somewhere between South Pass and Fort Bridger. Finally, a key part of the handcart plan was for Mormon way stations to be established at four places along the Mormon Trail. “We propose Settling Colonies at every Suitable location along the route of travel where grain can be raised,” President Young announced in April 1856, “that in their migrations thither the Saints can travel from Settlement to Settlement and find friends and provisions.”²⁴ Unfortunately for 1856 travelers, Mormon agents at Florence were unable to recruit needed human and material resources to start an initial station at Genoa, Nebraska.

Handcart travel had distinct limitations: handcarts transported less food than wagons and hardly any clothing and bedding; propelling the carts was hard physical work, espe-

23. Hafen and Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, 53–54.

24. Brigham Young to John Taylor, 4/10/1856, Brigham Young Papers, Letterbook 2, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

cially when going up or down hill or when pulling on sandy or muddy roads; support wagons could transport only a few of those who became ill or weak; many carts required repairs or broke down; during daytime the travelers had no protection from sun, and day and night they lacked protection from bad weather. As a result, some judged the handcart experience more harshly than others. Hannah Lapish, for example, who, with her husband, pulled two young children to Utah in the ninth handcart company, considered handcarts to be a "most pathetic mode of traveling."²⁵

PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG placed Elder Franklin D. Richards in charge of implementing the handcart system. In Liverpool, Richards chartered sailing ships and signed up handcart emigrants, including those from Scandinavia. Assigned agents made arrangements at American ports to receive the emigrants and move them by railroad to Iowa City, the farthest west terminal. Richards appointed Daniel Spencer as the general superintendent of the outfittings. Agents obtained and prepared outfitting grounds on the northwest edge of Iowa City. Other agents ordered prefabricated handcarts and wagons in St. Louis and Chicago and carts to be built by Iowa City craftsmen. When emigrants arrived, they camped and filled time by assembling carts and sewing tents and cart covers. Experienced wheelwright Chauncey Webb supervised handcart construction in camp. Other men went far into Missouri to procure cattle and horses.²⁶

There was a significant amount of traffic on America's overland trails in 1856. That year some 1,000 people went to Oregon and 8,000 to California.²⁷ About 3,700 Mormons traveled to Utah Territory, half in wagon trains and the rest in handcart companies; 1,891 emigrants pulled out of Iowa City in six handcart groups (regrouped into five in Florence), using 430 handcarts

25. "Hannah Settle Lapish," in Andrew Jenson, comp., *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (1901-1936; reprint, Salt Lake City, 1971), 2:526.

26. Andrew Jenson, "Crossing the Plains in 1856," *The Contributor* 14 (December 1892), 65. *The Contributor* was an LDS Church general interest periodical.

27. Unruh, *The Plains Across*, 120.



George Simons sketched a train of Mormons crossing the Plains with handcarts in 1856. Courtesy Council Bluffs Public Library, Council Bluffs, Iowa.

and 27 wagons.²⁸ On June 9 and 11 the first two companies, led by captains Edmund Ellsworth and Daniel McArthur, left Iowa City with 479 people, 100 carts, 5 wagons, and 25 tents. They carried enough provisions to reach Florence. Two days and 35 miles out, the Ellsworth company seemed to one observer "cheerful and universally happy." When both companies pulled into Florence on July 17, a Mormon observer noted, "One would not think that they had come from Iowa City, a long and rough journey of two hundred and seventy-seven miles, except by their dust-stained garments and sun-burned faces. . . . Methinks I see their merry countenances and buoyant step, and the strains of the hand-cart song seem ringing in my ears." That company had among its members the Birmingham band, young performers who "played really very well." After repairs and taking on 60 days' rations for the trip to Utah Territory, the two companies pulled out on July 20 and 24.²⁹

On the Plains, some eastbound travelers found the Ellsworth company to be "very cheerful and happy." When these first handcart pioneers approached Salt Lake City, they received a royal welcome. Captain Ellsworth, on foot, led the caravan. Captain McArthur's company pulled up behind the Ellsworth bri-

28. Kimball, *Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail*, 134.

29. Jensen, "Crossing the Plains in 1856," 66-67.

gade. A long procession entered the city: lancers, followed by women on horseback, the church presidency in carriages, the two handcart companies, and then citizens in carriages and on horseback. Throngs of waiting men, women, and children on foot, on horses, and in wagons lined the streets to greet the parade. At a city square the handcart pullers stopped, received a formal greeting, and pitched their tents, ending their 1,300-mile journey. Though fatigued, they had completed the journey with less mortality than was the average for ox-trains. Often they had traveled 25 to 30 miles per day. They had demonstrated the practicality of men and women crossing the Plains pulling their own baggage in handcarts, a first in the history of organized overland travel.³⁰

Meanwhile, back at Iowa City, Daniel Spencer had organized a third company of about 300 emigrants, primarily from Wales, with Edward Bunker as captain. Bunker, like captains Ellsworth and McArthur, was returning to Utah Territory after three years of missionary service in England. This was to be his fourth trip over the Mormon Trail. His company rolled out on June 23 and reached Florence on July 19. After 11 days of rest, repairs, and provisioning, they set out and arrived in Salt Lake City two months later, on October 2.³¹

The Ellsworth, McArthur, and Bunker companies covered the 1,031 miles from Florence to Salt Lake City in an average of 65 days, which was 12 days faster than three wagon trains that year that covered the same distance in an average of 77 days.³² Hence, the handcart system shaved a week to ten days off the travel time. Had they not been slowed down by their ox-drawn support wagons, they could have traveled even faster.

Due to late ship departures from Liverpool, two more 1856 handcart companies started very late, leaving Iowa City in mid- and late July. Led by captains James Willie and Edward Martin, each comprised about 500 people. They were tailed by the John A. Hunt and William B. Hodgetts wagon trains. The four companies did not leave Florence until the last half of August. In present-

30. *Ibid.*, 67–68.

31. Hafen and Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, 81–90.

32. A study of 13 Mormon wagon trains in 1861 shows that they averaged 73 days for the trip; see chart in William G. Hartley, "The Great Florence Fitout of 1861," *Brigham Young University Studies* 24 (1984), 367.

day Wyoming they encountered October and November blizzards and sub-freezing temperatures and suffered disastrous losses. About 180 died while exposed to those conditions before rescue teams from Utah reached the survivors and through heroic efforts hauled them, many frostbitten and ill, to Salt Lake City.³³ Such loss of life made this the worst tragedy in overland trails history.

DESPITE THE DISASTER, that December the church's presidency issued a general epistle stating that the handcart plan "has been fairly tested and proved entirely successful" for companies that did not start too late in the season. The letter outlined specific improvements that should be made to the carts in 1857, and cautioned that emigrants should provide themselves with "an extra supply of good shoes." Aged and infirm emigrants were to go in a wagon company, not with a handcart. "It is desirable to make a few locations along the line of travel," the letter continued, "and our agents at Florence and St. Louis have been instructed in relation thereto."³⁴

In a February 1857 sermon, President Young said, regarding the handcart pioneers, "They have come a great deal cheaper and better than other companies. I believe that if a company was to try it once with ox-teams and once with hand-carts, every one of them would decide in favour of the hand-carts, unless they could ride more and be more comfortable than people generally are with ox-teams."³⁵

Early that year, Utah Mormon Hiram Kimball obtained the federal government's overland mail contract, which required that relay stations be built all along the trail. By April, Brigham Young had taken over Kimball's mail contract and started east-bound mail service. He assigned Mormons to build several towns of one square mile each at stations at LeBonte and Deer

33. Rebecca Cornwall and Leonard J. Arrington, *Rescue of the 1856 Handcart Companies* (Provo, UT, 1982).

34. "Fourteenth General Epistle," 12/10/1856, in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 2:200–201.

35. Brigham Young discourse, 2/1/1857, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool, 1857), 4:203. The *Journal of Discourses* contains stenographic reports of sermons given between 1851 and 1856 by LDS church leaders and others.

Creek in present-day Wyoming. On April 23 he noted that between 30 and 50 wagons loaded with a food supply of flour had started east to establish the new trail settlements. By May, Andrew Cunningham, a Mormon agent in Florence, was starting a settlement in mid-Nebraska. By the end of May, Young noted, 60 men, "well supplied," had left Utah to start the LaBonte settlement in Wyoming's Black Hills. Showing continued confidence in the handcart system, despite the tragedies in late 1856, Young in April had sent some 70 missionaries eastbound from Utah Territory not with covered wagons but pulling handcarts.³⁶

Compared to Mormon emigration numbers in 1856, those the next year dropped by two-thirds, from 3,700 to about 1,300, because Mormon funds for emigration from England were depleted. Of those 1,300 emigrants, nearly 500 traveled in two handcart companies and 800 in six wagon trains. Both handcart companies and two of the wagon trains departed from Iowa City.³⁷ Unlike the 1856 handcart pioneers, these had to buy their own outfits.

On May 22–23, Captain Israel Evans's handcart company of 149 individuals, 28 carts, and 1 wagon left Iowa City and reached Florence on June 13. Susan Milverton, age 18 in 1857, later recalled that on good days they covered 15–25 miles and that "most often the evenings around the campfire were pleasant, and we were happy." Rains detained them at Florence. Cart loads were reduced to 15 pounds per person. They left on June 19 and reached the Salt Lake Valley on September 11–12.³⁸

On June 12, 1857, the year's second handcart company left Iowa City. It reached Florence on July 3. There, Christian Christiansen became captain over the 330 people, 68 handcarts,

36. Brigham Young to Horace Eldredge, 4/[1]/1857; Young to Feramor Little, 4/1/1857; Young to Orson Pratt, 4/23/1857; Young to Horace Eldredge, 5/29/1857, all in Brigham Young Papers, Letterbook 3.

37. For handcart company statistics, see table below and Hafen and Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, chart on p. 193. The Family and Church History Department of the LDS Church maintains a constantly updated Web site at www.lds.org/churchhistory/library/pioneercompanylist-information/0,16281,4117-1-2144%20,00.html that lists all LDS wagon trains by year, names of passengers, and diary and autobiographical accounts for each company.

38. Susan Rover Milverton Witbeck, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 5–7, LDS Church Archives.

and 3 wagons. They pulled into Salt Lake City on September 13.³⁹ That year, because U.S. President James Buchanan had ordered federal troops to march to Utah Territory to suppress a suspected Mormon rebellion, Mormon emigrants on the trail, while keeping their Mormon identities quiet, “on several occasions traveled and camped in close proximity to the government freight train” provisioning the troops.⁴⁰

During the next year, 1858, the church halted its European emigration because of “the difficulties which are now threatening the Saints,” meaning possible warfare between Mormons and the U.S. Army. To defend Utah communities, church missionaries were called home.⁴¹ For 1859 the church lifted its edict against emigration, and the annual flow resumed. That year European Saints were told,

... no one will receive any help whatever from the P. E. Fund. The deliverance of the Saints depends entirely upon themselves, and we hope that those who have the means will go, and that those who can assist their brethren will stretch forth a helping hand. There will be an opportunity for all to go with hand-carts this season, as usual, who cannot raise the amount necessary to procure a team. Those who have the means, and prefer it, can go with wagons.⁴²

Because so few had funds, “through emigration” from Liverpool to Utah Territory in 1859 was confined to one shipload of Saints. Florence replaced Iowa City that year as the outfitting place because emigrants by then could travel by rail across Missouri to St. Joseph and then take a short riverboat ride up to Florence. The *Council Bluffs Press* reported in late May that about 1,300 Mormon emigrants were at Florence, and that about 250 would cross the Plains with handcarts.⁴³ That season the Pikes Peak gold rush produced heavy trail traffic from the Omaha area.⁴⁴

39. Allen C. Christensen, *Before Zion: An Account of the 7th Handcart Company* (Springville, UT, 2004).

40. Jenson, “Emigration from Europe in 1857,” *Contributor* 14 (May 1893), 346.

41. Editorial, *Millennial Star* 19 (10/17/1857), 668.

42. Editorial, *Millennial Star* 21 (1/1/1859), 436.

43. Council Bluffs, Iowa, had been the Mormon city of Kanesville until 1852, when most Mormons living there left for Utah Territory.

44. In February 1859 an Omaha newspaper carried a front-page article about a handcart company being recruited to go to the Pikes Peak gold rush country:

On June 9, 1859, Captain George Rowley's handcart company left Florence with 235 people pulling 60 handcarts that had iron axles, which were much more durable than the wooden ones used previously. For each cart there were four or six persons. Carts carried 20 pounds of baggage per person and half the provisions needed for the trip. Eight ox-drawn wagons followed with the other half of the provisions "and to give the tired and sick an opportunity to ride." Among the company were "a number of beautiful singers" who entertained visitors around the campfire singing popular "airs" and "several amusing hand-cart songs." Food ran out by the time they reached the Green River, 170 miles shy of Great Salt Lake Valley. "We didn't have nearly enough to eat," Sarah Beesley later recalled, "and oh, the suffering!" Until then her husband had played his violin around the campfire at night, while others sang or listened. But "we all got so hungry that we couldn't have good times any more." The Beesleys tried sleeping in the tents "but it was dreadful" because "everyone was in everyone else's way." Soon thereafter, five 4-mule teams with provisions met and assisted them. "They saved our lives," Beesley said. As the emigrants approached Salt Lake City, two or three bands of musicians and "thousands" of citizens met and escorted them along streets lined with spectators. Locals generously gave the newcomers a variety of provisions.⁴⁵

For 1860, the last handcart year, church leaders told European Saints that the demand in Utah Territory for labor of all kinds, for both males and females, was such that those who emigrated would find immediate employment at fair wages. But emigrant numbers were low. Three shiploads of Mormons

"A Hand Cart Train! No Excuse for Staying Away!" A company of nearly 100 men had been raised, it said, "for the purpose of starting to mines with HAND CARTS—a la Mormon." Promoters presented arguments in favor of the cart travel, including low cost, speed, not needing to care for mules and cattle, and usefulness of the carts in the mining camps. And, the notice bragged, anyone who pulled a handcart to the mines would "show himself a MAN," one "made of tried and true stuff." *Omaha Times*, 2/10/1859.

45. Jenson, "Emigration of 1859," *The Contributor* 14 (July 1893), 438, 439; Sarah Hancock Beesley, *Reminiscences*, posted with 1859 Rowley Company accounts on the Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel site at www.lds.org/churchhistory/library/pioneercompanylist-information/0,16281,4117-1-2144%20,00.html.

sailed early that year. Of about 1,400 who sailed, 640 expected to go through to Utah Territory, including 268 by handcarts. Two handcart companies were formed in Florence. Daniel Robison's company left June 6 with 233 people, 43 carts, 6 wagons, 38 oxen, and 10 tents. According to Captain Robison, "six teams were put to lead, the carts were in the rear. The people pushed the carts. The boxes and carts were painted beautifully, and had bows over the top. These bows were covered with heavy canvas." Unlike handles used in earlier years, his carts had a tongue with a crosspiece at the end of it, against which the people pushed. During the first two weeks they were drenched by rain showers, but had good weather thereafter. At Fort Laramie, with food running short, people pooled what money they had to buy more flour. Hannah Lapish traded jewelry for 700 pounds of flour, which she donated to the company commissary. At the Green River, relief wagons brought them 2,500 pounds of flour and 500 pounds of bacon. On August 22, just before he reached Fort Bridger, stagecoach traveler Richard Burton passed the Robison company: "The road was now populous with Mormon emigrants," he wrote. "Some had good teams, others hand-carts, which looked like a cross between a wheelbarrow and a tax-cart." The Robison Company reached Salt Lake City on August 27. Thousands welcomed them, a band entertained, and bishops brought the newcomers "a liberal supply of vegetables and other edibles."⁴⁶

When the tenth and final handcart company left Florence on July 6, 1860, "everything on the trail was changing." During its 80 days in transit, it "several times met or was passed by the overland stage carrying mail and passengers behind four fine and frequently changed horses, and periodically Pony Express riders rushed by their carts at a furious gallop." Such transportation, which seemed to Mary Ann Stucki Hafen "almost like the wind racing over the prairie," appeared "lovely and fast and comfortable from the down in the roadside dust." Captain Oscar Stoddard led the 126 people, 22 handcarts, and 6 wagons.

46. Sir Richard Burton's account as edited in Athearn, *The Look of the West*, 218; Hafen and Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, 181-82; Jenson, "Emigration to Utah in 1860," *The Contributor* 14 (September 1893), 544, 545, 547; "Hannah Settle Lapish," in *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:526.

TABLE
MORMON HANDCART COMPANIES

Departure	Captain	People	Carts	Wagons	Arrival	Deaths
6/9/1856	Ellsworth	274	52	5	9/26/56	13
6/11/1856	McArthur	221	48	4	9/26/56	7
6/23/1856	Bunker	320	62	5	10/2/56	< 7
7/15/1856	Willie	500	120	6	11/9/56	67
7/28/1856	Martin	576	146	7	11/30/56	135-150
5/22/1857	Evans	149	31	1	9/11/57	?
6/12/1857	Christiansen	330	68	3	9/13/57	6?
6/9/1859	Rowley	235	60	6	9/4/59	5?
6/6/1860	Robison	233	43	6	8/27/60	1
7/6/1860	Stoddard	124	21	7	9/24/60	0
Totals		2,962	651	50		ca. 250

SOURCE: Based on a chart in Hafen and Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, 193. Some accounts by individual handcart pioneers found since the Hafens' study give slightly different company passenger tallies, but historians have not yet developed a standardized set of adjusted totals.

NOTE: All seven of the 1856 and 1857 companies departed from Iowa City; the three subsequent companies departed from Florence, Nebraska.

"Considerable sickness" prevailed. Some oxen pulling support wagons died, which made the last part of the journey difficult. After the Stoddard company reached Salt Lake City on September 24, the era of "the marathon walk of the handcart companies" ended, and a cheaper, more efficient system was created the next year.⁴⁷

In total, between 1856 and 1860 nearly 3,000 individuals departed for the West in ten companies, using about 651 handcarts, assisted by 50 supply wagons (see table). (During those same years, another 5,200 Mormons went west in wagon trains.) Scores dropped out along the way, but no exact number has been calculated. Eight of the ten handcart companies made the journey successfully, without major mishap. To have emigrants pull handcarts to Utah Territory was a workable, albeit unorthodox and physically taxing, system that provided low-cost transportation for healthy people unable to afford high-priced wagons and teams.

47. Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, 289; Jenson, "Emigration to Utah in 1860," 548; Mary Ann Hafen, *Recollections of a Handcart Pioneer of 1860: A Woman's Life on the Mormon Frontier* (Lincoln, NE, 1983), 24-25.

BY 1860, PEF FUNDS were so depleted that even the handcart system cost more than church resources could sustain. But surpluses at Camp Floyd, the federal army's big post in Utah, and from army suppliers had made Utah oxen-rich. Thus President Young instituted a new, efficient system for transporting emigrants that did not require cash.⁴⁸ Wagons and teams would go "down" from Utah to Florence and bring emigrants "back." Previous experimental round trips had shown that oxen sent from Utah could make the 2,000-mile, six-month journey in good condition. So, in February 1861, President Young asked each Mormon congregation in the territory to equip and loan at least one outfit for "down-and-back" trips. In return for the loaned oxen, wagons, supplies, and manpower, donors received credit in church account books for tithes they owed that year or in the future.⁴⁹ While promoting the new plan, Young stated that "he had made a covenant while in Nauvoo never to slacken his efforts untill all were gathered, which he intended to carry out."⁵⁰

Seventy-five congregations—nearly every one in Utah Territory—participated. On April 23, 1861, the donations yielded four wagon companies that left Salt Lake City, led by experienced wagon captains, containing 203 wagons, 217 teamsters, 1,699 oxen, about 18 guards, and 136,000 pounds of Utah flour. During the trek "down" they deposited flour at four stations along the trail for use during the return trip.⁵¹ Meanwhile, nearly 4,000 Mormons from Scandinavia, England, and the United States reached an outfitting camp in Florence in May,

48. Hartley, "The Great Florence Fit-out of 1861," 341–71; idem, "Down-and-Back Wagon Trains: Travelers on the Mormon Trail in 1861," *Overland Journal* 11 (1993), 23–34.

49. Saints were expected to tithe 10 percent of their annual income or increase produced by their own labor and one day of labor for every ten days that did not generate income. Granting tithing credits to donors for teams and materials was a bookkeeping transaction that involved no cash. Emigrants assisted by the donated outfits were expected to pay the church for them after they reached Utah, in essence repaying the church for losses caused by the tithing credits granted to donors of the down-and-back outfits and materials.

50. Minutes, Presiding Bishop's Meeting with Bishops, 1/31/1861, LDS Church Archives.

51. Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, 5/9/1861, Brigham Young Letterbook, 1861, LDS Church Archives.

June, and July. For three months Mormon agents operated the bustling Florence depot, which included a provisions store, warehouse, campsites, corrals, and a weighing machine. Saints able to buy wagons and teams formed eight Mormon wagon trains that outfitted there. Those unable to afford outfits reported for travel in one of the down-and-back wagon companies. Agents assigned six to twelve people to each Utah wagon. Fares (paid then or later in Utah) were \$41 for adults (about \$944 in 2006 dollars) and half that for children under age eight. Each passenger could take 50 pounds of baggage for free and pay 20 cents per pound after that.⁵²

The four Utah down-and-back trains in 1861 moved about 1,700 passengers, or 44 percent of the year's total of 3,900. For Mormon emigrants that year, the wagon trek west was routine and rather uneventful—no major hardships or tragedies or loss of life. Perhaps with the earlier handcart pioneers in mind, 1861 emigrant James H. Lindford pointed out that even with wagons “all of the able bodied emigrants walked from Florence to Utah.” The 1861 companies rolled into the Salt Lake Valley in August and September. There, the trains disbanded, and the borrowed wagons and teams were returned to their owners. “The sending down of waggons from Utah to Florence,” Brigham Young exulted, “is a grand scheme.”⁵³

The round-trip system worked so well that after 1861 it became the Mormons' primary method for moving not only needy Saints but anyone wanting to gather to Zion.⁵⁴ From 1861 through 1868, at least 20,000 Mormons trekked west in down-and-back wagon trains. No such wagon trains operated in 1865 due to transportation disruptions caused by the Civil War or in 1867 because of troubles with Utah Indians, but during the other years at least 2,000 Utah teams, or an average of about 330

52. Hartley, “The Great Florence Fit-out of 1861”; William Jeffries Journal, summary entry before entry for 9/23/1861, LDS Church Archives; Officer and Williamson, “Purchasing Power of Money,” 2007.

53. *An Autobiography of James Henry Lindford, Sr.* (n.p., 1947), 24–25; Journal History, 7/17/1861, LDS Church Archives. (Journal History is a day-by-day collection of LDS history items extracted by church historians from diaries, newspapers, minute books, and other primary source materials.)

54. Brigham Young report to LDS Church leaders in England, copied into Journal History, 12/31/1861, supplement titled “Church Emigration of 1861,” 7.

wagons per year, hauled the emigrants.⁵⁵ After 1865, as the Union Pacific tracks pushed westward from Omaha, Mormon wagon trains from Utah Territory met emigrants wherever the current rail terminus was—North Platte, Nebraska, in 1867 or Laramie or Benton, Wyoming, in 1868.

In the history of overland trail travel to the West, only the Mormons sponsored round-trip wagon trains from destination to departure point and back. That decade of “down-and-back” wagon trains marked a new era of trail travel. “By any system of computation, it was a steady and heavy flow of traffic, both in passengers and freight,” Stegner said. The transporting was

conducted entirely by professionals. No longer did captains have to instruct women, boys, or Welshmen in the mysteries of geeing and hawing oxen. No longer did they have to race against weather and failing supplies and growing exhaustion through the Black Hills and up the Sweetwater. . . . There were no more days lost hunting quicksand fords, no more axle-breaking drops and climbs out of steep-banked creeks, no more loss of wagons to wind or current fording the North Platte; there were ferries and bridges on the major streams, and the approaches to the fords had been improved through twenty years.⁵⁶

These round-trip wagon trains served as the grand finale for Mormon emigration across the Plains until completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 ended large-scale migration along the overland trails.

THE HANDCART VENTURE, although of rather slight significance numerically, merits inclusion in history books even without the terrible story surrounding the Willie and Martin companies, because it was a strange exception to the normal transportation modes and because human interest attaches to people hand-pulling their own baggage across the Plains. Colored by the Willie and Martin companies’ tragedies, however, the image of handcart pioneers looms large. Overland trails mu-

55. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 208. See LDS Church Historical Department list of LDS wagon companies by year, 1847 to 1868, as reproduced in Kimball, *Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail*, 136–50.

56. Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, 291.

seums that tell about the Mormon Trail, for example, always include displays that highlight those tragedies.⁵⁷ One unfortunate result is a popular misperception that death and heartbreak plagued *all* Mormon Trail travel. In truth, for almost all Mormon Trail travelers, by wagon or handcart, the trek west was hard, yes, but not tragic or overly difficult. It was physically taxing, often boring, and full of discomfort, as extended camping experiences tend to be, but it was usually successful. Most Mormons who “gathered to Zion” did so gladly, and they demonstrated courage and commitment to their faith. They shared the optimism of the stanza “but with joy wend your way” expressed in “Come, Come Ye Saints,” the Mormon anthem written on the trail in 1846, and the happiness of the “Handcart Song” written in Iowa City in 1856: “some must push and some must pull as we go marching o’er the hill, as merrily on the way we go until we reach the valley-o.”

For some emigrants, however, the handcart trek was an ordeal they wanted to forget. Handcart veteran Sarah Hancock Beesley, when interviewed in old age, responded that while others might be enthusiastic about their handcart experiences, she was not. “Don’t ask me anything about it,” she warned. “My children have often tried to get me to write my handcart story but I will not.” For her, married a few months before the trek, it was a “dreadful time.” She complained that her company did not have nearly enough food, sleep was hard, the sun burned hot, wind covered her with sand and dirt, pulling the cart was hard labor, especially when its wheels sometimes sank to the hubs in sand, fording rivers was strenuous, and when someone died, the company never stopped for a proper burial. “Yes, I crossed the plains with a handcart once but I am thankful I have never had to again. I couldn’t do it.”⁵⁸

LDS historian Andrew Jensen, writing 33 years after the handcart era ended and having studied it well, noted the lasting impact he expected the handcart venture to have:

57. See displays, for example, at the Western Historic Trails Center in Council Bluffs, Iowa; the Great Platte River Road Archway Monument in Kearney, Nebraska; and the National Historic Trails Interpretive Center in Casper, Wyoming.

58. Sarah Hancock Beesley, *Reminiscence*, 28, 32–34.

Its peculiar and distinct characteristics will ever belong to that part of the reminiscences of the Latter-day Saints which deals with heroic men and women, who . . . fought and suffered to establish Zion in the Rocky Mountains. Tales of endurance, self-sacrifice and bravery pertaining to these times, will be rehearsed in the ears of our children and grand-children, and all future generations will yet pay homage to the memory of those noble sons and daughters of Zion, who accomplished what they did for the sake of religion.⁵⁹

Jenson predicted correctly: subsequent generations have indeed paid homage to the handcart pioneers. In the early 1900s an organization called Daughters of Utah Handcart Pioneers commissioned a statue that depicts a family pulling a handcart. Sculpted by Torleif Knaphus, it has been prominently displayed for years near the Mormon Tabernacle on Temple Square in Salt Lake City and has become well known and widely replicated (see cover).⁶⁰ Other handcart memorials include the Mormon Handcart Park in Coralville, Iowa, and a visitors center and park at Martin's Cove in mid-Wyoming, near where many in the ill-fated Martin Company sought shelter from a blizzard. The Martin's Cove center provides replicated wooden handcarts for visitors to pull along an actual stretch of the handcart pioneers' route. For many Mormon youth in the current generation, participating in a group handcart trek and campout for a few summer days has become part of their church experience, one that connects them physically and spiritually to what early converts to Mormonism endured to build up a Zion in the American West.⁶¹

59. Jenson, "Emigration to Utah in 1860," 548.

60. William G. Hartley, "Torleif Knaphus, Sculptor Saint," *The Ensign* (July 1980), 10–15. When the Daughters of Utah Handcart Pioneers commissioned Knaphus to memorialize the heroic handcart trek, he created a 3-foot-high bronze monument featuring a rickety cart with much worn wheels, a ragged quilt hanging from one side, a kettle underneath, a small girl sitting in the cart, a bearded man pulling the cart, and a woman walking beside him; a boy is pushing from behind. Unveiled in 1926, it was displayed in Salt Lake City's Temple Square Information Bureau. Then, for the Mormon Pioneer Sesquicentennial in 1947, LDS church leaders commissioned Knaphus to create a heroic-size copy. Cast in bronze in New York, it is displayed prominently near the Tabernacle in Temple Square in Salt Lake City.

61. John L. Hart, "Life-Changing Youth Handcart Treks," *Church News*, 7/29/2006, 6–7. (*Church News* is published weekly as a section of the *Deseret Morning News* in Salt Lake City.)

Leadership, Planning, and Management of the 1856 Mormon Handcart Emigration

DON H. SMITH

IN 1856 two companies of Mormon emigrants traveling west on the Mormon Trail encountered blizzards in what is now Wyoming, with disastrous consequences. Some participants in the trek and commentators ever since have concluded that the Mormons' usual excellence in organization was absent in the 1856 handcart emigration operations. One writer went so far as to describe the actions of its leaders as "criminally careless."¹ A close look at the planning and implementation of the 1856 handcart emigration, however, shows the opposite of carelessness and organizational slackness.

The goal of the handcart plan was to bring out, at minimum expense, "those in Britain who have been in the church from the introduction of the Gospel on those lands; old members, many of whom have remained poor and unable to get away, or through infirmity are remaining." To execute the plan, the emigrants were instructed to "make hand-carts . . . and draw upon them [the

1. Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (Lincoln, NE, 1964), 221–38. Brigham Young's ex-wife Ann Eliza Young, in *Wife No. 19* (n.p., 1875), 208, speaks of the "meanness and heartless carelessness," related to the handcart emigration. See also Howard A. Christy, "Weather, Disaster, and Responsibility: An Essay on the Willie and Martin Handcart Story," *BYU Studies* 37 (1997–98), 10, 65; John Chislett "Narrative," in T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints: A Full and Complete History of the Mormons* (New York, 1873), 313–14; John Jaques, *Diary and History*, in Stella Jaques Bell, *Life History and Writings of John Jaques* (Rexburg, ID, 1978), 99.

carts] the necessary supplies.”² Brigham Young, president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (or Mormons), issued a basic cart design, together with instructions for the emigrants to build their own carts.³

The success of an undertaking of this magnitude required a revenue source and a financial plan, a need that had been partially supplied since the early 1850s by the Perpetual Emigrating Fund (PEF). This revolving support system was set up to aid the poor with moving expenses. During the 1855 emigration, the fund incurred a debt of over \$60,000 and could offer no assistance until its coffers were replenished. For the 1856 emigration season, Utah properties were offered for sale to affluent emigrants, with the funds derived from those transactions used by the PEF to support the season’s emigration. One of the offered pieces of real estate was a house and lot owned by Brigham Young, with a \$25,000 price tag (about \$522,000 in 2006 dollars).⁴

THE IDEA for the handcart system originated with Brigham Young, but the primary responsibility for its execution was placed on the shoulders of Elders John Taylor in New York, Orson Spencer in St. Louis, and Franklin D. Richards in Liverpool. There was precedence for such cooperation between European church leaders and church authorities on the American frontier. Beginning in 1852, Richards, president of the European Mission, sent an American-born missionary from England ahead of the emigrants to purchase teams, wagons, and supplies for outfits that would transport Latter-day Saints across the Plains. To make the system more efficient, two emigration agents were sent out from Utah the next year to assist. One was stationed in New Orleans to meet the European emigrants and send them on

2. “Emigration,” *Millennial Star* 17 (11/24/1855), 745; “Foreign Correspondence,” *Millennial Star* 17 (12/22/1855), 813.

3. Brigham Young to John Taylor, 9/30/1855, President’s Office Letter Book, 409, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

4. “Emigration,” *Millennial Star* 17 (11/24/1855), 745–48; “Foreign Correspondence,” *Millennial Star* 17 (12/22/1855), 749; *St. Louis Luminary*, 12/15/1855; *The Mormon*, 12/15/1855. For a short history of the PEF, see Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah, 1540–1886* (San Francisco, 1889), 415–16. Brigham Young referred to the PEF’s debt in his November 2, 1856, tabernacle address. See *Deseret News*, 11/17/1856.

to St. Louis, where the other agent met them and sent them on to the outfitting camp. During the 1855 season, President Richards sent a member of his council, Daniel Spencer, to aid in the outfitting of that year's emigration. Erastus Snow, a member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles and the church leader in the Midwest, took over as director of operations at Mormon Grove, Kansas. When the outfitting was completed and the emigrants had departed for Utah, Daniel Spencer returned to his office in Liverpool. Orson Spencer, Daniel's younger brother, replaced Erastus Snow in St. Louis, and John Taylor, church leader in the eastern United States, took over the reception of the Mormon emigrants, who, henceforth, would land at ports on the East Coast. New Orleans was eliminated as a port of entry due to heavy losses from cholera suffered by emigrants in 1854 and 1855.⁵

With Franklin Richards in Liverpool, Orson Spencer in St. Louis, and John Taylor in New York, all things appeared in order for the 1856 emigration. Unfortunately, Orson Spencer died October 15, 1855, leaving a void in the organizational structure. With Daniel Spencer, a trained outfitter, at his disposal, Richards appears to have concluded that Orson Spencer's death gave him a clear mandate to follow the same general procedures that had been used between 1852 and 1855. Furthermore, Richards interpreted Brigham Young's instruction to mean that he, as originator of the emigration, should have the major control over the operation. On the other hand, John Taylor, as the senior Apostle, felt that it was his duty to assume leadership of all emigration matters in the United States. Without communication from Salt Lake City, which was nonexistent for several winter months each year (Brigham Young did not learn about Orson Spencer's death until December 30), Taylor had only the precedence of

5. "Foreign Correspondence," *Millennial Star* 17 (12/22/1855), 614; "Circular," *Millennial Star* 18 (2/23/1856), 121-22; "Emigration of European Saints—Important Change," *St. Louis Luminary*, 12/2/1854; *Herald of Freedom*, 5/19/1855; "Elder D. Spencer's Report on his Mission to the United States," *Millennial Star* 17 (9/15/1855), 577-80; "Letter from Orson Spencer," *St. Louis Luminary*, 8/4/1855. Elders were sent out from Salt Lake City to staff the outfitting posts in St. Louis and New Orleans. Horace S. Eldredge, *Diary*, microfilm, LDS Church Archives; Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1892-1904), 4:247; Andrew Jenson, comp., *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1901-1936), 1:103, 2:284; Frederick Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley* (Liverpool, 1855), 1-22; *Deseret News*, 9/5/1855.

1855 and his own judgment to go on. Taylor's location put him in closer touch with conditions relating to the American leg of the emigration than anyone in Europe. He had a direct link with the frontiers through missionaries serving in those areas. The telegraph, limited as it was (it did not reach Salt Lake City until October 1861), provided a means by which he could rapidly communicate with the American elders in the eastern United States on important matters needing quick resolution.⁶

Disruptive as it could have become, the presence of both of these men in the system, each with the feeling that it was his responsibility to take charge, turned out to have some decided advantages in the long run. When Taylor learned of Orson Spencer's death, he was aware that a European emigration was planned, although he had not yet received specific instructions regarding it. He realized that the 1856 season's emigration would differ from earlier models. With two outfitting camps, about 270 miles apart, instead of one, greater organizational skills and coordination would be required. To compound the difficulties, the first camp would be located in an unfamiliar region some distance from the traditional river supply lines.

Sensing the urgency of the situation, Taylor took immediate steps to help fill the void left by Orson Spencer. He knew that a number of missionaries would soon arrive in New York City. Among them would be the American-born Andrew Cunningham. Bishop Cunningham left Utah on September 10, 1855, in charge of a group of missionaries bound for Great Britain and elsewhere. When he arrived in St. Louis, he found a letter from Taylor directing him to go to Council Bluffs to assist with the ensuing season's emigration. Cunningham arrived in Council Bluffs on December 6, where he joined James McGaw, who had been appointed chief outfitter for the Missouri River outpost. McGaw had been the captain of an 1852 Utah-bound wagon train, and during the 1855 emigration he had met the European Mormon emigrants in New Orleans, shipped them to St. Louis, and helped with the outfitting at Mormon Grove, Kansas. He

6. There had been a misunderstanding between Taylor and Richards about the duties of each party for some time. See John Taylor to Brigham Young, 7/15/1855 and 8/18/1856, John Taylor file, LDS Church Archives; "Death of Orson Spencer," *Millennial Star* 17 (12/1/1855), 762-64; Chislett "Narrative," 339-41.

was left in charge of the Mormon Grove outpost when the last company departed for Utah. Under Taylor's direction, McGaw and Cunningham made the initial preparations for the 1856 emigration on the American side of the Atlantic.⁷

Taylor received details about the 1856 handcart plan in the middle of November 1855 while he was in St. Louis reorganizing the leadership after Orson Spencer's death. James H. Hart, an English emigrant, was appointed to succeed Spencer. However, he lacked the know-how to adequately fulfill all of the responsibilities of an emigration agent. Immediately, Taylor appointed a committee of seven missionaries from among those who had accompanied Cunningham from Utah to formulate plans for the structure of the carts and to calculate the supplies needed for each handcart pioneer. After Taylor received their report, he asked the Espenschied Wagon Factory based in St. Louis to build a sample cart. Then, after making some changes in the design, he ordered 100 carts from that firm.⁸

In accordance with instructions, Cunningham stayed only a short time in Council Bluffs, then proceeded to inspect the route from that point to Iowa City and check the progress of the railroad being built from the Mississippi River toward Iowa City. He spent Christmas in the Iowa capital and found the community in a state of excitement. Fearing that the railroad might choose some other route, the residents of Iowa City had raised \$50,000 to induce the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad to build the line to their community, but they insisted that to qualify for the prize the company's first train must arrive in the city before the end of 1855. Everyone was working at a quickened

7. Andrew Cunningham to Brigham Young, 9/21/1856, LDS Church Archives; *Deseret News*, 9/19/1856; *The Mormon*, 10/13/1855; John Taylor to Brigham Young, 7/18/1856 and 8/18/1856, John Taylor file, LDS Church Archives; Kate B. Carter, comp., *Heart Throbs of the West*, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1939-1951), 12:464; James McGaw to Erastus Snow, *St. Louis Luminary*, 1/20/1855; Richard Ballantyne to Erastus Snow, *St. Louis Luminary*, 4/7/1855; Milo Andrus to Erastus Snow, *St. Louis Luminary*, 5/5/1855 and 5/12/1855; Orson Spencer to James Hart, *St. Louis Luminary*, 8/11/1855; James McGaw to James Hart, *St. Louis Luminary*, 11/24/1855; Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1941), 577; John Taylor, "Emigration," *The Mormon*, 4/26/1855.

8. "Hand Carts for the Plains," *The Mormon*, 12/1/1855; John Taylor, "Emigration," *The Mormon*, 4/26/1855; PEF Account Books, LDS Church Archives.

pace in order to meet the deadline. In the midst of that flurry of activity, Cunningham looked the city over and noted what services were available there. He also located a campsite and made preliminary arrangements for its use. After completing his business, he returned to Council Bluffs. In concert with McGaw, he made arrangements for another campground in Florence, Nebraska, for ferriage across the Missouri River, and for sundry other matters.⁹ (The campsite was located on a small section of the 1846 Mormon encampment called Winter Quarters.) Cunningham and McGaw, together with other missionaries, were in a position to supply Taylor with prevailing prices, which were needed in Liverpool to calculate the estimated expenses for the 1856 emigration. Because of adverse weather conditions, some of the desired information did not reach England in time to aid in the European planning.¹⁰

Communication concerning the intended use of handcarts in the upcoming emigration reached Liverpool on December 9, 1855, taken there by three of the missionaries who were part of Taylor's planning committee. Steps to implement the new system could not be taken immediately because of the extensive duties required to send off Mormon emigrants aboard the *John J. Boyd*, which left England December 12. The handcart plan was first introduced to the British Saints in the December 22 issue of the mission publication, *The Millennial Star*. Brigham Young wanted all of the emigrants to head west from the Missouri River by June 1. To meet that date the last load of emigrants would have to leave Liverpool by March 1, allowing six weeks for the journey by sailing ship, one week to travel by train from the East Coast to Iowa City, a week at Iowa City, four weeks for the trek across Iowa, and a week at Florence, Nebraska.¹¹ With

9. "Hand Carts for the Plains," *The Mormon*, 12/1/1855; John Taylor, "Emigration," *The Mormon*, 4/26/1855; *Rock Island Lines News Digest* 11 (October 1952), 17.

10. Although Taylor sought the current prices of cattle, he had not received that information as of February 9, 1856, a week after the Liverpool planning meeting took place. "Emigration," *The Mormon*, 2/9/1856. F. D. Richards received the cost estimates from John Taylor at a later date. See "Editorial," *Millennial Star* 18 (2/23/1856), 123.

11. "Arrival," "Foreign Correspondence," and "Departure," *Millennial Star* 17 (12/22/1855), 812, 813; F. D. Richards to John Taylor, 12/14/1855, British Mission Letter Books (hereafter BMLB), LDS Church Archives; "The J. J. Boyd,"

limited information and a short lead time, about 20 missionaries assembled in Liverpool on February 1, 1856, to plan the emigration. Based on anticipated funds, they concluded that about 2,000 PEF emigrants would participate in the handcart experiment.¹²

BIOGRAPHIES of the handcart scheme's leaders belie claims of poor management and lack of practical experience in its execution. Daniel Spencer, who was appointed general superintendent of the operation, is a prime example. Unlike the other returning missionaries, who were relatively young, he turned 62 before the last handcart company left Iowa City. (He was born July 20, 1794, in West Stockbridge, Massachusetts.) He had been a successful merchant for a quarter-century before converting to Mormonism in 1840. After becoming a Latter-day Saint, in 1844 he was chosen mayor of Nauvoo, the Mormon settlement that was also the largest city in Illinois at that time. (Nauvoo's population exceeded 10,000 in 1844, when Chicago's was 8,000.) He served as a bishop in Winter Quarters and was captain of one of the wagon trains that entered the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. When the Salt Lake Stake was organized in 1847, he was a member of the first High Council and became stake president in 1849, an

The Mormon, 3/1/1856. Brigham Young's post-conference address, November 2, 1856, published in *Deseret News*, 11/17/1856, proposed the June 1 departure from the Missouri River.

12. Actually, 2,012 were shipped, about 12 died en route, 6 were born, and 2 families—11 persons—stayed in New York, leaving about 1,995 to arrive in Iowa City. Emigration details, based on the findings of the missionary planning group, were published in the *Millennial Star* 18 (2/23/1856). Some critics claim that no one in Iowa City knew how many emigrants were coming, but six members of the planning group were at the Iowa City camp at one time or another. To conclude that no one knew how many were coming, when Spencer and other outfitters personally helped to decide the number of participants, is quite illogical. The 20 known planners were F. D. Richards, Daniel Spencer, Cyrus Wheelock, Asa Calkin (a member of the committee appointed by John Taylor to study the handcart experiment), George D. Grant, James Ferguson, J. D. T. McAllister, William H. Kimball, Joseph A. Young, James A. Little, John Kay, Spicer W. Crandall, William Walker, Leonard I. Smith, Charles R. Dana, B. Hawkins, Thomas Williams, and Edward W. Tullidge. (This group included a son of Brigham Young, a son of Heber C. Kimball, and a brother of Jedediah M. Grant, immediate family members of each of the church's First Presidency.) Spencer, Grant, Ferguson, McAllister, Kimball, and Walker were present at the Iowa City camp at one time or another.

office he held until his departure for England in 1852. During his sojourn in England he was the First Councilor to Franklin Richards in the European Mission Presidency. He was reappointed as stake president upon his return to Salt Lake City and occupied that office until his death in 1868. Since there was no municipal government in Salt Lake City during the early years of his tenure, his duties encompassed those of a mayor and chief judge. Even disputes among gold seekers en route to California were settled in his ecclesiastical court.

He also had significant experience preparing companies for a journey across the Plains. He had taken an active part in the preparations for the 1847 trek west and had been sent from England to help Erastus Snow outfit the 1855 emigration at Mormon Grove, Kansas. Of his contributions in that emigration assignment his brother wrote the following:

A great work has been accomplished in fitting out with teams and provisions about three thousand Saints. Imagine more than half the thousands of cattle, to be wild and unaccustomed to the yoke, and a much larger portion of the drivers as unacquainted with driving as their oxen to the yoke, the labor of supervision becomes considerable. A system of order in the distribution of provisions and cattle, and wagons, and drivers, and conductors has been arranged mostly out of the raw materials, with all the precision that attends a regular army, and all without salary or pay. . . . Brother Daniel Spencer leaves to-day for St. Louis, and thence to England, to renew his former labors in Britain, having shared in the multiplied duties of forwarding the entire emigration of Saints over the plains.

With limited resources, he used every available means to get the most for every dollar. Still, Spencer was quick to realize that he could not be all things to all people; as the need arose, he created helpful offices and placed men with leadership experience in them. As John Taylor wrote, "Bro. Spencer, who is himself a very active business man, had as efficient body of men to assist him as perhaps ever were assembled together for an object of the kind." Spencer wisely delegated tasks and allowed the appointees to work out the details.¹³

13. *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:286-89; Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:89-91; "Letter from Orson Spencer," in *St. Louis Luminary*, 8/11/1855; "Elder D. Spencer's Report on his Mission to the United States," *Millennial Star* 17 (9/15/



This group portrait of Mormon missionaries was taken in England in 1855. Most of these men played prominent roles in the 1856 handcart migration, including company captains Edmund Ellsworth (top left), Edward Bunker (center row left), Edward Martin (center row right), and Daniel D. McArthur (lower right). In the center row, between Bunker and Martin, are (left to right) Chauncey G. Webb, Franklin D. Richards, Daniel Spencer, and Daniel W. Jones. To Edmund Ellsworth's left in the top row are Brigham Young's son Joseph A. Young and Heber Kimball's son William H. Kimball. Photo courtesy LDS Church Archives.

The missionary captains of the last three handcart companies, all Spencer appointees, were all schooled in westward travel and were experienced leaders. They also knew the pangs of hunger and exposure to the elements. None were ignorant of

1855), 577-80; "Arrival of the Hand-Carts at Great Salt Lake City," *The Mormon*, 2/21/1857; William Holms Walker, *Reminiscence & Journal*, in *Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Lessons for January 1957*, comp. Kate B. Carter (n.p., n.d.), 250-54; Stegner, *Gathering of Zion*, 229, 238.

the trials awaiting them, but they were given a task to perform and they carried it out to the best of their abilities.

James G. Willie was in his forty-second year when he led his group from Iowa City. He had been born in England, but in 1836, at age 22, he emigrated to the United States. The pitfalls he endured as a lone emigrant to New York City made him street wise. After his conversion, he served several years as a missionary in New England. He traveled to Nauvoo in 1846 and then on to Winter Quarters, where he spent the winter. In 1847 he journeyed to Utah and remained there until he returned to England in 1852 as a missionary. In England he was the leader of the Southampton Pastorate before taking charge of the emigrants aboard the *Thornton*. Some have indicated that he led his flock on blind faith. However, he was well aware of the perils that awaited the group. On September 6-7, 1847, he had witnessed a snowstorm in the very region where many of his company were to lose their lives in October 1856. He received a legacy of £240 upon the death of his brother and turned the money over to the PEF rather than outfit himself with a fancy horse-drawn carriage. Unlike most of the handcart leaders, he had no wagon but rode a mule that he often loaned to others. Two of his five assistants had traveled to and from Utah, and his chief adviser, the 39-year-old New Englander Millen Atwood, had made the round trip twice.¹⁴

Jesse Haven, Brigham Young's cousin, joined the Mormons in time to experience the expulsions from both Missouri and Illinois. He spent the winter at Winter Quarters and did not reach Utah until 1850 due to missionary service. In 1852 he had been called as a missionary to South Africa, where there were no Latter-day Saints. Haven led a group of three missionaries. They had no money and lived on one meal a day before they made any progress in Africa. Two of their converts purchased a ship in which a group, led by two of the missionaries, sailed to

14. James G. Willie, Missionary journals, typed copies, and Willie family history, in author's possession; Eliza R. Snow, Diary, 9/6-7/1847, in *Improvement Era* 47 (January 1944), 25; F. D. Richards to James G. Willie, 1/9/1856 and 5/9/1856, BMLB; James G. Willie Emigrating Company, Journal, 5/4/1856-11/9/1856, typescript, LDS Church Archives; *Heart Throbs of the West*, 4:243, 396; Kate B. Carter, comp., *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1958-1977), 2:521-22.

London prior to emigrating aboard the *Caravan*. Although his company was fused with the Martin company in Florence, he, at age 42, accompanied his group most of the way to Utah in the William B. Hodgetts wagon train.¹⁵

Edward Martin is listed as the leader of the last group of emigrants to leave the Iowa City camp, but one gets the impression that the leadership was more or less a joint arrangement between Martin and Daniel Tyler. Like James Willie, Martin was English by birth but four years younger. He was one of the first Latter-day Saint converts in England and left his native land in 1841 as one of the leaders of an emigrant ship that sailed to New Orleans. He spent five years in Nauvoo before he was driven out of that city. He joined the Mormon Battalion and made the trek to California and back through Utah to Council Bluffs. The early part of his return journey began in California in July 1847 and ended in Iowa December 10. The hardships he endured during that long trek appear to have had a decided effect on his leadership style. In 1848 he returned to Utah with his family, only to leave them four years later to serve as a missionary leader in Scotland. For a short time during the 1855 emigration Martin was assigned to the emigration department in Liverpool. He was recalled to that position in 1856 to act as a passenger broker as Richards's representative with the shipping firms. Martin was the leader aboard the ship *Horizon*, and Haven was one of his councilors.¹⁶

Daniel Tyler was a 39-year-old native New Yorker who had gone through the refiner's fire of persecutions in Missouri, Illinois, and the Mormon Battalion. He, too, had traveled from California to Council Bluffs, but a year later than Martin. As a result of his longer stay, he was at Sutter's Fort when gold was discovered nearby. For about a year he was a missionary in England and then took over the Swiss-Italian Mission as its president. He was the leader of the Saints aboard the *Caravan*, assisted by Edward Bunker, William Walker, and one other

15. *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:378; *LDS Encyclopedic History*, 808; "Emigration from South Africa," *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 6:272; Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:512; Jesse Haven, *Diary*, 5/25/1856-12/15/1856, LDS Church Archives.

16. "Edward's Story," *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 12: 354-57; Clerks to Act as Passage Brokers, 2/6/1856, BMLB.

who was not involved in the Iowa City operations. All ecclesiastical activities at the Iowa City camp were under his charge.¹⁷

Among other appointees, Brigham Young handpicked his son-in-law Edmund Ellsworth to be captain of the first handcart company and may have suggested other appointments. Richards made key Iowa assignments as well, which were later sustained by John Taylor, from among the missionaries who would be returning to Utah Territory. James Ferguson was assigned to act as Daniel Spencer's accountant. The wheelwright Chauncey G. Webb was to supervise construction of the handcarts. George D. Grant and William H. Kimball were to procure equipment and livestock for the emigration.¹⁸

IN THE TEN WEEKS available to them, the Mormon emigration agents in Liverpool faced many challenges: they had to convince the potential emigrants to travel by handcart, obtain cost estimates, sell the Utah real estate to British buyers and collect the funds, determine the number of qualified emigrants, arrange transportation, coordinate with the Scandinavian Mission president, and notify all those selected to emigrate. Paramount among these was raising the necessary funds in a timely manner. Although the *Millennial Star* announcement relating to the sale of the Utah properties and the use of the proceeds for the 1856 emigration predated the handcart directive by a month, the actual sales occurred in 1856. The majority of the funds derived from those sales came from the Thomas Tennant estate. By some means Tennant learned of the Utah property offerings prior to the *Millennial Star* announcement, because he wrote to Daniel Spencer on November 15, inviting Spencer to discuss emigration matters with him. Spencer and George D. Grant left immediately, arriving at Tennant's home in Hawkswick, Yorkshire, the next evening. After a short discussion, Tennant agreed to sell his property as

17. *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:386, 389; Daniel Tyler, "Incidents of Experience," in *Classic Experiences and Adventures* (Salt Lake City, 1969), 20–46; John Daniel Thompson McAllister, Journal, 6/1/1856, microfilm, LDS Church Archives.

18. Brigham Young to Edmund Ellsworth, 9/29/1855, LDS Church Archives; "Departures," *Millennial Star* 18 (4/5/1856), 216–17; "Appointments," *Deseret News*, 6/11/1855; F. D. Richards to Daniel Spencer, 3/14/1856, BMLB; "Appointments," *The Mormon*, 4/12/1856.



Thomas Tennant's estate in Hawkswick, Yorkshire. Courtesy of author.

soon as possible and allow President Richards to use all of the proceeds except what he needed for his family's emigration. At the same time he agreed to buy Brigham Young's \$25,000 house in Utah Territory. Spencer and Grant also met with another church member, Thomas Spencer (Tennant's nephew), who held assets worth about £2,500, or \$12,100. They tried to convince him to emigrate and to purchase one or more of the Utah property offerings, but he declined their proposition.¹⁹

It is one thing to advertise a piece of property, but quite another to sell it in a timely fashion and to obtain the desired proceeds. The sale of the Tennant estate was not consummated until April 15.²⁰ The funds from the sale did not reach Richards until about April 24, and, much to his chagrin, part of the proceeds from the sale were in promissory notes, which reduced the amount of available funds. Eight weeks beyond the desired March 1 departure of the last shipload of emigrants slipped by before the funds from the sale of the Utah properties found

19. Daniel Spencer, Diary, 11/15–19/1855, LDS Church Archives. For comparisons of dollar values over time, see "The Inflation Calculator" at www.westegg.com/inflation.

20. Deed of sale and accounting re: the Tennant estate, in author's possession.

their way into Richards's hands. The tardy arrival of their operating budget and the smaller than expected revenues had ripple effects on the entire handcart operation.²¹

War and weather also interfered with the execution of the emigration plan. The Treaty of Paris marked the end of the Crimean War on March 30, 1856. As the British soldiers began to return to England, adverse winds hindered shipping, turning the Liverpool docks into a madhouse.²² Ships were also slow to arrive in Liverpool from New York. Icebergs and storms affected traffic on the Atlantic; many ships were damaged and others sank. Sixty vessels that were due in New York City failed to show up. Some of the lowest temperatures of the century left 30 ships ice-bound in New York harbors. The average sailing time from Liverpool to New York City was about 42 days, but the Mormon emigrant ship *John J. Boyd* took 66 days. Another emigrant ship, the *Thornton*, was severely damaged during its December and January voyage from Liverpool to New York and needed extensive repairs before returning to service. It arrived back in Liverpool April 6 but could not enter the loading dock until April 17. As a result of these inconveniences its Liverpool turnaround time was 29 days.²³

21. Of the approximately \$50,000 generated, Thomas Tennant contributed over \$35,000 (including the \$25,000 for Brigham Young's house). Jane Birchley contributed about \$2,430; Elias and John Jones \$440; William B. Hodgetts \$793; and James G. Willie \$1,164. Other tithing funds amounted to about \$10,000, besides PEF deposits and money paid by "ordinary" passengers. Emigrants who had excess money were encouraged to place it in the PEF as a means of transferring it to the United States. When the emigrants arrived in Utah, they could withdraw their deposits from the fund. Thus the PEF operated as a bank and the money deposited in it was available for use by the emigration agents to help defray expenses. Because of this procedure, a great deal more of the proceeds from the \$60,000+ Tennant estate, over and above the \$25,000 paid for Brigham Young's house, found its way into PEF coffers. "Editorial," *Millennial Star* 18 (1/12/1856), 27. The existence of promissory notes is revealed in Spencer, Diary, 2/19/1857. The evidence that these funds found their way into the hands of the mission president is in Franklin D. Richards to President of the PEF Co., 3/28/1856 and 4/25/1856, BMLB.

22. W. C. Dunbar letter from London, 3/28/1856, in *Deseret News*, 7/23/1856; James Linforth to F. D. Richards, 2/22/1856, BMLB; F. D. Richards to Brigham Young, 3/28/1856, BMLB; "Conclusion of Peace," *The Times*, 3/31/1856; Denis Judd, *The Crimean War* (London, 1975), 181; *Liverpool Daily Post*, 4/17/1856.

23. *New York Tribune*, 2/20/1856; *New York Times*, 1/15/1856, 1/21/1856, 2/7/1856, 3/10/1856, 6/23/1856; David M. Lidlum, "Early American Winters

THE FIRST APPOINTEES to arrive in the United States from England were George D. Grant and William H. Kimball. They departed from Liverpool February 6 by steamer. Through perils of fog and icebergs they arrived in New York City 18 days later. Their arrival marked the beginning of a mammoth task that would last until all of that year's emigrants arrived in Salt Lake City nine months later. During their discussions with Taylor and his councilors, it was decided that it would be unwise for the emigrants to carry all of their tents, foodstuffs, and personal belongings on handcarts as directed. Adults were to be limited to 17 pounds of handcart baggage, with 10 pounds for children under 8, and supply wagons were added to the plan to haul the tents, the food, and the disabled. After conferring with Taylor, Grant and Kimball went on to Iowa City to get acquainted with the area. While there, on March 20, they contracted with the Love, Gordon and Company's newly established Iowa City Plow Factory for the fabrication of 100 handcarts. Kimball went on to Council Bluffs to make final arrangements for the emigration at that point, and Grant went to Missouri to purchase equipment and check on the availability of livestock.²⁴

Under the leadership of William H. Walker, the first 21 emigrants arrived in Iowa City about April 5. They had sailed from

II, 1821-1870," *American Meteorological Society* (1969), 158; "The J. J. Boyd," *The Mormon*, 3/1/1856; *Millennial Star* 18 (3/29/1856), 206; *Northern Daily Times*, 4/7/1856; *Liverpool Telegraph & Shipping Gazette*, 4/18/1856; *Millennial Star* 18 (5/24/1856), 230. Passage for adults was £4.5 aboard the *Enoch Train* and £5 aboard the *Samuel Curling*, with other vessels charging £6 and more, showing the increasing rates caused by adverse conditions. F. D. Richards to Dan Jones, 3/28/1856, BMLB.

24. William H. Kimball, Journal, 2/6/1856-5/20/1856, microfilm, LDS Church Archives. The first mention of the baggage weight limitation imposed on those going by handcart is found in a letter from Patience Loader in Williamsburg, New York, to her brother-in-law John Jacques in Liverpool, 4/21/1856, in "News from the United States," *Millennial Star* 18 (5/3/1856), 281. The letter's date and place of origin suggest that the decision was made in the New York City area before the Iowa City camp was established. The emigrants at the Iowa City camp were first apprised of the weight limitation on May 21, 1856, the day after George D. Grant and William H. Kimball arrived with a herd of cattle for the emigration. "Emigration by Hand-Carts," *Millennial Star* 18 (6/14/1856), 369-72; Daniel D. McArthur, Journal, 5/20-21/1856, LDS Church Archives; McAllister, Journal, 5/20/1856, 5/21/1856, and 5/23/1856. The order for the 100 handcarts was recorded in the *Iowa Daily Republican*, 3/26/1856.

Liverpool aboard the *Caravan* and reached New York on March 27. No facilities had yet been prepared at Iowa City to receive these emigrants, so Walker helped find housing and employment for those who wished to work.²⁵

Daniel Spencer, John Van Cott, Chauncey Webb, and two others left Liverpool on the steamer *Canada* on March 15 and landed in Boston March 30.²⁶ On April 2, Webb left by train for Iowa City to begin preparations for handcart building; he paid \$30.40 for his ticket and arrived at his destination April 10.²⁷ Spencer and Van Cott remained in Boston.

Spencer immediately set out to address two major challenges: arranging for the transportation of the emigrants from Boston to Iowa City, and transferring funds from Liverpool to the United States. (Such transfers were essential because not all the money needed for the season's operation was in hand when Spencer left England; neither was it wise or practical to carry on all business transactions with cash.) Spencer first called on the Enoch Train shipping firm and then left offers with railroad agents relating to emigrant rail fares. After visiting Boston's money exchanges, he concluded that it was advantageous to do business with Enoch Train and Company. With them he exchanged sovereigns for \$4.85 each and London bank notes for \$4.80. Although international banking institutions existed at that time, with branches in the larger port cities along the eastern seaboard and in Liverpool, Spencer bypassed them in favor of the better rates offered by the shipping companies. They probably offered more favorable rates in order to induce the Saints to use their ships for emigrating.²⁸

After they completed their business in Boston, Spencer and Van Cott took the train for New York. They spent an entire day

25. "Emigrants by the *Caravan* and *Emerald Isle*," *The Mormon*, 4/5/1856; Walker, *Reminiscence & Journal*, 250-54.

26. Spencer, *Diary*, 3/15-30/1856.

27. *Ibid.*, 4/2/1856; Ann Eliza Young, *Wife No. 19*, 204.

28. Spencer, *Diary*, 3/30/1856-4/2/1856; Edward J. Perkins, *Financing Anglo-American Trade: The House of Brown, 1800-1880* (Cambridge, MA, 1975), 4-5. On a third visit to Enoch Train, Spencer obtained a bill of credit for £500 sterling (\$2,425), for which he gave a draft on Franklin Richards. Train promised that if the draft were promptly paid he would make as many exchanges as he was called upon to execute. Spencer, *Diary*, 4/2/1856.

conversing with John Taylor about the wisdom of sending the Saints across the Plains with handcarts versus wagon trains and about the differences that had arisen between the Liverpool and New York offices of the church. Taylor himself was not enthusiastic about the handcart scheme but was willing to go along with it out of respect for Brigham Young.²⁹

Spencer received a letter addressed to him in New York from Elder Richards containing two drafts, together amounting to £500 (\$2,425). He was informed that James Ferguson carried with him money to pay the rail fare of the *Enoch Train* passengers from Boston to Iowa City at the rate of £2 (\$9.70) per adult and £1 (\$4.85) for children. Spencer received an offer from a Boston company to send adult emigrants from Boston to Iowa City for \$12 and children at half price. In search of more favorable fares, he and Taylor visited a New York railroad agent who accepted Taylor's offer of \$11.50 for adults, significantly less than the \$30.40 Webb had paid for the same journey earlier that month but still \$1.80 more for each adult and \$.90 more for each child than Richards had sent from Liverpool to pay for the tickets. Spencer had to make up the difference. In subsequent negotiations he succeeded in bringing the prices down to \$10 for adults and \$5 for children by using competition as leverage. The agent also gave Spencer a free ticket to St. Louis.³⁰

After writing letters to Franklin Richards, the Enoch Train Company, and James Ferguson (the leader of the next group of emigrants scheduled to arrive), Spencer left New York City on April 11 bound for St. Louis. He made a stop in Chicago, where he obtained bids for emigrant wagons. While preparing to leave the city, he encountered Van Cott, who, it was decided, should remain in Chicago to make further inquiries at wagon shops.

29. Spencer, *Diary*, 4/3-4/1856. Regarding the handcart plan, John Taylor wrote, "We do not here, however, present ourselves as its advocate; we mention the forgoing merely to show its possibility or practicability. We would not recommend them to those who have means to carry them in a more comfortable manner. We do not recognize anything very brilliant in dragging a handcart, and landing among strangers, brethren though they be, with the very limited amount of clothing and other absolute necessities for the journey." "Hand Carts for the Plains," *The Mormon*, 12/1/1855.

30. Spencer, *Diary*, 4/4-10/1856; F. D. Richards to Daniel Spencer, 3/21/1856, BMLB; "Departures," *Millennial Star* 18 (6/14/1856), 377-78.

Spencer continued his journey to St. Louis, where he met with James Hart to coordinate emigration and business matters in that city. Later he called on the banking house of John J. Anderson, which had a history of dealings with Mormon emigration agents. There his letter of credit from Franklin Richards was discounted. Then he wrote to Richards, bringing him up to date on the latest emigration matters. When Van Cott arrived, the two elders continued business transactions with Hart. They also visited the city's wagon and carriage shops, where they compared quality and prices with those in Chicago.³¹

On April 19, Spencer left with Hart a draft made out in the name of Franklin Richards to be presented for execution at the John J. Anderson and Company Bank when directed by Spencer. The elders procured goods from St. Louis firms for the PEF emigrants and sent George D. Grant to purchase 15 head of oxen for the first handcart company. Then, together with Van Cott and Edward Bunker, Spencer left St. Louis for Iowa City.

FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES, Spencer's arrival in Iowa City heralded the beginning of that location's service as the staging area for the 1856 Mormon emigration. A detailed, chronological account of the activities of Spencer and his associates suggests the intricacies of the planning required for such an effort, as well as Spencer's ability to juggle a wide range of responsibilities simultaneously.

As soon as Spencer arrived, Webb briefed him on the status of the operation. Later Spencer and Van Cott visited the campground, presumably the one selected by Bishop Cunningham. Apparently they were not pleased with it, because Spencer immediately began to search for a new one. The late spring and accompanying rains made lower areas, where the first site was probably located, untenable. Construction of carts could not begin until a proper place was found for a workshop. Spencer examined the handcarts ordered by Grant and Kimball and did not like them.³²

31. Spencer, Diary, 4/11-18/1856; John Van Cott, Diary, 4/16-18/1856, type-script courtesy of the Van Cott Family.

32. Spencer, Diary, 4/19-23/1856; Van Cott, Diary, 4/23/1856; instructions to George D. Grant and William H. Kimball, February 1856, BMLB. Mrs. Isaac

On April 24, Spencer attempted to sell a \$1,700 certificate of deposit executed by John J. Anderson and Company Bank of St. Louis. Local banks refused to accept it; therefore, he was compelled to sign and send it with Van Cott, who set out that day for Chicago to purchase wagons and lumber for handcarts but was forced to return because a derailed car had stopped traffic. Meanwhile, Spencer, in a rented horse and buggy, went to Clark's Mill, which was located on the Iowa River at the edge of present-day Coralville. He entered into a contract with Ebenezer Clark for lumber to be used to fabricate handcart bodies. During the journey he kept an open eye for potential campsites. As he returned to the city, he stopped to discuss terms for the use of the upper bridge across the Iowa River. The owner, Gilman Folsom, started negotiations with an asking price of \$100, then dropped to \$75, and finally down to \$50 (these amounts are presumably seasonal or flat-rate fees). Still dissatisfied with the price, Spencer deferred the matter. Meanwhile, building materials were purchased for needed shelters and delivered to a potential campsite, and a set of joiner tools was purchased for making handcarts. Still uneasy about the campsite selection, Spencer once again rented a horse and buggy and searched for a better one. He found a site on the south side of Clear Creek, and secured permission from the owner for its use.³³

Sunday, April 27, Spencer spent the day writing letters: one to Richards reporting progress, one to James Hart in St. Louis requesting the delivery of the 100 handcarts that had been ordered by John Taylor and asking him to send a telegram to instruct Grant regarding oxen and mules (this telegram was never sent because of a downed line), and one to John Taylor inform-

Dennis, a local resident, states in one place that the camp was on Dennis land near Clear Creek, then in another place indicates that it was west of the Dennis farm. "Lest We Forget," *Mormon Pioneer Story*, Coralville Centennial Publication (1972), 22. In 1856 frost did not leave the ground in Muscatine, Iowa, until May 1. Theodore S. Parvin, *The Climate of Iowa: Embracing the Results of the Meteorological Records of the Year 1856, at Muscatine, Iowa* (Muscatine, 1857), 1-9. A 53-year study shows the winter temperatures in Iowa City to be slightly cooler on average than those in Muscatine. Iowa Environmental Mesonet, Iowa State University Department of Agronomy, http://mesonet.agron.iastate.edu/plotting/coop/climate_fe.php?station1=ia41101&station2=ia5837&mode=c.

33. Spencer, Diary, 4/24-26/1856.

ing him that the Mormons coming from Boston had to pay to transport their baggage across the Mississippi River.³⁴

Early Monday morning, April 28, Webb, Bunker, and Spencer started for the campsite with a saw and joiner tools. By about 4 p.m. they had completed a granary and wagon shop. Webb was assigned to present proposals for using the lower bridge for the emigration because the owner of that facility had already agreed to a \$30 fee, whereas Gilman Folsom, the proprietor of the upper bridge, would not go below \$50.³⁵

On April 29, Philemon C. Merrill and Alexander Robbins arrived in town. Merrill was to lead the season's first wagon train, which was assembled in Florence, Nebraska. Taylor had sent Robbins to St. Louis to purchase provisions and general supplies for the emigration and to arrange for their delivery to Florence. Spencer concurred with that assignment, knowing that Robbins had been a grocer in St. Louis before moving to Salt Lake City. Robbins also brought information about the ship *Enoch Train* that was soon to arrive in Boston with a load of emigrants, and he exchanged certificates of deposit with Spencer, one of which was given to Van Cott to use as he found necessary to meet expenses. Van Cott had, on a second attempt, succeeded in making the trip to Chicago and back. While there he had contracted with Peter Schuttler's wagon firm for 17 wagons. He had also ordered, perhaps from the same firm, 25 sets of buggy hubs, spokes, and fellies for use in fabricating the handcarts.³⁶

On May 1, Spencer and Robbins left Iowa City. Robbins went to St. Louis to purchase and forward supplies, while Spencer headed for Boston to look after the affairs of the *Enoch Train* passengers. Van Cott was left in charge of the Iowa City operation.³⁷

Under Van Cott's supervision, preparations for the handcart companies went forward. On May 2, Van Cott, accompanied by

34. Ibid., 4/27/1856, 5/10/1856.

35. Ibid., 4/28/1856.

36. Ibid., 4/29-30/1856; Emigration Account Book, 8/11-18/1856; 1850 U.S. Census for St. Louis. Spencer appears to write Merrill's given name as an abbreviation for William, but that is corrected in Walker, *Reminiscence*, 250. The *Enoch Train* actually arrived at quarantine in Boston on April 30.

37. Spencer, *Diary*, 5/1/1856.

Bunker and Merrill, went in search of timber for handcart hubs and ox yokes and possibly wagon tongues and reaches. About six miles up the Iowa River they found a suitable stand that would meet their demands. The following day Van Cott and Merrill laid out and staked the campground in preparation for erecting tents.³⁸

During the week of May 5 Van Cott moved his residence to the campground and made several three-mile trips back to town to transact business and purchase needed tools. Much of his time was spent making preparations for the arrival of the first emigrants, who were expected shortly. The Iowa City that Van Cott visited had few of the amenities needed to outfit emigrant companies. Its financial institutions had not matured sufficiently to handle the large money transactions needed for the handcart operations. They refused to accept bank notes issued by the J. J. Anderson bank of St. Louis. The three-month Mississippi River freeze-up hampered commerce and hindered supply efforts. The deadly winter also had an adverse effect on the availability and delivery of draft animals, which had to be brought in from elsewhere. Prior to the arrival of the railroad, the community had limited ability to receive the quantity of supplies a large emigration operation would need. Even when the railroad did arrive, mishaps were a daily occurrence that disrupted the railroad's scheduled runs. The railroad had been hastily put together in order to meet an imposed deadline. Although it reached Iowa City during the waning hours of December 31, 1855, it did not become operational until early 1856. The final ties and tracks were laid on frozen ground, in sub-zero weather, which had a devastating effect the following spring when the frost left the ground around May 1. As warmer weather arrived, the roadbed settled and shifted, creating the conditions for frequent accidents and making it difficult to plan and execute emigration activities efficiently.³⁹

Adding to the uncertainties of the new railroad line was the loss of the railroad bridge that crossed the Mississippi River be-

38. Van Cott, Diary, 5/2-3/1856.

39. Ibid., 5/5/1856, 5/9-10/1856; Spencer, Diary, 4/24/1856; Parvin, *Climate of Iowa*, 1-9; Kimball, Journal, 4/23/1856-5/20/1856; *Kansas City Enterprise*, 3/24/1856; *Rock Island Lines News Digest* 11 (October 1952), 17.

tween Rock Island and Davenport. The bridge was completed and carried its first train on April 21, 1856. Two weeks later, on May 6, a steamboat struck the pier upon which the pivotal span rested. The pier caught fire, destroying many vital elements of the wooden structure. It did not reopen until September 8, much too late to assist the emigration. Therefore, none of the emigrant companies crossed the river by train, which caused costly delays. Apparently the ferry ride was an additional expense, not covered by the contracted train fare. This outage also subjected rail passengers to the inconvenience of transporting themselves and their baggage between the train depots and the ferry. All freight had to be unloaded at Rock Island, carried by wagons to the ferries, transported over the river to Davenport, delivered to that city's depot, and reloaded on rail cars bound for Iowa City. Van Cott's visit to Rock Island and Davenport suggests that the transfer of goods from one railroad to the other had to be arranged by the receiver. Those in charge of the emigration had no way of anticipating these particular problems, although they probably anticipated some difficulties because of the known frailties of railroad equipment and other imperfections.⁴⁰

On May 12 Van Cott and William H. Walker journeyed from the campground to Iowa City to meet the group of passengers who had sailed from Liverpool on the *Enoch Train*. A mudslide blocked the track about seven miles east of the depot, forcing them to make preparations to greet the passengers at that point. There were not enough conveyances to accommodate the entire group at one time (523 were scheduled to make this leg of the journey), so Walker took half of the passengers on to the city. The remaining emigrants were forced to wait on the grass until 7 p.m.

40. Van Cott, Diary, 5/21-22/1856; Andrew Smith, Journal, 5/8-12/1856, LDS Church Archives; William Woodward, Diary, 6/1-2/1856, microfilm, Special Collections, Utah State University Library, Logan, UT; Willie Company, Journal, 6/22-23/1856; Samuel Openshaw, Diary, 7/8-11/1856, typescript, LDS Church Archives; *Rock Island Lines News Digest* 11 (October 1952), 16-17; "Rock Island Bridge Partly Burned," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 5/7/1856. The delays for each group were as follows: the *Enoch Train* company arrived in Rock Island May 9 and departed Davenport May 12; the *Samuel Curling* company arrived in Rock Island May 31 and departed Davenport June 2; the *Thornton* company arrived in Rock Island June 24 and departed Davenport June 26; the *Horizon* company arrived in Rock Island July 8 and departed Davenport July 10-11.

before departing. Most of the emigrants stayed overnight in the railroad depot warehouse. All the next day an honest effort was made to finish preparations at the camp, but heavy rain and accompanying mud made the task impossible, and the emigrants were forced to remain in the warehouse for another night.⁴¹

On the morning of May 14, wagons and handcarts began to convey the baggage to the campground. In spite of the elders' best efforts, the camp was not entirely ready by the time the emigrants arrived. They began to arrive at 6 p.m. and were not settled down until 11 p.m.; many were wet to the skin because of the heavy rain. The tents were not set up because tent material, which was much cheaper in England, was shipped as part of the passengers' baggage. The emigrants had cut up the material and sewn it into tents and wagon covers as they crossed the ocean. The mudslide across the tracks had delayed the arrival of the baggage, including the tents, and the heavy rains caused more delays in getting the tents to camp and erecting them.⁴²

On May 17, Spencer returned to camp after a grueling journey during which he visited the wagon makers in Chicago, conferred with John Taylor in New York, and then went to Boston, where he helped arrange rail passage for the *Enoch Train* passengers. He found that sending the passengers from Boston to New York City, then by way of the Erie Railroad, was cheaper than using the direct route through Albany and Buffalo. In Boston he sold the surplus provisions from the *Enoch Train*, called on Mr. Train regarding exchange matters, and received offers from railroad officials to transport passengers from the *Samuel Curling* (offers that included free passage for all his personal rail travel). After completing his business in the East, he went to St. Louis to further coordinate emigration matters with Hart. While in St. Louis, he met with wood merchants to purchase lumber for handcarts and visited some hardware houses.⁴³

41. Van Cott, Diary, 5/12-13/1856; McAllister, Journal, 5/12/1856; "List of Passengers," *The Mormon*, 4/22/1856.

42. Van Cott, Diary, 5/14-15/1856; McAllister, Journal, 5/14-15/1856; F. D. Richards to James Ferguson, 3/21/1856, BMLB. Archer Walters's wife and daughter helped sew the tents. Archer Walters, Diary, 4/22/1856, in *Improvement Era* (September 1936), 39:574.

43. Spencer, Diary, 5/1-10/1856; McAllister, Journal, 5/17/1856.

At the Iowa City camp, the PEF emigrants were organized into handcart companies on May 19; Edmund Ellsworth was called as captain of the first company and John D. T. McAllister captain of the second company.⁴⁴

Van Cott went to Davenport on May 20 to arrange for freight deliveries. In the afternoon, Grant and Kimball arrived with draft animals for the early companies. At the Kansas City cattle market, they had found prices high and the supply limited. Due to the long, severe winter, the cattle were slow to reach the sales yard in marketable condition. Grant and Kimball scoured the area from Weston to Des Kalb, Missouri, looking for reasonably priced livestock that would supply the emigrants' needs. Considering the late spring and slow grass growth, their cattle arrived at the campsite about as quickly as Mother Nature would allow.⁴⁵

On May 21, Van Cott went from Davenport to Rock Island to continue arrangements for the transfer of freight from the Rock Island depot to the Davenport depot on the other side of the river. The following day he went on to Muscatine to arrange for the transfer of expected freight from riverboats to the train, and on to Iowa City.⁴⁶

On May 23, with other American missionaries now in camp, Van Cott learned that he was needed to help Grant and Kimball purchase more than 1,000 additional livestock for the emigration. Part of these cattle were to be trailed to Iowa City and part to Florence, Nebraska. In addition to his assignment as captain of the second company, McAllister was also appointed commissary for the camp, and Truman Leonard was chosen to help him get the second handcart company ready for the Plains.⁴⁷

On May 24, Van Cott and James Ferguson set out from the campground at about 6 a.m., the former to Missouri to purchase cattle, and the latter to Boston to help arrange affairs for the emigrants arriving on the *Samuel Curling*. They traveled together as far as the Muscatine junction. As the train bearing Van Cott

44. McAllister, Journal, 5/19/1856.

45. Ibid., 5/20/1856; Kimball, Journal, 3/20/1856-5/20/1856; William H. Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, 5/21/1856, in *Deseret News*, 7/2/1856; "The Kansas City Stock Market," *Kansas City Enterprise*, 4/26/1856.

46. Van Cott, Diary, 5/21-22/1856.

47. Ibid., 5/23/1856; McAllister, Journal, 5/23/1856.

neared Muscatine, its engine and tender ran off the track. No one was injured, but all were shaken up. Van Cott traveled the last four miles into the city by railroad handcar. Meanwhile, Daniel Spencer organized the independent wagon company, with William B. Hodgetts as its captain.⁴⁸

On May 25 the names of the next group of emigrants about to arrive—those who had embarked from Liverpool on the *Samuel Curling*—were read to those assembled at the camp. The next day a heavy thunderstorm pelted the camp for about two hours. One or two tents were blown over and many emigrants' beds were soaked.⁴⁹

On May 30 a shipment of handcars arrived at the campground, probably from St. Louis. Although the Espenschied Wagon Factory had received the order for 100 carts in November 1855, completion of the order appears to have been delayed. The Mississippi River freeze hampered the delivery of supplies, and the first documented payment of \$700 to the company was not made until April 21, 1856. A letter requesting delivery of the St. Louis handcars dated April 28, 1856, probably did not reach its destination until about May 2. During his journey to Muscatine on May 22 Van Cott apparently arranged for the transfer of the carts from the riverboat to the railroad, and a payment voucher dated May 30 was issued for those 100 handcars. The carts might have arrived at the Iowa City railroad station before May 30 but were probably assembled before they were brought to camp. To maximize available boat and railcar space, the carts and wagons were shipped disassembled.⁵⁰

The presence of handcars in the camp before May 30 suggests that carts built by Webb and his associates had begun to appear or that some of the 100 carts ordered from the Iowa City Plow Factory were delivered as they were completed. The Iowa

48. Van Cott, Diary, 5/24/1856; McAllister, Journal, 5/24/1856.

49. William Wright, McArthur Company Camp Journal, 5/25–26/1856, holograph, LDS Church Archives; McAllister, Journal, 5/26/1856. The public reading of the names of members of the next company scheduled to arrive at the camp is further evidence that the leaders at Iowa City were informed ahead of time regarding the number of Mormon emigrants who were coming.

50. "Hand Carts for the Plains," *The Mormon*, 12/1/1855; Spencer, Diary, 4/28/1856; Van Cott, Diary, 5/22/1856; PEF Account Books; McArthur, Journal, 5/30/1856, 6/1/1856; Walker, *Reminiscence*, 252.

City Plow Factory was not primarily a wagon-making firm. When the factory received the order on March 20, it probably did not have sufficient materials on hand to tackle the entire job and could not proceed until it received the necessary lumber and other items. At that time, too, the Iowa River was still a block of ice, so the water-driven sawmill may not have been usable until it melted. Part of the supplies probably came up the Mississippi River, and it, too, was frozen solid. The company might have also needed to recruit additional skilled hands to fill this unusual order. The carts were requested at a time when the company was in most demand. It advertised itself as being available to make "all kinds of agricultural implement repairs on short notice." Spring was at hand, the season was late, and the farmers were eager to get to work; local business would undoubtedly take precedence over transient. The company received its first payment of \$500 on March 31, 1856, and may not have begun to build carts until after that date. These glitches in delivery of the handcarts account for some of the early delays.⁵¹

Only after the arrival of the May 30 vehicle order were emigrants divided up and assigned to particular carts. The next day Spencer returned to camp after another of his many required journeys. With McAllister needed more as commissary at the campground than as captain of the second handcart company, Daniel D. McArthur replaced him in the latter capacity.⁵²

On June 2 the emigrants from the *Samuel Curling* arrived in Iowa City. Walker, Webb, and John Hunt welcomed them at the depot. They proceeded on to camp. Their numbers swelled the ranks in camp from about 550 to about 1,400. The newcomers were impressed with the spirit that existed in the camp. A newspaper reporter described the beehive of activity as follows:

The tents are arranged in rows, with wide streets between them—the wagons generally in rings, with the entrance at one side, and sleeping tents on the outside. . . . The present stock of cattle in camp is numerous and valuable. There are in all four hundred-

51. Kimball, Journal, 3/20/1856; "News from the United States," *Millennial Star* 18 (5/3/1856), 281; McAllister, Journal, 5/31/1856, 6/1/1856; *Iowa City Directory & Advertiser for 1857*; *Iowa Daily Republican*, 3/26/1856; PEF Account Books.

52. McArthur, Journal, 5/30/1856, 6/1/1856; McAllister, Journal, 5/31/1856, 6/1/1856.

and-forty-five oxen, twenty mules and a few horses. . . . There is seen, as you enter the camp, a smithery, a workshop and a store, all full of business and industry. There seems to be no disposition to shirk duty, however laborious. Women and children appear alike interested in getting all things ready for a start. . . . I have made the acquaintance of their leaders, and have found them courteous, cultivated, and, in business transactions, uncommonly 'sharp.' They converse freely with those in whom they have confidence, respecting their plans and prospects; and strangers can sometimes learn news of Mormon movements while the people in the camp itself are in blissful ignorance of their fate.⁵³

The newcomers included several returning missionaries. With the appearance of the additional elders, it was now possible to complete the leadership staffing of the first two handcart companies. Up to that time the camp did not have enough qualified men, with prior experience in outfitting and Plains travel, to fill the leadership gaps. The late arrivals had not been sent with earlier companies because they were needed to shepherd emigrants, most of whom were from the poorer class of society and had not traveled far from their homes, and to protect them from those who would seek to prey on them. It was this type of care that gave "the Mormon ship" a reputation as "a family under strong and accepted discipline, with every provision for comfort, decorum and internal peace."⁵⁴

On June 7 the first company of handcart emigrants, the Ellsworth Company—numbering 275 people, with 56 handcarts (14 made in St. Louis and 42 in Iowa City)—took down their tents and loaded their carts and wagons to prepare for their departure.

53. McArthur, Journal, 6/2/1856; McAllister, Journal, 6/2/1856; Woodward, Diary, 6/1/1856; John Oakley, Diary (transcript), 6/1/1856, LDS Church Archives; "The Mormon Camp near Iowa City," *New York Evening Post*, reprinted in *The Mormon*, 8/2/1856.

54. Richard F. Burton, *City of the Saints: Among the Mormons and across the Rocky Mountains to California* (London, 1861), 296–97; McArthur, Journal, 6/3/1856; McAllister, Journal, 6/3/1856; Oakley, Diary, 6/3/1856. The assignments were as follows: John Oakley was appointed captain of the first hundred and William Butler captain of the second hundred in the Ellsworth company. Truman Leonard and Spicer Crandall were assigned to the McArthur company. Joseph France was instructed to go ahead of the companies to make all necessary arrangements regarding provisions and ferries between Iowa City and Council Bluffs.

(Recall that Brigham Young wanted *all* of the emigrants to leave the Missouri River by June 1.) In the evening they moved out, amid much cheering, and journeyed a few hundred yards, then stopped and set up a new camp. This was a trial run to give the company experience and to work out kinks before actually starting the journey. Apparently only the leaders knew of this test; the rest of the emigrants thought they had bidden farewell. The company pulled out of camp for real on June 9 and traveled about 4 miles. On June 11, the second handcart company, the McArthur company—222 emigrants with 44 handcarts (11 made in St. Louis, 30 in Iowa City and 3 at the campground)—rolled out of camp in fine spirits. It traveled 9 miles and overtook the first company.⁵⁵

THE THIRD COMPANY, the Bunker company, was delayed for 12 days. All of the last four companies were delayed for the same reason: Brigham Young had instructed them to construct their own vehicles. The first two companies had been supplied with handcarts fabricated on contract (except for three made for the second company by Webb and his group). The record of payments to 19 emigrant cart builders (who were apparently compensated for their work in the form of food supplies) is revealing. Apparently, tradesmen with potential cart-making skills were sent early to help construct handcarts. Six of the 19 workers were passengers on the *Enoch Train*, eight came with the *Samuel Curling*, and the remaining four arrived with later groups. Oddly, only one of the five woodworkers, a carpenter, listed aboard the *Caravan*, ended up in camp. Three of the six *Enoch Train* woodworkers left with the second company and one with the first company. One wonders why the leaders sent any of the trained workers off before all of the carts were built. Perhaps it was because they were the best qualified to make repairs in case the experimental carts broke down en route.⁵⁶

55. Oakley, Diary, 6/7/1856; Walker, Diary, in *Improvement Era* (October 1936), 39:636; Woodward, Diary, 6/7/1856, 6/9/1856, 6/11/1856; Walters, Diary, 636; McArthur, Journal, 6/11/1856; Twiss Bermingham, Diary, in *American Legion Magazine*, July 1917, 27; PEF Account Books.

56. Mormon Immigration Index, FHL #025,691; PEF Account Books; Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel, 1856, at <http://lds.org/churchhistory/library/>



In this depiction of a handcart camp along the journey, a couple of men in the foreground work on an unloaded handcart as women and children look on. Taken from Mrs. T. B. H. Stenhouse, "Tell It All": The Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism (Hartford, CT, 1875).

Assuming that 43 of the 58 carts required by the third company were contract carts—28 from Iowa City and 15 from St. Louis—11 of the 19 woodworkers, including the supervisor, were left to finish constructing the remaining 15. I estimate that it would have taken about nine days to build 15 carts, just about the time the third company was delayed in camp. After two workers left with the third company and one died, leaving eight to carry on until a new batch of craftsmen arrived, it is no surprise that the Willie Company had to wait 20 days, the Haven Company 16 days, and the Martin Company 20 days after their arrival in camp before departing. (Draft animals for the last three companies were delivered in a timely fashion; Van Cott brought these animals June 28, so they could not have caused the delay.)⁵⁷

pioneercompanylist-chronological/0,15765,3968-1,00.html. An older wheelwright listed as part of the *Caravan* group appears not to have sailed, and the fate of the other wheelwright and the two wood turners is unknown.

57. In 2002 it took a wheelwright (Bill Twigg, Moscow Carriage Company, Moscow, Idaho), with modern power equipment, about six hours to construct a wheel of the type used on these carts, made with prefabricated spokes and

It may appear that the 44 days between the building of the work facility and the departure of the first two companies was ample time to build enough carts to supply the third company's needs. But wheel making is a complex art that requires not only specialized hand tools, but also specialized workbenches, clamps, vices, jigs, anvil, and forge. A turning lathe was necessary to make the hubs, and in remote places a treadle or pole lathe was the usual tool. On the frontier such specialized tools may not have been available for purchase and often, out of necessity, had to be fabricated by the user, which took considerable time. Webb and one other may have been the only workers on hand. With the added duties that fell to Webb, he may not have found enough hours to be fully prepared for the cart-making process until after the first company arrived. Since there was only one wheelwright with the first company (he was from Switzerland and probably understood little English), a lot of training and patience were needed to get the work under way. As new workers arrived, they also needed careful instruction because they were not cart makers by trade.⁵⁸

The facilities, built in a day, were crude and there were too few trained craftsmen in the emigrants' ranks for an operation of such scale. Dedicated as they may have been, they could not adequately meet each emigrant company's need for carts as it arrived. Superb leadership cannot make up for such shortages. At the time the handcart idea was first announced, frontier conditions made everyone a jack-of-all-trades. Almost every frontier household had a broad ax, an adz, a spokeshave, a hand plane, a drawknife, brace and bits, a hammer, and a cross-cut saw — and knew how to use them. The 1856 Mormon handcart emigrants, however, were from a completely different envi-

fellies. Had the work been done with hand tools, he estimated that the job would have taken about 20 hours. If one were to fabricate all of the parts from raw materials, the task would have taken much longer. Using hand tools, the body and axle may have required 20 hours to construct. Assuming my estimates are correct, each cart required roughly 60 hours labor; if the builder worked 10 hours per day, he could build one cart in 6 days. Thus, it would take 90 workdays, or about 8 days per man, to construct 15 carts. With Sunday off, the time frame would be extended to 9 days. PEF Account Books; Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel, 1856; Willie Company, Journal, 6/22-23/1856.

58. PEF Account Books; Mormon Immigration Index, FHL #025,691.

ronment where there were fewer crossovers in occupations. (European trade guilds had a strong voice.) Tradesmen aboard the *Enoch Train* included a cooper, a leather cutter, a wood carver, a gun stocker, 4 carpenters, a mechanic, a turner, a cabinetmaker, 2 joiners, a shipwright, and a blacksmith. Aboard the *Samuel Curling* were 2 carpenters, 2 joiners, and 2 cabinetmakers. Among the 19 emigrant cart makers there were only two wheelwrights—three, if one includes the supervisor. (Anticipating the shortage, emigration leaders sent one wheelwright to camp even though he came aboard the *Emerald Isle*, which left Liverpool before the handcart plan arrived there.) The rest were mainly woodworkers of different types and other craftsmen. Aboard the *Thornton* were the following useful woodworking tradesmen: a chair maker, a shipwright, 2 Danish-speaking coopers, 2 joiners (finish carpenters), and 2 carpenters (framers), one of whom spoke no English. Of that group apparently only the 2 joiners and one carpenter spent time helping to fabricate carts. The *Horizon* had a wheelwright, 3 carpenters, 2 joiners, 2 cabinetmakers, a wood turner, a shipwright, a clog maker, and a blacksmith. Only one of the tradesmen who came with that ship appears on the list of workers, but that number may be understated. It seems unlikely that so few trained craftsmen could construct, from raw materials, the roughly 182 carts required by the next three companies, beyond the estimated 60 carts from St. Louis that had not yet been distributed.⁵⁹

Brigham Young's instructions for constructing the handcarts included the following: "the rim should be split out of hickory like a rim to a spinning wheel only thicker, fastened and lined on the outside with green hides." Webb realized that Young's

59. Spencer, Diary, 4/24–28/1856; "TO ALL THE SAINTS IN POTTAWATAMIE," *Frontier Guardian*, 11/14/1851; "Attention the Hand-cart Train," *Frontier Guardian*, 5/28/1852; Woodward, Diary, 6/9/1856, 6/11/1856; Walters, Diary, 636; Oakley, Diary, 6/7/1856; PEF Account Books; McArthur, Journal, 6/11/1856; Birmingham, Diary, 27; Mormon Immigration Index, FHL #025,691. Many of the earlier details appear to have been excluded from the later account book entries because of time restraints. The number of handcarts, wagons, tents, and draft animals for each of the first four companies are detailed, but they are absent in the last companies' accounts. The leaders were so busy that even faithful journal keepers ceased to make entries during that period. Thus we lack many of the details found in earlier stages of the operation.

directive was too time consuming and the results impractical, so he opted to use standard steam-bent fellies (rim segments) and light iron tires.⁶⁰ Additional spokes and fellies were probably purchased beyond the Chicago order, and some of the drilling required for the cart fabrication was probably done off site.⁶¹ Van Cott's ability to purchase and ship buggy wheel blanks immediately upon his arrival in Chicago shows that pre-fabricated wheel parts were on hand in the carriage shops of that city.⁶² To produce the 728 fellies required for the fabrication of 364 handcart wheels would have been a daunting task, considering the number of forming jigs required and the long drying times essential for each rim section. The 4,368 spokes needed for the 364 wheels, if made by hand, would have lacked uniformity and would have required a lot of hands to produce. Thus it is unlikely that the steam-bent fellies and spokes were fabricated on site.

60. Brigham Young to John Taylor, 9/30/1855, President's Office Letter Book, 409, LDS Church Archives. We learn of Webb's alteration of the design from the only journal entry to describe the carts as they were delivered. "The handcarts which were delivered to us are well constructed and light. They have very strong wooden wheels, four feet high. The rim is made of two steam bent fellies around which is fastened an iron tire. They have wooden axles upon which are attached two shafts about eight feet long with five matching cross pieces. The carts are four feet wide and weigh 60 pounds. They provide approximately sixteen square feet for the belongings of five persons which weigh 85 pounds." Peter Madsen, Diary [translated from Danish by the author], 7/11/1856, LDS Church Archives. Unfortunately, Madsen's entry was made in Danish and has not been available to most researchers; hence, carts purporting to be authentic representations are usually built according to the original design. The carts Webb built had no box but had only a flat bed frame with canvas or bed ticking for a floor.

61. As noted above, Spencer had met with wood merchants in St. Louis in early May to purchase lumber for handcarts. Since he had already contracted with Clark's mill for the lumber to build the handcart bodies where else could this lumber be used except for the wheels? An emigration account book shows the following purchases made on June 7, 1856: iron hoop and rod, boards, *drilling*, nails, *lumber*, provisions, files, anvil and many small items. Spencer, Diary, 5/10/1856; PEF Account Books, 6/7/1856.

62. In 1819 Thomas Blanchard invented the copy lathe at the Springfield Armory. It was first used to mass produce rifle stocks but was later adapted for use in wheel-making shops to mass produce wagon and carriage wheel spokes. Thirty years later, in 1849, Blanchard invented an improved jig used to bend the rim sections (fellies) for carriage wheels, which also made it possible to mass produce those items.

The purchased spokes and fellies were undoubtedly made of seasoned wood, and the contract for handcart-body lumber, made early in the season (April 24), ensured that material was not produced at the last minute. The idea that the handcarts were made entirely of green wood cannot be substantiated. This myth appears to have arisen from Brigham Young's design instructions directing the builders to "drive the spokes in bracing while the hub is green so it will tighten while seasoning, the same as chairs are made." Thus, green wood was used for the hubs only and was a result of design directives rather than hasty or careless construction.⁶³ Young further proposed that the wheel hubs have leather inserts, which would serve as a bearing surface between the wooden hub and the wooden axle spindle. These instructions were, indeed, carried out; many of the carts constructed on the campground and the 100 carts fabricated in Iowa City appear to have been so made. Unfortunately, this design flaw, clearly perceived by John Taylor, was responsible for many of the cart breakdowns. Taylor remembered well the

63. Brigham Young, a chair maker by trade, had learned through training and experience that the legs and backs of chairs would remain more secure if the wooden seats were unseasoned when the chair parts were assembled. As the seat dried, it tightened around the seasoned legs and back that were inserted into holes drilled in the seat. He reasoned that a green hub, in like manner, would tighten on the spokes and make them more secure. Unfortunately, the unseasoned hub also tightened on the axle spindle and made it difficult for the wheels to turn, creating a noise that some emigrants claimed could be heard for a mile or more. To compensate for this shrinkage, a loose fit was essential, but that allowed dirt to enter the bearing surface and cut away the axle. As a result of this design flaw, axles were replaced en route to Florence; boot tops, tin sheets, and parts of cooking utensils were placed around the axles to reduce wear. When the emigrants arrived in Florence, some of the axles were replaced, and metal wear plates, made of hoop iron, were screwed on the axles to minimize the problem. The cart design instructions are in Brigham Young to John Taylor, 9/30/1855, President's Office Letter Book, 409, LDS Church Archives. Christy, "Weather, Disaster, and Responsibility," 10, 65; and Stegner, *Gathering of Zion*, 230, 238, suggest that the use of green wood was due to haste or carelessness. Design difficulties are described in Daniel D. McArthur to Wilford Woodruff, 1/5/1857, in *Journal History*, 9/26/1856, LDS Church Archives; Truman Leonard, *Diary*, 6/16/1856, 6/18/1856, and 7/12/1856, typescript, provided by Glen M. Leonard of LDS Museum of Church History and Art, Salt Lake City; Chislett, "Narrative," 318; Jaques, *Diary and History*, 119-21; Jesse Haven, *Diary*, 8/4/1856, microfilm, LDS Church Archives; *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1947), 1:84; Willie Company, *Journal*, 7/15/1856-8/13/1856; Woodward, *Diary*, 8/13-16/1856.

problems created by earlier vehicles constructed in Kanesville using inadequately seasoned wood.⁶⁴

Brigham Young's 1857 handcart fabrication instructions tacitly acknowledge that there were flaws in the design of the 1856 carts and with the idea to have the emigrants fabricate their own vehicles. All of the 1857 carts were built on contract, with much stronger wheels, thick iron tires, seasoned hubs with iron sleeves, and wooden axles with iron thimbles. They also cost \$6.50 more for each cart. Apparently no fault was found in the workmanship of the carts fabricated by the Iowa City Plow Factory because the 1857 carts were ordered from that same firm.⁶⁵

THE LEADERS had done their utmost to send the companies off as soon as possible, but this emigration experiment was much more complicated than first meets the eye. When spring arrived, the country was alive with movement. Rail traffic was brisk, revenues were up, and riverboats were crowded. An estimated 2,000 people per day traveled on eastern rail lines alone (4,000 if southern lines are included). Antislavery forces were coming from the North and proslavery forces from the South, fomenting the crisis that would determine whether Kansas would be slave or free. One hundred thousand people were expected to arrive in Kansas alone, without numbering the thousands who were headed for western Iowa, Nebraska, and Minnesota. The arrival of these increased numbers of settlers and immigrants in areas where cattle and other supplies were generally purchased reduced the availability of essential items and

64. Spencer, Diary, 4/24/1856; Brigham Young to John Taylor, 9/30/1855; John Taylor to Brigham Young, 11/21/1855. When I tested similar wheels made with green hubs on a treadmill to verify the statements made by the emigrants, I was forced to ream the hubs 8 times in 270 miles, the distance from Iowa City to Florence, and can attest to the noise that they produced. I donated the cart and wheels, so tested, to the Church History Museum in Salt Lake City, where one can see the condition of the hubs and wheels at journey's end.

65. "Fourteenth General Epistle," *Deseret News*, 12/10/1856; J. M. Tanner, *Biographical Sketch of James Jensen* (Salt Lake City, 1911), 19–40, in William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (1957; reprint, Minneapolis, 2000), 173; James A. Little, Journal, April, May, June 1857, entry no. 1521, in Davis Bitton, *Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies* (Provo, UT, 1977), 215.

increased prices, presenting an additional challenge to the emigration leaders.⁶⁶

With such difficulties to face and the optimal departure time fast fading away, why didn't Spencer and other leaders, as critics have suggested, persuade the last three handcart companies and the two accompanying wagon trains to remain in the Iowa City region? Was that a viable alternative to a dangerously late departure? Among the leaders were some who had been driven from their homes in Missouri and Nauvoo, Illinois. Their previous experience had taught them that to accommodate 1,500 people and more than 400 head of draft animals would require the emigrants to be dispersed, because Johnson County's population base could not sustain such a large influx of temporary residents. After leaving Nauvoo, groups of Mormons had been forced to settle in various states. In the ten years that followed, the leaders were unable to bring them back to a central location. To spread these emigrants out would negate their goal, which was to gather the Saints and not to scatter them.

A *New York Tribune* reporter described contemporary conditions in the Iowa City region: "I suppose there are from five to seven thousand people here, but the casual observer would hardly suspect the number to exceed two thousand. All these Western towns are densely packed with inhabitants—houses being crowded as fast as built to their utmost capacity. . . . House rent very high." Census records verify his observations. In two year's time the population of Iowa City had more than doubled (from 2,570 in 1854 to 6,316 in 1856); Johnson County had also grown from 8,323 in 1854 to 14,457 in 1856. The 1856 state census shows Iowa City with 982 dwellings (6.43 people per dwelling). The handcart emigrants were poor, supported by the PEF that had barely enough resources to feed them for three months. To complicate matters, many of the emigrants' food supplies lay in storage in Florence, Nebraska, or were en route to that place. The PEF did not have the means to replace the emigrants' tents with more substantial housing, and it was evident to the leaders

66. "Kansas Emigrants," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 4/28/1856; "Railroad Receipts," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 4/22/1856; Kimball, *Journal*, 4/23/1856; "To Kansas Emigrants," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 3/27/1856; "Western Immigration," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 4/26/1856; "Westward Ho," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 4/25/1856.

that the emigrants could not survive in tents if the previous cold winter repeated itself. (In fact, the early, heavy, enduring snows of the 1856–57 winter were, in many ways, more devastating than the extreme cold of the previous year. The populations of deer and other game animals were almost decimated.)⁶⁷

To remain in Iowa, the emigrants would have had to secure employment. John Taylor had established an employment placement system that was used to find job opportunities for so-called ordinary emigrants, those who had sufficient funds to pay their way to the East Coast but no further, whose names and occupations he received in advance of their arrival. Missionaries and church members in the Midwest and New England reported job openings to Taylor's New York office. As soon as arrangements could be made, he sent these ordinary emigrants to the places where there were openings for their specific occupations. The severity of the previous winter had reduced job opportunities considerably. In Cincinnati alone 10,000 people sought public relief, and conditions were similar in St. Louis and other parts of the Midwest. Three shiploads of Mormon emigrants arrived in New York between December 29, 1855, and March 27, 1856, carrying 1,319 emigrants. About 1,000 of them were of the ordinary type. They were shepherded from New York by Alexander Robbins, Taylor's councilor, who placed them in communities where he thought they could find employment. Christian Christensen met 118 Scandinavians from this group on the last day of February and escorted them across the ice-covered Mississippi to Burlington, Iowa (65 miles southeast of Iowa City). Burlington, with its 9,683 people, and surrounding Des Moines County, with a population of 20,214, were unable to absorb all of these people, forcing the remainder to go to Montrose and Keokuk to find sustenance. Another group traveled to St. Louis, where there were nine Latter-day Saint congregations to help with their maintenance, but they, too, found it difficult to secure employment. Is it reasonable to

67. "Iowa City, Feb. 3, 1857," *New York Weekly Tribune*, 2/28/1857; Johnson County 1854 census, Johnson County IAGenWeb site, <http://iagenweb.org/census/johnson/1854/IA-1854-IowaCity.txt>; Johnson County 1856 census, State Historical Society of Iowa; PEF Account Books; David Selleck, *Harrison County Iowa History* (Chicago, 1891), 493–94; *Covington Journal*, 1/3/1857.

believe that Johnson County could have provided winter employment and housing for 1,500 emigrants, when Des Moines County, with 5,757 more inhabitants, could not absorb 118 people? Both Robbins and Christiansen visited the emigrant camp and undoubtedly relayed their findings.⁶⁸

Land speculation had reached epidemic levels, reducing employment opportunities even further. Within a ten-mile radius of Iowa City thousands of acres of rich unbroken prairie lay idle awaiting the introduction of the plow. "It seems a sorry business to grow potatoes or corn," wrote a reporter for the *New York Tribune*, "where men are making their thousands by buying lots one day and selling them the next at 10 to 50 percent advance. Hence, I am not surprised that vegetables are scarce in this infant city, and dearer than in New York."⁶⁹

SHORTLY AFTER HIS RETURN to Salt Lake City in the fall of 1856, Daniel Spencer summarized his accomplishments.⁷⁰ He had sent about 2,100 emigrants off with handcarts and 400 by wagon train; built 200 carts; made several visits to Chicago, where he had purchased 90 wagons from the Schuttler Company at a cost of about \$7,000; and purchased about 800 head of cattle, 19 mules, and 6 horses. During his several journeys he had exchanged money at the banks in Iowa City, getting $\frac{3}{4}$ percent premium for Boston paper; made several money drafts on F. D. Richards with the Enoch Train Company of Boston, the Tappscott Company of New York, and the John J. Anderson Company of St. Louis. At the latter firm he received only \$4.75 for sovereigns (£1 gold), whereas in Boston and New York he had received \$4.86. (The differences in exchange rates for a £500

68. "To the Emigration and Our Readers Generally," *The Mormon*, 12/15/1855; Alexander Robbins to the Editor, *Mormon*, 3/15/1856; "St. Louis Stake," *The Mormon*, 5/3/1856; "Notice to the Saints," and "To Emigrants," *The Mormon*, 6/7/1856; Canute Peterson, Journal, summary of events, 2/22-3/1/1856, LDS Church Archives; Christian Christiansen, report, in Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City, 1927), 107; J. W. Schmidt, *Oh, Du Zion i Vest* (Copenhagen, Denmark, 1962), 73-75; *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye and Telegraph*, 1/16/1856; Des Moines County 1856 census, Burlington Public Library.

69. "Iowa City, Feb. 3, 1857," *New York Weekly Tribune*, 2/28/1857.

70. Spencer, Diary, after 10/4/1856.

bank note between St. Louis and the East Coast would buy 5.5 Iowa City-built handcarts. With free rail fares and premiums paid for Boston bank notes it is understandable why he made several trips to the East to exchange money.) During his Iowa City stay, the camp was visited by members of the legislature, Iowa's governor, and members of the Supreme Court, all of whom treated the Mormons with great respect. It would have been hard to find a more experienced and qualified leader for the task to which Spencer was assigned. Given all the challenges he faced, it is not unreasonable to assume that an experimental emigration plan, using experimental vehicles, constructed by emigrants, and starting from an unfamiliar region, with a mere ten weeks lead-time, might encounter difficulties that had little or nothing to do with failures of leadership, planning, or management.

Iowa City Bound: Mormon Migration by Sail and Rail, 1856–1857

FRED E. WOODS

IN THE SPRING OF 1855, an article in the Mormons' British periodical, *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, instructed church members to leave "Babylon" just as ancient Israel had left Egypt under Moses' leadership.¹ For European converts, the Atlantic was their Red Sea and Brigham Young their American Moses. During his nearly 30 years (1847–1877) as president and prophet of the Latter-day Saints (LDS), Young directed the organized migration of more than 70,000 people to Utah, most of them from Europe. He approved yearly migration plans, appointed officers to manage the various companies, and arranged for church agents to assist at ports and posts that dotted migration routes. His concern was to ensure converts the best rates and safest journey possible while traveling aboard sailing ships, riverboats, and railroad trains to the Great Salt Lake Valley.²

One example of Brigham Young's careful management of Mormon travel occurred in response to the epidemic of yellow fever and cholera that killed thousands of the general public traveling on the Mississippi River. On August 2, 1854, he sent a

1. "The Gathering," *Millennial Star* 18 (3/1/1856), 138.

2. For an excellent treatment of the routes, mode of operation, and general history of Mormon emigration from 1840 to 1855 (when the eastern ports began to be used), see Frederick Piercy, *Route From Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley Illustrated with Steel Engravings and Wood Cuts from Sketches Made by Frederick Piercy*, ed. James Linforth (Liverpool, 1855).

letter to Mormon Elder Franklin D. Richards, who had charge of Mormon emigration from Liverpool, with the counsel, "You are aware of the sickness liable to assail our unacclimated brethren on the Mississippi river, hence I wish you to ship no more to New Orleans, but ship to Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, giving preference in the order named."³

This shift to the eastern seaboard was timely. In the spring of 1854, the *Millennial Star* had made a special appeal to "all who have the means to get to the States. . . . Let nothing deter . . . and let those who have not yet funds seek diligently to obtain them by every honourable method. Let no effort, no exertion be wanting."⁴ At the same time, America's rail lines were quickly extending westward. By 1856 Iowa City boasted the farthest railhead west, and Brigham Young was determined to take advantage of that development.⁵ In 1856 and 1857 thousands of European Latter-day Saint converts poured through the ports of Philadelphia, Boston, and New York and on to booked railroad cars. After arriving in Iowa City, they secured handcars or wagons and were assigned to an overland trail company. Whereas Don Smith's preceding article in this issue focuses on the leadership, planning, and management of the handcart emigration, this article focuses on the actual experiences and voices of the emigrants themselves from the time they prepared to leave Europe by sail until they reached Iowa City by rail and anticipated continuing their journey to Zion by foot pulling handcars.

THE PRIMARY POINT of embarkation for these European converts was, in the mid-1850s, as it had been since 1840, Liverpool. Because of the hazards of pickpockets and others who were ever ready to take advantage of unsuspecting travelers, LDS agents had been stationed at Liverpool for more than a decade.⁶

3. "Foreign Correspondence," *Millennial Star* 16 (10/28/1854), 684.

4. "Preaching the Gospel, Emigration, &c," *Millennial Star* 17 (4/21/1855), 249.

5. Brigham Young was an early advocate of the transcontinental railroad and owned stock in the Union Pacific Railroad. For more on his involvement with the railroad, see Stephen E. Ambrose, *Nothing Like It in the World: The Men Who Built the Transcontinental Railroad, 1863-1869* (New York, 2000), 278-96.

6. Soon after LDS emigration was launched from the British Isles, an article titled "Epistle of the Twelve," *Millennial Star* 1 (April 1841), 311 warned, "We

These agents proved a blessing to incoming Saints needing help as they commenced their Atlantic voyage. The principal medium of information and communication used was the *Millennial Star*. On January 12, 1856, for example, the Emigration Department stationed in Liverpool issued the following instructions to prospective Mormon migrants:

Application for passage.—All applications for passage to America must be accompanied by the name, age, occupation, and name of native country, of every individual; and a deposit of £1 [= about \$5 U.S.] for each over ONE YEAR OLD, without which no berths can be secured. The time the applicants wish to embark should also be stated, and they will be accommodated as near that date as possible. When a vessel is engaged, we notify such applicants as wish to sail about the time she will be going, by printed circular, giving the date of embarkation, price of passage, and all particulars, to which we require an immediate answer, stating whether the parties notified will embark or not, that in case they are not ready we may have an opportunity to notify others. . . . The prices on the first ship sent out by us under the new Acts were £45 s. [shillings] for adults, £35 s. for children and 10 s. for infants.⁷

Most of the 4,395 passengers from November 30, 1855, to July 6, 1856, were from the British Isles: 2,611 English, 367 Scotch, 667 Welsh, and 54 Irish. There were also 615 from the

have found that there are so many 'pick pockets,' and so many that will take every possible advantage of strangers, in Liverpool, that we have appointed Elder Amos Fielding, as the agent of the church, to superintend the fitting out of the Saints from Liverpool to America. Whatever information the Saints may want about the preparations for a voyage, they are advised to call on Elder Fielding, at Liverpool, as their first movement, when they arrive there as emigrants." At the time that Mormon immigration commenced to Philadelphia, Elder Franklin D. Richards was in charge of the emigration from Liverpool. To ensure lower costs and safety, the foreign converts were encouraged to emigrate in companies. The *Millennial Star* warned, "To depart from this counsel will bring mischief and destruction to your substance and persons. *Hear it Saints and be wise!*" "Emigration," *Millennial Star* 18 (7/5/1856), 427.

7. "Emigration Department," *Millennial Star* 18 (1/12/1856), 24–25. These prices seem consistent with the cost of maritime travel estimated for the mid-nineteenth century. By the 1850s, for example, immigrants in general could cross the Atlantic on a decent shipping line from Liverpool to Boston for about \$17–20 in U.S. currency, approximately the same as the Latter-day Saints were paying in British currency. Oscar Handlin, *Boston Immigrants, 1790–1880: A Study in Acculturation* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), 49.

Scandinavian Mission, 50 from the Swiss-Italian Mission, as well as two from East India and one from Germany. Of that number, 2,383 are listed as "ordinary" passengers and 2,012 as Perpetual Emigrating Fund (PEF) passengers.⁸

The PEF was launched in 1849 as a revolving loan fund to assist Mormons in the United States who were emigrating to Salt Lake City. In 1853 its focus shifted to helping poor European Saints. The Thirteenth General Epistle issued by Brigham Young and the church's First Presidency in 1856 made the following plea: "Let those who feel an interest in the work of the gathering be liberal in their donations, and prompt in paying what they owe. . . . The cry from our poor brethren in foreign countries for deliverance is great."⁹

During the peak years of emigration (1852-1887), the PEF assisted about 26,000 immigrants, more than one-third of the total Mormon immigrants from Europe. Throughout the 1850s and 1860s there were three different categories of European immigrants: "The independent, who paid their own way to

8. "Latter-day Saints' Emigration Report," *Millennial Star* 18 (8/23/1856), 542. Due to the many converts assisted by the PEF in 1856, no LDS immigrants were sent by that means in 1857. "Emigration," *Millennial Star* 17 (12/27/1856), 820-21, reported, "This Office will not send any P. E. Fund emigrants to Utah, during the year 1857. All the funds that the Company can command will be exhausted in discharging the heavy liabilities, incurred in sending out over two thousand souls, in the year 1856. The Saints will bear in mind that two thousand persons cannot be sent to Utah without incurring an expense of about eighteen thousand pounds sterling."

9. "Thirteenth General Epistle," *Millennial Star* 18 (1/26/1856), 51; Richard L. Jensen, "The Gathering to Zion," in V. Ben Bloxham et al., *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles, 1837-1987* (Solihull, England, 1987), 176-82. Jensen (180) explains that one unusual aspect of the 1856 emigration was that "Brigham Young and others in the Salt Lake Valley donated valuable property to the PEF, which was sold to British saints of substantial means. The most important such transaction was the sale of President Young's White House in Salt Lake City to Thomas Tennant, a well-to-do Yorkshire farmer [for \$25,000]." See also Franklin Richards to "The President of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company" [Brigham Young], 3/28/1856, European Mission Letterpress Copybooks, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City. The purposes of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund were published in "Emigration," *Millennial Star* 17 (12/22/1855), 809, which noted that besides the primary objective of reducing costs, there was also the desire "to select mechanics and persons best calculated to build up and strengthen new settlements." Special attention was also paid to "the faithful, long suffering poor" who had been members of the church for the longest period of time.

Utah; 'states' or 'ordinary' immigrants, who paid only enough to reach a port of entry or other intermediate stopping place in the United States, hoping to earn enough there to finish the journey; and PEF immigrants assisted by the Perpetual Emigrating Fund." Aid recipients were expected to repay their loans after they arrived in the Great Salt Lake Valley.¹⁰

In 1856 the six voyages that left Liverpool bound for New York and the four voyages launched from Liverpool and disembarking at Boston averaged a 38-day trip.¹¹ The largest number of LDS immigrants to cross the Atlantic in 1856 was led by Elder Edward Martin, who had charge of 856 passengers on the *Horizon*, which disembarked in Boston on June 30. (One of the passengers was British convert Thomas Tennant, who provided the largest PEF donation to assist his fellow Mormon emigrants.)¹² The second-largest group of LDS converts (764), led by James G. Willie, sailed on the *Thornton*, arriving in New York on June 14. Both voyages arrived late in the emigration season and as a result suffered greatly while crossing the snowy Plains in the Willie and Martin handcart companies of 1856.¹³ One reason the ships

10. Richard L. Jensen and William G. Hartley, "Immigration and Emigration," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 5 vols. (New York, 1992), 2:674. Of the total number of 2,012 PEF passengers in 1856, "333 were ordered out by their friends in Utah, also 788 members, of many years standing in the Church have been forwarded to Utah under the P.E.F. Co.'s arrangements, and 28 Elders returning home from missions." "Latter-day Saints' Emigration Report," *Millennial Star* 18 (8/23/1856), 542.

11. *Deseret News* 1997-98 *Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City, 1996), 161-62. The *Emerald Isle*, which embarked on November 30, 1855, made the passage in the shortest time, landing in New York in 30 days; the *John J. Boyd*, which left Liverpool on December 12, 1855, did not arrive in New York until February 15, 1856, after a 65-day voyage.

12. Tennant was the major source of financial support for the PEF in 1856. Franklin Richards to "The President of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company [Brigham Young]," 3/28/1856, European Mission Letterpress Copybooks, LDS Church Archives; Jensen, "Gathering to Zion," 180.

13. Some historians blame this tragedy on Franklin D. Richards, who presided over emigration affairs from Liverpool. However, LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion: The Story of a Unique Western Migration, 1856-1860* (Glendale, CA, 1960), 47-48, point out that "throughout January and February [1856] President Richards had continually urged the necessity of getting off early. The winter's severity, with hard times and high prices, sharpened the Saints' desire to emigrate. Many of these, carried away with the idea of gathering to Zion that season, left their various employments even before arrange-

were delayed was bad weather, which made it difficult for vessels to come to port in Liverpool.¹⁴ Ship availability was also hampered by the Crimean War, which lasted until the end of March 1856.¹⁵

THE FIRST VESSEL carrying Mormons who eventually outfitted at Iowa City was the *John J. Boyd*, which left Liverpool in December 1855, arriving in New York on February 15, 1856.¹⁶ That unpleasant voyage demonstrates the effect the commanding mariner wielded on a sailing ship. Thomas Austin, the master of the *John J. Boyd*, resented the presence of the Latter-day Saints aboard his ship. Adding to his frustration, the vessel encountered strong headwinds, a tornado, two fires, and a collision with another ship, resulting in a lengthy 65-day voyage—nearly four weeks longer than the average trip across the Atlantic for vessels

ments had been made for their transportation. The result was that some of them were left to choose between the alternatives of remaining in Great Britain during the winter to starve or go to the poor house, or else run the risk of a late journey across the plains. They chose the latter course, in which the presidency of the British Mission, seeing no better way out of the difficulty, acquiesced, and chartered the ships, 'Horizon' and 'Thornton.' Procuring the boats depended greatly upon winds and weather, and upon conditions of commerce." Furthermore, in a letter to Brigham Young, 3/28/1856, Richards noted that 20 men, not just Richards, were involved with the decision to plan for the circular "Emigration to Utah for 1856." See *Millennial Star* 18 (2/23/1856), 121-23.

14. See, for example, James Linforth to President Franklin D. Richards, 2/22/1856, European Mission Letterpress Copybooks, 1851-1889, LDS Church Archives; and "Emigration," *Millennial Star* 18 (4/5/1856), 218. The latter article also notes, "The scarcity of ships for the more northern of the American ports has caused a considerable rise in the price of passage."

15. Thanks to Mormon historian Don H. Smith for bringing this point to my attention as well as the idea that the availability of vessels was scarce because of the poor weather. William C. Dunbar, an agent authorized to assist emigration business, wrote, "Ships are very scarce, indeed, on account of a great number being enlarged in the War Department." I copied this statement by Dunbar from a display at the "Sun Ranch," which is operated by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at what is commonly known as Martin's Cove, the primary area where the Martin handcart company suffered greatly.

16. Andrew Jenson, "Detailed Emigration Account, 1855," *The Contributor* 13 (October 1892), 553-54, notes that the bulk of these immigrants went to either St. Louis, Missouri; Alton, Illinois; or Burlington, Iowa, to seek employment for at least a year before continuing their journey to the Salt Lake Valley.

carrying Mormons in 1856.¹⁷ According to Mormon passenger Peter Gottfredson, Captain Austin told LDS voyage leader Knud Petersen, "If I hadn't damned Mormons on board I would have been in New York six weeks ago." The bold Dane promptly replied, "If you hadn't Mormons on board, you would have been in hell six weeks ago."¹⁸ One equally fearless Mormon passenger, Patience Loader, reported that when the captain informed the Saints that "if we did not stop our D--- preaching and praying we would never land in New York," she responded to one of the mates, "That was the only thing that saved his vessel," for, she said, "he was such a wicked drinking man and neglected his duty." Loader further noted that one night the captain's state of intoxication had caused the ship to catch fire.¹⁹

In stark contrast, LDS voyage leader Dan Jones, a mariner himself, had a positive experience on another ship carrying Mormons that year, the *Samuel Curling*. Regarding the vessel's owner and master, Captain Curling, Jones reported his kind, chivalrous behavior, and commented on their personal relationship: "We have spun yarns together for hours, as we paced the deck eagerly scrutinizing the horizon. . . . With such a one, hours have I spent with a pleasure known only to weather beaten old tars. May he moor his barque, yes, his fleet in Zion's snug harbor, ere the equinoctial gales of life beset him."²⁰

Another commendable example of a Mormon maritime migration across the Atlantic in spite of severe seasickness was the voyage of the *Enoch Train*. Mormon ship leader James Ferguson wrote back to Liverpool that soon after they embarked "a great many were very sick." Yet at the end of the voyage, with more than 500 Saints on board, Ferguson noted, "We have no grum-

17. For more on this infamous voyage, see the *Mormon Immigration Index* CD-ROM under *John J. Boyd*, "Personal Accounts." This CD-ROM, compiled and edited by Fred E. Woods and published by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 2000, is available at LDS church distribution centers in Utah.

18. Conway Sonne, *Ships, Saints and Mariners* (Salt Lake City, 1987), 120; Peter Gottfredson, *Autobiography*, 8-9, LDS Church Archives. Gottfredson was 9 years old while on board the *John J. Boyd*.

19. Patience Loader Rosa Archer, *Reminiscences*, 45, LDS Church Archives.

20. Dan Jones (in Boston aboard the *S. Curling*) to President Franklin D. Richards, 5/21/1856, in *Millennial Star* 18 (7/5/1856), 429.

blers, and no murmurers, everybody is contented and happy." Mormon immigrant Andrew Smith recalled, "We had plenty of rolling about, upsetting of dishes &c in the galley and being difficult to stand. Sometimes some were sent sprawling across the deck or thrown down . . . and only turned out to merriment on the part of the Saints." Smith added, "All kinds of games were resorted to [to] keep us in lively exercise during the day. The band frequently playing and the brethren & sisters collecting together, singing or dancing, made the time pass away agreeable, so that those who were sick got on deck as soon as they could to join in the sport." Fellow LDS passenger Archer Walters remembered that when the band played, all were "as merry as crickets." He also recorded that along with dancing, others were "busy on deck making and sewing tents." In a letter to Elder Richards, Ferguson detailed the good spirits of those on the *Enoch Train*: "The unity, cleanliness, and devotion of the whole company, from Liverpool to Boston, would not present a single spot for criticism. . . . American, English and Scotch, seemed . . . like ministering angels sent to whisper peace and comfort to all hearts. There was not a jar, but all delighted to bless and do good to each other."²¹

The Saints were impressed with the kind and gentlemanly conduct of Captain H. S. Rich, master of the *Enoch Train*. At the conclusion of the Atlantic crossing, Ferguson and Rich exchanged letters of commendation. The captain received a letter expressing gratitude for his benevolence, and Rich's letter to Ferguson and the other elders thanked them "for the spirit of kindness manifested by you and all during the present voyage, tending to the health and comfort of our passengers under your charge. If such rules and regulations could be followed by all emigrant ships, we should have less, far less of sickness and distress at sea. Cleanliness is part of your religion, and nobly you have carried it out."²²

21. Andrew Smith, Journal, 3/24/1856, LDS Church Archives; "Emigration Department," *Millennial Star* 18 (1/12/1856), 26; James Ferguson to Franklin D. Richards, 5/11/1856, in "Foreign Correspondence," *Millennial Star* 18 (6/28/1856), 414.

22. James Ferguson to President Franklin D. Richards, 4/30/1856, in "Report from the Enoch Train," *Millennial Star* 18 (6/7/1856), 355.

At the time of disembarkation, the captain introduced Ferguson to the owners of the vessel and the shipping firm known as the House of Train and Company. Ferguson observed, "Their attentions gave us a high position in the estimation of the people of Boston," countering the misconceptions that circulated regarding the LDS faithful. Andrew Smith recalled, "Many of the [Boston] natives flocked to the ship to have a peek at the Mormons and their wives." He further noted, "The people of Boston entertained peculiar notions respecting us as a people and it is thought our visit there will have a good effect in removing a little prejudice from the minds of some. It was acknowledged that a more respectable class of emigrants had not made their appearance in Boston." In addition, Ferguson noted that when the quarantine doctor and government agent came on board to inspect the passengers, they pronounced the company "as far ahead of anything they had ever seen. They were followed by a number of members of the Massachusetts Legislature, who were all astonished at our cleanly, healthy appearance, and . . . declared their delight at seeing such a class of people come to settle in their country."²³

BY THE SPRING OF 1855, the port in New York had become the entry of choice. There, in the same year, the earliest American immigration depot, known as Castle Garden, was erected. When Charlotte Ann Hilstead, a 12-year-old LDS traveler landed at the depository, she remarked, "We landed on what they called Castle Garden, but I did not see a castle nor a garden. It was just a big wooden shed with a roof across it." Although not remotely resembling a castle, the fortified structure helped to protect immigrants from thieves and others looking to take advantage of them. Dr. George J. Svejda noted that at Castle Garden, "the first official receiving center for immigrants in the country, so severe a blow was struck against the business of swindlers that it aroused resentment and opposition from the 'runners,' who saw in it an interference with their private vested interests." Although this structure afforded improved external protection for

23. Andrew Smith, Journal, 4/30/1856; James Ferguson to Franklin D. Richards, 5/11/1856, in "Foreign Correspondence," *Millennial Star* 18 (6/28/1856), 414.

immigrants in general, the LDS agents, the valiant “knights near Castle Garden,” provided even greater security and assistance for the incoming Saints. They aided vulnerable foreign converts in making the transition into a new country. Providing directions through the crowded city of New York, and at times even offering economic assistance, these agents helped many emigrants continue their journey west to LDS outfitting posts and eventually on to Salt Lake City.²⁴

Elder John Taylor (an LDS Church Apostle) had an office in New York from 1855 to 1857, from which he supervised the affairs of the Latter-day Saints Eastern States Mission. His responsibilities for eastern congregations and missionaries included assisting incoming LDS immigrants. Brigham Young, who had an aptitude for detail, counseled Mormon Apostle and Liverpool emigration agent Franklin D. Richards to keep Taylor informed:

Whenever you ship a company, whether it be small or large, be careful to forward to Elder John Taylor, at New York City, a correct list of the names of the persons in each company, with their occupation, and appropriate amount of property or means, and forward it in season for Elder John Taylor to receive it before the company arrive in port, that he may be so advised as to be able to meet them, or appoint some proper person to do so, and counsel them immediately on landing as to the best course for each and all in every company to pursue—viz., whether to tarry for a season to work in the place or immediate neighborhood of their land, or proceed to Cincinnati and its region, &c.²⁵

24. The Life of Charlotte Ann [Hillstead] Bates, 3, LDS Church Archives; George J. Svejda, *Castle Garden as an Immigrant Depot, 1855–1890* (Washington, DC, 1968), 44–45. For the history of Castle Garden in the Mormon context, see Don H. Smith, “Castle Garden, the Emigrant Receiving Station in New York Harbor,” *Nauvoo Journal* 10 (1998), 41–52. For more on the Mormon agents at New York, see Fred E. Woods, “The Knights at Castle Garden: Latter-day Saint Immigration Agents at New York,” in Alexander Baugh and Andrew H. Hedges, eds., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: New York-Pennsylvania* (Provo, UT, 2002), 103–24. “Emigration,” *Millennial Star* 18 (4/5/1856), 218, counseled elders (Latter-day Saint missionaries) returning home from their missions to assist LDS immigrants in “the disposition of their effects” prior to their departure. “The Gathering of the Poor,” *Millennial Star* 18 (2/2/1856), 73–74, instructed the missionaries to watch over their poor converts as they gathered to Utah.

25. *Millennial Star* 16 (10/28/1854), 684.

Taylor used a local New York LDS newspaper, *The Mormon*, of which he was editor, to assist emigrants with temporary jobs and other needs. Its first issue, dated February 17, 1855, gave notice that a major object of the paper was to advise emigrants regarding routes and other pertinent instructions. The newspaper included dates of port arrivals as well as employment opportunities for those who needed to secure funds in order to continue their journey west. Two weeks after *The Mormon* was established, it informed local missionaries that, "as there will shortly be many of our brethren here from Europe who will be in want of employment, in various trades and occupations, you are requested to send to this office, directions whereby we may know where to send those that are in need of employment, on their arrival to this country."²⁶

A few months later, *The Mormon* emphasized the distribution of emigration information as one of its primary goals:

We shall endeavor to be always prepared to impart the latest information relative to the best course to be pursued by Emigrants on their arrival in Boston, New York and Philadelphia. Our emigrants have heretofore, almost exclusively gone by the way of New Orleans, but will hereafter land in the Eastern cities, and one of the principal objects of establishing "The Mormon" is for their information, as well as other emigrants arriving in this country.

We shall take special interest in seeking out the cheapest, best and most convenient mode of conveyance from this and other points, as well as to observe the course pursued by agents in the accommodation for travelers on the routes and make of "The Mormon" a directory, to which all Emigrants and Travelers may refer with some degree of safety.

And we have traveled over the road several times and know from experience the wants of those seeking a home in the West. We have sought with diligence, at the several points for outfitting, the various and best kind of establishments, and as the spring opens shall fill all our business columns with advertisements, for the conveyance and direction of Emigration in making their purchases, &c.²⁷

Although this means of providing up-to-date information proved effective, just two years later the newspaper was discon-

26. *The Mormon*, 2/17/1855, 3/3/1855.

27. "To the Emigration and our Readers Generally," *The Mormon*, 6/2/1855.

tinued when Taylor and other elders were called home to the Salt Lake Valley because of the Utah War.²⁸

As long as Taylor was stationed at New York, however, he kept an observant eye on immigrants entering not only New York but other eastern ports as well, and through careful negotiation he tried to arrange the best possible rail travel for them. In the early spring of 1856, for example, he wrote to Brigham Young:

A ship load of passengers is expected here shortly. They come by way of Boston. I have been enabled to make better arrangements for their conveyance to Iowa City by the New York R.R. than by the Boston line; they will therefore come to New York. This may bring the Bostonians to terms another time. I have managed to keep up opposition between the railway companies thus far and wish to continue it. The New York & Erie R.R. Co. bring our emigrants from Boston and thence to Iowa city for 50 cents less per head than the Boston company will take them direct.²⁹

Thus, during the 1856 Mormon emigration season, European converts were routed from Boston through New York and then carried by rail to Iowa City, the terminus, as of December 31, 1855, of the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad.

Meanwhile, those migrants who arrived in Boston found their way eased by LDS agent Daniel Spencer, who was charged

28. For a biographical sketch of John Taylor, who later became the third president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, see Andrew Jenson, comp., *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1901–1936), 1:14–19. After Taylor left for Salt Lake City, Thomas B. H. Stenhouse, who had been assisting Taylor with *The Mormon*, remained in New York to assist emigrants. James Dunn, an LDS immigrant in 1857, noted, “As soon as I landed in New York I went to report myself to Apostle John Taylor whose address I had but when I found his office he had gone to Utah and T. B. H. Stenhouse was in charge.” Stenhouse turned Dunn over to a Brother Simonds, who helped him find employment. See James Dunn, *Autobiography*, 12, LDS Church Archives.

29. John Taylor (New York) to Brigham Young (Salt Lake City), 4/16/1856, incoming correspondence to Brigham Young, LDS Church Archives. See also John Taylor (New York) to Brigham Young (Salt Lake City), 5/17/1856, *ibid.* Nathaniel H. Felt, who assisted with emigration on the East Coast and earlier in St. Louis, was mentioned in the latter and in a letter by Dan Jones, who remembered Felt’s “judicious counsels.” Dan Jones (Boston) to President Franklin D. Richards, 5/21/1856, *Millennial Star* 18 (7/5/1856), 430. For more on Felt, see Fred E. Woods, “Nathaniel H. Felt: An Essex County Man,” in Donald Q. Cannon, Arnold K. Garr, and Bruce A. Van Orden, eds., *Regional Studies in Latter-Day Saint Church History: The New England States* (Provo, UT, 2004), 219–36.



Franklin D. Richards, courtesy LDS Church Archives.

with overseeing LDS emigrants in 1856. Spencer had worked with Franklin D. Richards in Liverpool, until Richards authorized Spencer "to contract & use his name in all matters" pertaining to emigration business for the Saints. Soon thereafter, Spencer and Chauncey G. Webb and two other elders, John Van Cott and John Goodsall, left Liverpool for Boston. They disembarked at Boston on March 30, 1856. The following day, Spencer "called upon 'Enoch Train' &c. . . . was kindly entertained by Mr. Twain [Train] and all interested with him." On that same day, Spencer "called upon Mr. Twichel, president of the Boston & Massachusetts Limited Railroad Company. Mr. Armstrong accompanied me by request of Mr. Twain [Train]." Van Cott and Spencer spent the next two days "making inquiries as to the prospect of forwarding our passengers on the railroad west" and negotiating the price of passage to Iowa City.³⁰

30. Daniel Spencer, *Diary*, 3/14/1856, 3/15/1856, 3/30/1856, 3/31/1856, 4/1/1856, LDS Church Archives; John Van Cott, *Diaries*, 3/15/1856, 3/31/1856, LDS Church Archives. An article in the *Millennial Star* 18 (4/5/1856), 217,

Just one month later, more than 500 Saints disembarked from the *Enoch Train* at Boston and reaped the fruit of Spencer's labor and collaboration with Train & Company. Soon after arriving in Boston, the emigrants were forwarded to Iowa City via New York at the price of \$11.50 for those 14 or older, \$5.75 for youth ages 4 to 14, while those under 4 went free of charge.³¹

For those who continued to use Boston or New York as an arrival port in 1857, the rate to sail the Atlantic remained about the same as in 1856. Beyond sheer monetary expenditures, the costs of the journey included health risks and severed family and social ties. Job Pingree recollected that some of his company "died crossing the sea." In most cases, migrants were permanently separated from their loved ones. Mary Seamons Thurston recalled, "We all felt sorrowful at leaving our dear homes and friends, although many had turned against us because we were 'Mormons.'" ³²

In 1857 three chartered Mormon voyages disembarked at Philadelphia, one in Boston, and only a few individual Mormon families sailed to New York City.³³ The combined total of mi-

praised Spencer for his work in the British Isles. Spencer also served as president of the Salt Lake City Stake from 1849 until his death in 1868. For more on Spencer's life, see *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:286-89.

31. *Millennial Star* 18 (6/14/1856), 377-78, notes, "It has been found advantageous, this season, to send most of the passengers per P.E. Fund, *via* Boston, as those who pass directly through, without settling in the State of Massachusetts, are not charged the usual eight shillings and four pence for head money, which is required to be paid for all persons who stop to reside in that state. . . . The proprietors in Boston have extended to our Agent, Elder D. Spencer, every advantage to facilitate our forwarding business on that side, which could be reasonably expected." Andrew Jenson, "Ninety-Third Company," *The Contributor* 14 (November 1892), 19-20, also notes, "Owing to the competition between railway companies, the price for adult passengers from Boston to Iowa City was subsequently reduced to ten dollars, and children in proportion."

32. Job Pingree, *Life History*, 1, LDS Church Archives; Mary Seamons Thurston, *Autobiography*, 2, LDS Church Archives.

33. As a result of the ill-fated Willie and Martin handcart companies, which had suffered while crossing the Plains, largely due to a late departure coupled with other factors, Mormon authorities insisted that "all Saints who intend going to Utah in 1857, must make their calculations to sail from this port, by the 25th of March, so as to land in the States by the 1st of May." "Emigration," *Millennial Star* 18 (10/11/1856), 651. However, of the four chartered voyages that year, only the *George Washington* disembarked before May 1, arriving in

grants for the year reached nearly 2,000.³⁴ The selection of Philadelphia was probably based on a cheaper travel fare—a factor that often determined the route, whether by sail or rail—and the location of the trail outfitting post for each emigration season.³⁵

Of course, the decision to disembark at Philadelphia affected the route and cost of rail travel to Iowa City. In the absence of New York LDS agent John Taylor, agent Angus M. Cannon met the first load of Mormon immigrants to disembark at Philadelphia. Voyage leader Matthias Cowley noted that “arrangements were made for us to proceed on our journey . . . per train to Iowa City, costing \$10.50 per each adult, half price for all under fourteen and over six year of age; all under six years old nothing.” Before their train departed, \$5,572.04 was collected from the passengers to pay their rail fare from Philadelphia to Iowa City. Caroline Hansen Adams wrote that just one day after arriving in Philadelphia, the group “boarded a train and traveled west to Iowa City,” arriving there eight days later on June 9. Johan F. F. Dorius concurred, noting, “We traveled eight days and nights, a distance of about 1500 miles to Iowa City. We passed through many towns and places, and it was

Boston on April 20, 1857. See *Deseret News 1997–98 Church Almanac*, 162, for the departure and arrival dates for these chartered voyages.

34. According to the *Deseret News 1997–98 Church Almanac*, 162, 1,127 Saints disembarked at Philadelphia in 1857, 544 from the *Westmoreland*, 547 from the *Tuscaora*, and only 36 from the *Wyoming*. The Boston port received 817 passengers, who crossed the Atlantic on the *George Washington*, bringing the combined total of LDS chartered passengers to 1,944 for the year. This does not include a few LDS passengers who departed at New York on two different voyages, neither of which were chartered. Philadelphia was not used by the Saints as a port again until 1886, and then for only one vessel due to unusual circumstances. With the opening of the Castle Garden immigration depot, New York became the primary port of disembarkation for the Saints until its demise by fire in the late 1880s. Between 1855 and 1890, more than 65,000 out of about 90,000 total Latter-day Saint migrants passed through Castle Garden, which saw about eight million immigrants pass through its doors.

35. Philadelphia began to be used as a port of immigration for the Saints in 1855 as a result of Brigham Young’s counsel to LDS Liverpool agent Franklin D. Richards. In 1855 four Mormon voyages disembarked at Philadelphia, though none did in 1856, possibly because of the cost as well as the opening of Castle Garden in New York in 1855. For more on Mormon migration through Philadelphia, see Fred E. Woods, “‘Pronounced Clean, Comfortable, and Good Look’: The Passage of Mormon Immigrants through the Port of Philadelphia,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 6 (2005), 5–34.

enjoyable to ride through this beautiful country, which exhibited fertility and blessings, conveying the idea to us that it was a land blessed of the Lord."³⁶

Not all of the immigrants were able to head west immediately, however. Incoming European Saints faced religious prejudice, and, for some, the challenge of securing enough money to continue their journey to Utah. A number of Mormon migrants remained in the eastern states, stranded by a lack of funds. In 1856 the *Millennial Star* reported that soon after LDS passengers had arrived in New York aboard the *Caravan*, they were compelled to seek temporary employment in the region. James and Rachel Hancey, for example, remained in New Jersey for several years to work. Upon disembarking at New York, William and Ann Richardson soon left for Pittston, Pennsylvania, and did not reach their Utah destination until seven years later.³⁷ Although both the Hancey and Richardson families were originally bound for the Mormon outfitting post in Iowa City, by the time they secured the necessary funds to continue their trek, the outfitting post had been changed to Florence, Nebraska, with the railroad's westward advance.

Financial assistance from fellow Saints helped many other Mormon immigrants continue on to Iowa City. Joseph Orton, also a *Caravan* passenger, recalled, "Almost penniless reaching New York, I remember with deep gratitude the kindness of my brethren and sisters, especial of Brother Joseph Oxborrow and wife, who tho' lately emigrated, assisted so many temporally." Although appreciated, such assistance was often not enough. Therefore, upon arrival at New York, Orton secured temporary employment by hiring out to a farmer who resided on Staten Island. Not accustomed to such labor, Orton moved on to New York City, where he was able to pursue his craft as a shoe-

36. "Report of the 'Westmoreland,'" *Millennial Star* 19 (7/11/1857), 445-46; *Public Ledger*, 6/2/1857; Autobiography of Carline Hansen Adams, in Kate B. Carter, ed., *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City), 12:472; Johan F. F. Dorius, *Journal*, 6/2/1857, in *Church Emigration Book* (1855-1861), LDS Church Archives.

37. Andrew Jenson, "Ninety-Second Company," *The Contributor* 14 (November 1892), 18-19; Rachel Seamons Hancey, Autobiography, 6, in *Collected information on the Seamons and related families*, LDS Church Archives; William Richardson, *Journal*, 19-21, 36, LDS Church Archives.

maker. He did not realize his goal to see the city of the Saints until two years later.³⁸

FOR THOSE SAINTS who were able to continue on, the next transportation hurdle was rail travel. The rail route for many began in Albany, New York. Samuel Rowley recalled, "After landing at Castle Garden [New York] we sailed up the Hudson River to the terminal of the Rock Island Railroad."³⁹ Those who disembarked from the port of Boston also traveled through Albany before going west by rail. Thomas Durham's journal provides useful travel details: "We took the cars at Boston for Iowa City on the 2nd of July [1856] and got there on the 8th, the distance of 1700 miles. . . . We passed through Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Toledo, Chicago, Rock Island, &c."⁴⁰

It was not a pleasant experience. Andrew Smith recalled, "It was very rough traveling upon the railways in this country. It is nothing strange to be knocked out of your seat and frequently to pass heaps of cars and engines all smashed up by collision or otherwise. . . . The road from Devon Point [Davenport] to Iowa City is awful . . . the rails laid quite crooked." Elizabeth White Steward remembered the rail ride from Boston to Iowa City as "a very unpleasant journey. We were put in cars that had no seats and we had to sit on our trunks and baggage with no room to lie down at night." George Harrison echoed her sentiments,

38. Joseph Orton, Autobiography, 8-11, LDS Church Archives.

39. A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Samuel Rowley, 1, LDS Church Archives. Mormon emigrants took various rail routes from Boston and New York to Chicago, where they transferred to the Chicago & Rock Island Railroad and made their way to Rock Island, Illinois. After crossing the Mississippi River, they then took the Mississippi & Missouri Railroad (a branch of the Chicago & Rock Island) from Davenport, Iowa, to Iowa City. See F. Daniel Larkin, "Chicago & Rock Island Railroad," in Robert L. Frey, ed., *Encyclopedia of America Business History and Biography: Railroads in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1988), 45-46; Alex Kirby, "Thomas C. Durrant," *ibid.*, 112.

40. Thomas Durham, Journal, 14, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Salt Lake City. For other accounts detailing rail travel routes from the East Coast to Iowa City, see William Lawrence Hutchings, Diary, 4/23-30/1856, LDS Church Archives; Josiah Rogerson, Autobiography, LDS Church Archives; Benjamin Platt, Autobiography, 2, LDS Church Archives; John Kettle, Journal, in *The Protecting Warrior*, Book 1 (Murray, UT, 1972), 56; James Palmer, Reminiscences, 172, LDS Church Archives.

noting, "the cars were so crude and the railroad so rough we were all tired out when we arrived in Iowa City." Peter Howard McBride explained, "From Chicago, we had to ride in cattle cars and freight cars."⁴¹

Rail travel was not only uncomfortable, it could also be dangerous. On May 6, 1856, Mary Powell Sabin remembered, "Our train was scheduled to cross the Mississippi River on a bridge at eight o'clock. We were fifteen minutes late. The bridge broke with the train just ahead of us and a great wreck occurred." The accident delayed Sabin and her traveling companions for two days. Although temporarily delayed, one fellow passenger speculated that their tardiness in meeting the train schedule meant that the lives of the rail passengers had been spared "from plunging into the Mississippi River."⁴²

Because of the damage to the bridge, none of the Mormons who emigrated during that summer season could use the rail bridge, which did not reopen until September 8, 1856. In the interim, emigrants had to take a ferry across the Mississippi River. Peter Madsen, Joseph Beecroft, and Heber Robert McBride all recalled crossing the Mississippi that summer on steamboats due to the damage to the bridge from the *Effie Afton* incident.⁴³

41. Andrew Smith, Journal, 5/12/1856; Elizabeth White Steward, Autobiography, in Ruth Johnson and Glen F. Harding, eds., *Barnard White Family Book* (privately printed, 1967), 187, LDS Church Archives; George Harrison, Autobiography, in Kate B. Carter, comp., *Treasures of Pioneer History*, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1958-1977), 2:106-7; Peter Howard McBride, Journal, in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 13:360. Priscilla Merriman Evans, Autobiography, 39, LDS Church Archives, notes that the company of Saints Evans journeyed with to Iowa City by rail also traveled in cattle cars.

42. Mary Powell Sabin, Autobiography, 8, LDS Church Archives; Emma McDowell Jacobson, *Our Powell/Peterson Ancestors*, 18, LDS Church Archives. The wreck Sabin narrowly missed was a famous one. On May 6, 1856, just two weeks after the Rock Island bridge had opened to great fanfare, a steamboat, the *Effie Afton*, struck one of the bridge's piers and caught fire, destroying the boat and a portion of the bridge. When the steamboat company sued, challenging the railroad interests, Abraham Lincoln successfully defended the bridge company. See Benedict C. Zobrist, "Steamboat Men Versus Railroad Men: The First Bridging of the Mississippi River," *Missouri Historical Review* 59 (1965), 165-68; John C. Parish, "The First Mississippi Bridge," *Palimpsest* 3 (1922), 137; and "Lincoln and the Bridge Case," *ibid.*, 142-54.

43. Peter Madsen, Diary, 6/26/1856, LDS Church Archives; Joseph Beecroft, Journal, 7/8/1856, *ibid.*; Heber Robert McBride, Autobiography, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

For some, the delay appears to have had been a mixed blessing. During some warm June weather, William Woodward recalled that the Saints in his company took advantage of the situation, as "many of our company bathed in the Mississippi River." Yet Woodward also points out that during this period of detainment, "two Irishmen made a difficulty, because we were not willing to let them pass through the cars. One of the Irishmen tore a piece from the shoulder of my coat. Captain [Dan] Jones kicked one of them because he would stand on the car. The cars were guarded by many of our men during the night."⁴⁴

AS MORMON EMIGRANTS TRAVELED by rail from the East Coast, a number of newspapers in cities along the route reported on their westward migration. It was by then well known (thanks to the press) that the Mormons in Salt Lake City were practicing polygamy.⁴⁵ The press on both sides of the Mississippi River in Rock Island, Illinois, and Davenport, Iowa, generally reported a one-sided, negative view of the Mormon migrants as they traveled west by rail towards Iowa City in 1856 and 1857. As the editor of the *Rock Island Morning Argus* put it, "Some three hundred mormons arrived last night, by the Chicago and Rock Island railroad and departed this morning for the valley of abominations at Salt Lake." When some Mormons arrived at the Davenport depot, Patience Loader recalled, "A great crowd gathered around us casting slurs at us and asking father if he was going to take his fine girls to Utah and give them to Brigham Young for wives. They said that old fellow already got plenty of wives." Loader added, "This was the roughest place we came to in our journey from New York." One female Mormon emigrant facetiously told an Iowa City reporter that she had several husbands. The gullible reporter not only included in his article that the woman had "no less than four husbands," but added, "she is said to have been an intelligent individual."⁴⁶

44. William Woodward, Diary, 6/1/1856, LDS Church Archives.

45. See, for example, articles denouncing the Mormon practice of polygamy in the *Davenport Daily Gazette*, 6/6/1856, 6/10/1856, and 4/15/1857.

46. *Rock Island Morning Argus*, 5/1/1857; Patience Loader Rosa Archer, *Reminiscences*, 55; *Iowa City Daily Evening Reporter*, 8/16/1856. See also *Rock Island Morning Argus*, 5/12/1856 and 4/30/1857.

Despite being generally jaundiced, newspaper reports offer details that help us piece together a view of the Mormon migrants who traveled by rail across Iowa in June 1856:

Another large batch of Mormons passed through our city yesterday morning. They numbered between four and five hundred and comprised men, women and children,—some of the women carrying babes in their arms. One man was limping along on a wooden leg, and we noticed two or three old men and women who seemed fitter for tottering over the grave, than for taking the weary pilgrimage to Utah. We understand that those who passed through yesterday are about half a company which recently came from England, and about two-thirds of them were of the lowest class of Welsh, the remainder being English and Scotch. . . . We doubt not that the authorities of England look upon their departure as a happy riddance.

Ten days later, the same Davenport paper reported: “Seven cars loaded of Mormons reached the city today and passed on up to camp—a hard looking set, sweltering in black clothes beneath a sultry sun, and moving on westward like so many mourners for the loss of common sense.” A subsequent editorial noted, “Another detachment of Mormons passed through our city yesterday morning. They numbered several hundreds, and were about as miserable looking as those who have preceded them.” The following month, the same newspaper continued to slander the Mormon emigrants: “Eight hundred more of the deluded followers of Mormonism passed through our city yesterday. . . . This company is about on par with its predecessors and is composed of a class of persons more illiterate, than it seems to us could be scraped together in any portion of this country.”⁴⁷

The press in Iowa City also took note of Mormon migration during the spring and summer of 1856. The *Iowa City Republican* ran several articles in the same issue regarding the Saints’ movement. One reported, “Quite a number of Mormons started last week from their camp two miles west of this city, on their way to serve as ‘working bees’ in the hive of Deseret.” That article and others suggest that reporters viewed the migrants as naïve victims of LDS church leaders.⁴⁸

47. *Davenport Daily Gazette*, 6/3/1856, 6/13/1856, 6/27/1856, and 7/9/1856.

48. *Iowa City Republican*, 6/23/1856. The fact that the Republican Party had launched its 1856 campaign against the “twin relics of barbarism”—slavery

THROUGHOUT THE YEARS 1856 and 1857, regardless of the port of entry or the rail route the Saints used, the farthest railhead west terminated in Iowa City. During the years of Mormon migration through the area, the town flourished—thanks mainly to the railroad. Between 1854 and 1856—the railroad arrived December 31, 1855—the population of Iowa City had more than doubled (from 2,570 to 6,316).⁴⁹

Upon reaching Iowa City, Mormon migrants were met by LDS agent Daniel Spencer in 1856 and agent James A. Little in 1857. In early May 1856, Spencer, the Mormon agent assigned to oversee the westward migration through Iowa City for the year, had selected a fine location for an emigrant campground “on a rising point of land” about two miles west of town. When William Woodward arrived in Iowa City on June 2, 1856, he found “several of the brethren . . . at the railroad depot waiting our arrival. . . . I drove a team from the depot to the camp of the Saints, about two miles west of Iowa City. . . . I received a kind welcome from Daniel Spencer. . . . A good feeling existed in the hearts of the Saints that were in camp previous to our arrival. Our company swelled the number of the camp to about 1400.”⁵⁰

Mary B. [Brannigan] Crandell arrived on June 1, 1856: “Oh what a sight met my gaze! Tents pitched, men working at the handcarts, women cooking outdoors, every person busy as a bee. I thought I had got into the hive of Deseret sure. . . . Everyone was so kind to me when they found I was alone that I soon dried my tears and went around the camp to see what was going on, everything was so new and strange.” While viewing the beautiful countryside with her head out the train window, Crandell had lost her bonnet, but “one of the brethren came to the rescue. He had two hats, and lent me one, so I came to the camp with a man’s hat on; blushing like a red rose, for I had been told that if I put a gentleman’s hat on, he had the right to

and polygamy—helps explain why newspapers in Iowa City and on both sides of the Mississippi River would report unfavorably about Mormons passing through. *Davenport Daily Gazette*, 2/1/1856.

49. Johnson County 1854 census, Johnson County IAGenWeb site, <http://iagenweb.org/census/johnson/1854/IA-1854-IowaCity.txt>; Johnson County 1856 census, State Historical Society of Iowa.

50. William Woodward (Iowa City) to Heber C. Kimball, 6/11/1856, LDS Church Archives; William Woodward, Diary, 6/2/1856.

kiss me and I did not know what I would do under such circumstances, perhaps tell him to put it back where he got it.”⁵¹

The following year, another Mormon emigrant recalled the Saints’ kind assistance upon her arrival at the Iowa City rail depot. She noted that teams awaiting her company’s arrival transported the emigrants to the campground, where a stream of water ran through a grove of trees. “I had no money left,” she recalled, “so we went to the captain of the camp, James A. Little, and told him of our plight. He furnished us with something to eat. . . . He also gave permission to get work in Iowa while preparations were being made for the trip across the plains.”⁵²

Little, who had arrived from St. Louis the night before, was just in time to receive those who had crossed the ocean on the *George Washington*. In St. Louis Little had gathered tents, wagon covers, and provisions to prepare for the incoming Saints, and upon their arrival, he quickly oversaw the erection of tents and wagon covers for temporary bedding.⁵³

51. Mary B. Crandell, “Autobiography of a Noble Woman,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 6 (April 1895), 318–19.

52. Susan Melverton R. Witbeck, Autobiography, 4, LDS Church Archives. It appears that not everyone had the privilege of wagon transportation to the camp. When the emigrants arrived, the size of their companies affected the availability of transportation to the Mormon campground. Archer Walters, who arrived a few weeks before Woodward, noted on his arrival on May 12, 1856: “Dragged our luggage about 2 miles to camp ground.” Archer Walters, Diary, 5/12/1856.

53. J. A. Little to Orson Pratt, 4/26/1857, in “Foreign Correspondence,” *Millennial Star* 19 (6/13/1857), 377–79. Little was involved in other emigration business matters as well, including corresponding with a wagon maker in Chicago “who is making our wagons.” Ibid., 377. Charles Root Dana, Autobiography, 5/30/1857, LDS Church Archives, notes, “By Elder Little’s request, I went to Chicago to pay a debt of one thousand dollars which he owed for wagons.” Apparently, the Saints had also contracted a large number of hand-carts to be made in St. Louis. The previous year, an article in the *Davenport Daily Gazette*, 2/15/1856, drawing from the *St. Louis Republican*, reported that “an establishment in this city [St. Louis] has received an order, and are now manufacturing about five hundred of these vehicles,” which the item called “wheelbarrows.” The person making the handcarts was probably Louis Espenschied, a German immigrant who had moved to St. Louis in 1840. The Saints had been working with Espenschied as early as 1853, when St. Louis Mormon emigration agent Horace Eldredge purchased 14 wagons at \$58 apiece from Espenschied to help outfit the Saints who were gathering to Keokuk, Iowa, for their trek west. See Fred E. Woods and Douglas Atterberg, “The 1853 Mormon Migration through Keokuk,” *Annals of Iowa* 61 (2002), 10. See also Erastus Snow to Brigham Young, 2/14/1857, LDS Church Archives

Some incoming LDS emigrants in 1856 may have lodged in the railroad building before proceeding to the Mormon campground. One Mormon convert who had crossed the Atlantic on the *Enoch Train* recalled, "We arrived in Iowa City about 9 p.m. met the other part of our company at the railroad storehouse at which place we sheltered."⁵⁴ Yet when a large company of Saints who had disembarked from the ship *Horizon* arrived in Iowa City, Heber Robert McBride remembered, "There was no place at the depot large enough to accomodate so many people. So a great many of the people started for camp on foot just about dark and I was one of them." Fortunately for McBride, his fellow Saints had kept "a big fire burning for to let the people know where the camp was."⁵⁵

Having gathered at the campground where the main body of the Saints was assembled, decisions were made as to when individuals and companies would be able to depart. Those decisions depended on the readiness of the companies' handcarts and emigrants' assessment of whether they had the necessary funds to outfit a trip across the Plains for themselves and their families. Many Saints apparently chose to obtain temporary employment in Iowa City, regardless of whether they had the means to continue the journey. Most knew they could use the extra money and did not want to squander their time waiting for departure.

Some who worked for a few days in the Iowa City area were tempted to delay their journey onward to the Salt Lake Valley due to the high wages being offered. Edmund Ellsworth recalled,

At Iowa City, before the handcarts were ready, some of the brethren and sisters began to despair of ever accomplishing so long a journey; and the inhabitants of the surrounding country offered them great wages; telling them that if they remained there and

54. Andrew Smith, Journal, 5/12/1856. The temporary shelter for the Mormon emigrants (and likely other migrants) seems to have been a common courtesy provided by the railroad. While passing through Rock Island, Illinois, on May 10, 1856, Latter-day Saint migrant John D. T. McAllister wrote, "Moved the company to a large commission house, kindly loaned by the Railway Company." John Daniel Thompson McAllister, Journal, 5/10/1856, LDS Church Archives. See also *Iowa City Republican*, 6/23/1856.

55. Heber Robert McBride, Autobiography, 8.

served them one year, that without doubt they could earn a good team and wagon, and a cow or two, and then they could cross the plains with comparative ease. This had its effect upon some few at Iowa city, and there were a few who had to be considerably persuaded to start from that place.

Priscilla Merriman Evans, who had crossed the ocean on the *Samuel Curling* in 1856 remembered that she and her family spent three weeks in Iowa City, waiting for their handcarts to be completed. During that time, she explains, "We were offered many inducements to remain there. My husband was offered ten dollars per day to stay and work at his trade of iron roller. But money was no inducement, as we were anxious to go to Zion." Similarly, Louisa Mellor recalled, "we remained in Iowa City from July 8 to July 28, 1856, where my father secured work, and with the means was able to buy two handcarts and some food and clothes to make the journey across the plains." Others were less fortunate. Elizabeth Sermon, who passed through Iowa City in the summer of 1856, wrote, "We arrived in Iowa and a number of us rented a house at twenty dollars per month. . . . My husband . . . got some work to do at \$1.00 per day." Evans also noted that some of those who remained to improve their circumstances "died of cholera and many apostatized from the church."⁵⁶

Some of the women also found opportunities to earn money to cover expenses. Mary Brannigan Crandell recollected, "while waiting for the handcarts to be finished, three or four of us went to Florence [Iowa] a beautiful little place, about six miles from Iowa City, to see if we could get some sewing to do. . . . A lady by the name of Johnson engaged me at five dollars a week, and my board, the other girls got more. . . . I cut and made dresses for the lady and taught one of her boys to write." Crandell soon made friends with the Johnson family, who, Crandell noted, "treated me like their own daughter." Eventually Mrs. Johnson asked her, "What will you do hauling a handcart across the plains? Why your hands will be blistered the first day, and you

56. "Account of His Mission," *Deseret News*, 10/8/1856; Priscilla Merriman Evans, *Autobiography*, 39; Elizabeth Sermon (who crossed the Atlantic on the *Caravan*), *Autobiography*, 2, LDS Church Archives; Louisa Mellor Clark, *Autobiography*, in Carter, comp., *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 17: 304, 306.

have never been accustomed to hard work." Crandell responded, "Dear lady I know you are interested in me and I feel grateful for your kindness, but I shall try it."⁵⁷

Not all of the young women were as strong-spirited as Crandell. On May 19, 1856, according to the *Davenport Daily Gazette*, "some of the women among the company of English Mormons that passed our city last week were faint-hearted and wish to turn back." Towards the end of the following month the same newspaper noted, "We understand that while they [the Mormon emigrants] were in Rock Island, several of the ignorant and deluded creatures manifested a disposition to desert, having no desire to push the wheel barrow [handcart] over the far-stretching prairies at this season of the year."⁵⁸

One young woman who seems to fit such a description was Elizabeth "Betsy" Edwards, who is listed in immigration records as a 20-year-old "spinster." Edwards was one of about 700 British Saints (many of them Welsh) who crossed the Atlantic in 1856 on the *Samuel Curling* under the direction of the famous LDS Welshman, Captain Dan Jones.⁵⁹ According to Elizabeth Dennis, Jones and his company camped on the Dennis farm, "on the banks of Clear Creek, . . . three miles west of Iowa City." Dennis claimed that while she had gone to town, Edwards had rushed up to Dennis's father, who was watching the farm, and said, "I am from the Mormon camp, and they are going to start west in three days and I do not want to go with them. Can you direct me to a good family who wish to secure a girl to help them with their house work?" "Yes," replied the father, "my daughter will be glad to take you." Jones sent a group of Mormon men to bring her back, resulting in a ten-day standoff before the Mormon handcart company finally moved on. Dennis claimed that Edwards stayed and later married a local bachelor by the name of John Shipton.⁶⁰

57. Crandell, "Autobiography of a Noble Woman," 319.

58. *Davenport Daily Gazette*, 5/19/1856 and 6/27/1856.

59. *Deseret News* 1997-98 *Church Almanac*, 161. See also the *Mormon Immigration Index* under the section listing passengers aboard the vessel *Samuel Curling*.

60. Mrs. Isaac Dennis, "Mormon Pioneer Story," in a document prepared by Coralville centennial officials titled "Centennial Year 1973, Coralville, Iowa," 22-23, housed at the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City. Isaac Dennis

Elizabeth Edwards's obituary tells a different version of the story, claiming that "her escape from camp was wisely planned" after another of "the discontented ones . . . , a long time friend of Elizabeth's, . . . found a home and staunch friends with strangers, in a strangely new land." The obituary also intimates that anticipation of the long journey by handcart was not Edwards's primary cause for defection: "Before the company reached mid-ocean the beauty and glamor of the new religion had vanished. The slightest hint of polygamy had never been mentioned in Wales. By the time Iowa City was reached a well defined spirit of restless homesickness for the old homes, the faith of their fathers possessed the hearts of the Welsh converts, and Elizabeth Edwards was one of those who decided to abandon the further trip across the plains." The obituary adds, "Though Elder Jones discovered her new abiding place, and used every persuasion for her return, that his fatherly kindness would permit—with gratitude for all his past kindness—and only a most desolate look to the future, she remained firm in her resolution, as time after time they came to her with entreaties and warnings."⁶¹

Although a few emigrants chose to remain behind, the vast majority who made it to Iowa City began their journey to the Salt Lake Valley after a temporary stay of a few weeks.⁶² How-

had settled in Iowa with his parents in 1838. Five years later he married Elizabeth Fellows, and they had six children. *History of Johnson County, Iowa* (Iowa City, 1883), 807–8. For more biographical information on the Isaac Dennis family, see Charles [sic, i.e., Clarence] Ray Aurner, *Leading Events in Johnson County Iowa History*, 2 vols. (Cedar Rapids, 1913), 2:844–52.

61. *Marengo Republican*, 8/21/1912. Elizabeth Edwards was related to Jones, had lived in the same house with him in Swansea, Wales, for two years, and acknowledged his "unvarying fatherly kindness and fine personality." Ibid. *The History of Iowa County, Iowa* (Des Moines, 1881), 756, confirms that John Shipton did indeed marry Elizabeth Edwards in March 1857, when John was 36 years old and Elizabeth 18. They had seven children. In 1860, according to the 1860 Iowa Census, John Shipton was living and farming in Clear Creek Township, Johnson County, Iowa, with his wife, Elizabeth. With real estate valued at \$1,600, it appears that the Shipton family was relatively prosperous. Elizabeth had been a widow for three years when she died in Marengo Township, Iowa County, at the age of 73 on August 7, 1912. Register of Deaths for Iowa County, Book 3 (1911), 18, Iowa County Courthouse, Marengo.

62. After reaching the United States, a few other women left Mormon emigrant companies along the route to Utah. For example, James G. Willie Emigrating

ever, financial difficulties compelled a few of the Saints to linger for a season. Such was the case of Samuel Handy, who provides a useful sketch of what life was like for Mormons who remained in Iowa City in 1857:

At Iowa City we found a branch of the Church, presided over by a man named William Williams – during our stay in this place John Taylor succeeded Brother Williams in presiding over the Iowa City Branch. Edwin Stratford, three Brother Taylors and others, with their families made quite a nice little branch of the Church. I went to work immediately on my arrival, and got \$1.25 per day and my dinner all through the summer, and in the winter I carried the buck & saw & sawed wood and made about 75 cents per day – some days only 50 cents and some days I was idle. We paid some 2, 3, and sometimes 4 dollars a month rent while we were at Iowa City. My wife went washing while we lived there and assisted considerably in getting our outfit for Utah.

Two years later, Handy and his family joined a Mormon company heading west to the Salt Lake Valley.⁶³

Company, Journal, LDS Church Archives, 7/20/1856, notes, "Yesterday Sister Adelaide A. Baker left us & this morning came and took her luggage & two of her children away with her . . . ; also Ann & Sabrina Bird . . . left us this day." *History of Iowa County, Iowa* (Des Moines, 1881), 734, notes, "Two young men of Iowa County became enamored of two Mormon girls, whom they chanced to meet at the Mormon camp. The young men's love was reciprocated, and by stealth they left the camp of the 'Saints' at night, were married, and now each couple has a large and highly respected family." The Marriage Record Book, A-B, Iowa County, pp. 53 and 63, at the Iowa County Courthouse in Marengo confirms that "Edwin D. Smith and Sabina Bird received a marriage license April 12 1857" and that "Milo Mitchell and Ann Bird received marriage license Oct 12th 1857." *The History of Johnson County* (Iowa City, 1883), 614, also mentions, "On one occasion three young girls were discovered to be dissatisfied and parties assisted them to escape from the Mormon company. One of the girls returned to England, the other two married and settled in Iowa." Harriet Smith appears to be the one who returned to her native homeland. Elizabeth "Betsy" Edwards is likely the woman who was assisted in her desire to remain in the Iowa City vicinity. I am grateful to Iowa City residents Gerry and Marilyn Gaffey, as well as Ali Pili (Marilyn's sister), for their assistance in researching the story of these young women who abandoned the Mormon trek to Utah.

63. Samuel Handy, *Autobiography*, Special Collections, Utah State University Library, 13–14. Samuel Handy and his family crossed the Plains in 1859 with the James S. Brown company. See <http://lds.org/churchhistory/library/pioneercompany/0,15797,4017-1-73,00.html>.

FOR MORMON EUROPEAN CONVERTS who gathered to Utah in 1856 and 1857, the arduous trip included thousands of maritime miles and hundreds more by rail to reach the frontier outfitting post of Iowa City, where handcarts were used to complete their journey. The Crimean War and harsh winter weather conditions interfered with the availability of sailing vessels during the 1856 season and affected arrangements for ocean travel. While the Atlantic crossing was lengthy, trustworthy Mormon leaders worked hard to make the experience as pleasant as possible regardless of the conduct of mariners whose behavior was at times as unpredictable as the weather. In the face of health hazards and occasional encounters with storms, most of the Saints assisted one another. Sewing tents as well as wagon and handcart covers also created a seam of companionship among the European converts. Frequent religious meetings as well as recreational activities, such as games, song, and dance, forged an optimistic attitude that eased the journey. Upon reaching the Eastern seaboard, competent Mormon emigration agents arranged for rail transportation and temporary employment as needed. Although rail travel was uncomfortable and at times dangerous, skilled agents successfully negotiated the lowest fares possible.

For a few fainthearted converts, the prospect of the long trip by foot with handcarts proved too daunting, and they chose to remain permanently somewhere in Iowa. Financial difficulties also compelled a few of the faithful Saints to remain behind for a season. For those who continued on, passage to the promised land required stamina and exertion, and some paid dearly with their very lives. Yet most completed the journey successfully. As evidenced in dozens of journals, those who made the effort to reach Salt Lake found the price to gather well worth paying. The handcart experience launched in Iowa City continues to be an important chapter in the Mormon migration saga, but the significance of the journey by sail and rail to arrive at that point should not be overlooked.

Handcarts Across Iowa: Trial Runs for the Willie, Haven, and Martin Handcart Companies

LYNDIA McDOWELL CARTER

FOR THE ROUGHLY 1,100 HANDCART EMIGRANTS camping in July 1856 at the Mormon outfitting campground near Iowa City, waiting to start their long walk to the Missouri River, where they would be resupplied for crossing the Plains to the Salt Lake Valley in Utah Territory, delays were frustrating. Three handcart groups had left before them in June.¹ The season for safe traveling was growing late, and the migrants were anxious to be on their way to complete the journey to Zion that they had begun weeks earlier when they left Liverpool and Copenhagen. The immigrants from the ship *Thornton* had arrived at the camp on June 26; the ones from the ship *Horizon* arrived on July 8.² Both groups of “Saints,” members of the Church of

1. Six Mormon handcart companies, consisting of approximately 2,000 persons, outfitted and left the Iowa City area in the summer of 1856. The first three began their journey west in June, with sufficient time to arrive in the Salt Lake Valley before the onset of winter. Those first three companies were captained by, respectively, Edmund Ellsworth, Daniel D. McArthur, and Edward Bunker. All six handcart companies that summer of 1856 had similar experiences and hardships crossing Iowa. For a good overview of the Mormon handcart migration, see LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion: The Story of a Unique Western Migration, 1856–1860* (Glendale, CA, 1960).

2. The Willie company comprised approximately 500 emigrants, most of them passengers from the *Thornton*. More than 600 persons, the vast majority of whom were passengers from the *Horizon*, made up the Martin company, which arrived at the railroad depot in Iowa City on July 8, 1856.

Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, had to wait for their handcarts to be finished and other arrangements to be completed before they could leave for the West. Because of the delays, the members of these companies would suffer greatly when they were caught in blizzards in present-day Wyoming three months later.

The emigrants looked eagerly toward their start. In their enthusiasm to be on the road, they could not possibly have imagined the challenges they would face when actually under way. Approximately 270 miles lay between the Iowa City camp and the Missouri River. Covering that distance by foot with handcarts would take nearly a month. That leg of their journey across Iowa's prairie roads provided a test run for the handcart emigrants, giving them a sampling of the thousand miles that stretched ahead of them from the Missouri River to Salt Lake City.

Once undertaken, the Iowa portion of the trek would prove to be a time of weeding out the sick, the weak, and the faint-hearted. For those who demonstrated their mettle and their good health by sticking it out, the long Iowa phase of their journey west would build muscle, endurance, and stamina. During the four weeks, minus a few days, it would take the Willie, Haven, and Martin handcart companies to walk across Iowa pushing and pulling their handcarts, the migrants would learn skills they would need for life on the road. Bare feet would become toughened, exposed skin would turn leathery with sunburn, and bodies would grow accustomed to the relentless heat, the choking dust, the sudden thunderstorms, the cruel humidity, and the strains of uphill tugging and downhill braking. They would learn that they could travel no farther by day's end than the oxen that pulled their few supply wagons. They would fight sickness and weariness, sometimes extreme exhaustion. They would be hungry on the scanty food rations.³ They would find

3. The handcart plan was designed to provide for the largest possible number of emigrating church members at the lowest possible cost, so the emigrating agents established a very stringent budget. Thus, the provisions for the handcart companies were kept to a bare minimum. The scant provisions caused many of the travelers in all six companies to feel hungry much of the time. In Iowa the provisions were especially limited. Because the handcart companies would be passing through towns and past farms, it was likely expected that the migrants would purchase supplemental foodstuffs from the local populace.

out the hard way that pulling loaded carts was arduous labor and that the daily routine was tedious. But while waiting at the outfitting camp, they felt excited, perhaps a bit nervous, and eager to be on their way. During the days in the last half of July and through August, the members of these last three handcart companies of 1856 would discover by experience, as had the three handcart companies that preceded them that summer, that the journey, this trial by handcart, was not going to be easy. However, they firmly believed that God would try His people, and so they would accept their lot and resolutely trudge the long, hot miles across Iowa.

WHEN AT LAST each of these three groups received the word that they would roll out on the morrow, the emigrants felt the sheer joy of finally being able to leave the Iowa campground and start on their way. Of the three groups, the Willie company set out first. On Tuesday, July 15, amid beautiful but very warm weather, the members of the handcart company led by Captain James G. Willie busily made last-minute arrangements for their start toward Zion. The 500 emigrants under Willie's command loaded their carts. Each of the 100 two-wheeled vehicles contained a mere 17 pounds of baggage for each of the five persons assigned to it, along with some provisions and cooking utensils.

Church agents at the campground organized the emigrants into groups of 20, who at night would occupy a tent together and be supervised by a tent captain. Five men—Millen Atwood, Levi Savage, William Woodward, John Chislett, and Johan Ahmanson—commanded divisions called "hundreds"; each took responsibility for the people of five tents (about 100 people). These five captains of hundreds were accountable directly to Captain Willie, enforced his orders, saw to the safety and well being of their 100 people, and supervised the 20 carts their people used and the five company wagons that carried the supplies and sick people. Edward Griffiths served as the Willie company's commissary, and William Read worked as the camp butcher. All adult men and teenaged boys were required to take turns serving

However, because many members of the handcart companies were poor, purchasing extra provisions was not an option they could afford, so many had to make do with the rations the agents at the Iowa City camp had provided.

guard and herd duties at night, with a captain of the guard to see that all guard duties were performed nightly. This organizational structure maintained discipline and order, as well as spread the responsibility evenly.

When everything was at last ready and all the carts loaded and in proper marching order, the Willie company “pulled up stakes” and rolled out of camp the afternoon of July 15. The first day’s move covered but a short distance to a fresh campsite. In high spirits, the migrants set their tents, unloaded their bedding, and went about their evening chores. This dress rehearsal, of sorts, passed off successfully and let the migrants know what to expect when the real trek began.⁴

On July 16, the oxen, only somewhat tame and insufficiently trained, delayed the Willie company’s start until late afternoon. Then the handcarts rolled just three miles. The oxen that pulled four of the five provision wagons behaved rather wildly and proved troublesome for their drivers. The driver of the mules pulling the fifth wagon also had a hard time with his unruly team. The wagons did not make it to camp until two or three hours after the migrants with their handcarts. A road full of

4. I have created the following synopses for each day that the Willie Handcart company traveled through Iowa by combining information from the diaries and journals of the participants who kept records as they journeyed: James G. Willie Emigrating Company, Journal (the identity of the clerk across Iowa is not known), typescript, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Department of Family and Church History (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives), Salt Lake City; Levi M. Savage Jr., Journals, holograph, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University (hereafter BYU Library), Provo, Utah; William Woodward, Private Journal, 1855–1857, in William Woodward Papers, LDS Church Archives; Alfred Gadd, typescript, in *Biographies of Utah County Pioneers* 28 (June 1940), 82–88, in the Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, Provo, Utah; Peter Madsen, Diary, 4/23/1856–9/8/1856, copy of transcription and translation from Danish by Don H. Smith, LDS Church Archives. Supplementing these contemporary daily records written during the trek, are the following reminiscences or memoirs: John Chislett, “Narrative,” in T. B. H. Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints: A Full and Complete History of the Mormons* (New York, 1873), 314–16; Johan Ahmanson, *Vors tid Muhmed (Secret History)*, trans. Gleason L. Archer (Chicago, 1984), 27–36; James G. Willie, “Synopsis of the 4th Handcart Company’s trip from Liverpool, England, to Great Salt Lake City, in the Spring, Summer and Autumn of 1856,” holograph, LDS Church Archives (typescript copy also available in LDS Journal History, 11/9/1856, LDS Church Archives); George Cunningham, Autobiography, 1876, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

holes and poorly constructed and badly maintained bridges offered additional challenges.

The next day, the company did not travel. That night Captain Willie passed on instructions from Daniel Spencer, leader at the Iowa City outfitting camp, that they could "not move off this ground, until the spirit of mermering, if there was any, Seased among the Saints of this Camp."⁵

On July 18, a bugle roused the people from their beds at 4 a.m. The emigrants received their daily provisions of ten ounces of flour, a little sugar, rice, dried apples, salt, and a little bit of pork. Then at 11 a.m., the company pulled out. Despite their enthusiasm, the day's walk of six to eight miles tested their ardor. The afternoon was hot and the roads were terrible. Clouds of dust thrown up by hundreds of tramping feet and the turning cart wheels enveloped the migrants.

A bracingly cold morning on July 19 transformed into a hot day as the hours and miles fell behind the travelers. Although the road was much improved, lugging the carts proved to be extremely hard work. Levi Savage recorded in his diary, "Some of the Saints both olde and young, were nearly overcome yet they endured much better than could be expected."⁶ After more than nine hours of travel covering 12 miles, the fatigued company set up evening camp. William Woodward unloaded the mule-drawn wagon of its passengers and supplies and went back three miles to haul in sick people who had given out on the way. Adelaide Baker decided to give up the journey to Zion and left the company. Although the area through which they passed was thinly populated, one resident boasted that he would bring others and tear down all their tents; fortunately it was only an idle threat.

The next day the company rested for the Sabbath. Adelaide Baker returned to get two of her children. Three other women also abandoned the journey because of the hardships of hand-cart travel.⁷ Some curious local inhabitants visited the camp.

5. Savage, Journal, 7/17/1856.

6. *Ibid.*, 7/19/1856.

7. *Ibid.*, 7/21/1856. Savage identifies the three women as Mrs. Smith and the two Miss Birds. According to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints British Mission Emigration Records in the LDS Church Archives, Ann Bird's age was 20 years, her sister Sabina was 17, and Harriet Smith was 27 years old.

Some of the visitors seemed belligerent and quarrelsome, seemingly looking for trouble. Camp leaders spoke at an afternoon worship service and told the visitors about Mormon beliefs and their commitment to obey what they believed to be God's commandments regardless of the consequences. After these leaders explained to the intruders the Mormons' right to worship as they wished, the strangers behaved in a "perfectly docile" manner and returned to their homes without further incident.

The Sunday rest made Monday's journey more pleasant. Everyone seemed cheerful, and only one sick person started the day by riding in the mule-drawn ambulance wagon. Health seemed much improved. The morning went well. But as the day heated up, a few of the travelers grew ill. Because they were only three miles from Marengo, William Woodward went there to purchase brandy and whiskey to use as medicine to revive the sick. Also because they were near town, curious and troublesome local residents visited the camp. Seven rowdy young fellows came to camp intent on making trouble. They cursed, swore, hollered, and used vulgar language, disturbing the handcart migrants. Captain Willie stationed extra armed guards. Apparently this "warm reception," in Savage's words, discouraged the ruffians, who soon left.

On Tuesday, July 22, the Willie company took advantage of the cool morning and walked four hours before resting. Then they moved over hilly, dusty roads. During the day, as the emigrants trudged ten miles, the heat became extreme and oppressive. "Nearly all beat out," they stopped at "Bear Creek" in the early afternoon.⁸ Several strangers, curious but friendly, visited the camp, but caused no problems.

The Charles Peat family called it quits the next morning. Because their handcart was church property, it stayed with the company when they left.⁹ The morning was hot and sultry, with not a breath of a breeze. The company tramped for five miles before stopping for a rest. On the move again, the walkers tugged their carts another five miles. Despite the heat, Levi

8. Willie Company, Journal, 7/22/1856.

9. Charles Peat, his wife, Martha, and their four children dropped out for personal reasons not explained by the company clerk in the Willie Company Journal.

Savage noted that "the weak are getting strong, the lame, and aged, get along exceedingly well."¹⁰ However, one of the wagon drivers picked up Mary Williams insensible on the side of the road. Possibly she had suffered sunstroke, but some of her companions thought she had collapsed because she had eaten a large amount of wild green plums and crabapples. The division captains had a difficult time keeping the long, strung-out handcart train in order. Many cart pullers tried to pass slower cart teams, and some carts failed to keep up the pace and lagged behind. In the afternoon, the company took another rest stop to avoid walking farther in the tremendous heat. At about six o'clock, the company rolled forward again and made another three miles, making a total of 13 for the day. When they stopped, "a great many" were "sick & tired out," according to the company clerk, but Savage noted that their spirits remained high. However, Mary Williams, a 50-year-old emigrant from Worcester, England, was dead.

On July 24, the handcart migrants moved just two miles and then encamped in the woods for the remainder of an intensely hot day. The region was farmed, but sparsely settled. The locals were generally friendly and generous to the Mormons. Some gave the handcart travelers milk or sold them flour at a low price. Savage remarked that although most of the residents were generally kind, a few were antagonistic. With a community nearby, company members were able to obtain lumber and make a coffin for Mary Williams. They laid her to rest in the local cemetery, which was about a mile from the handcart camp.

Company members began to complain about their short rations.¹¹ Some of the travelers who had money or items for trade purchased food from local merchants or farmers; others begged; a few even stole to assuage their hunger. Hunger was making some ill. Peter Madsen, a member of the Danish "hundred" (made up almost entirely of immigrants from Denmark), noted that Captain Willie scolded the English whose hunger

10. Savage, Journal, 7/23/1856.

11. Levi Savage specified the precise amounts of their rations: ten ounces of flour per day per adult; ten ounces of pork per person each 28 days; and small rations of rice, apples, sugar, tea, and coffee. Judging this insufficient for their needs, he commented, "It is not enough." Savage, Journal, 7/24/1856.

drove them to milk the farmers' cows or kill their pigs. Perhaps hunger, heat, and hard work caused some dissension and grumbling to creep in, because in meeting that evening Willie and sub-captains Atwood and Woodward counseled the people to be united. Two decades later, John Chislett recalled the hungry journey across Iowa:

Our rations consisted of ten ounces of flour to each adult per day and half that amount to children under eight years of age. Besides our flour we had occasionally a little rice, sugar, coffee, and bacon. But these items (especially the last) were so small and infrequent that they scarcely deserve mentioning. Any hearty man could eat his daily allowance for breakfast. In fact, some of our men did this, and then worked all day without dinner, and went to bed supperless or begged food at the farmhouses as we travelled along.

Chislett noted the kindness of the people of Iowa. He remarked that large numbers of Iowans came to the handcart camp whenever the Willie company stopped near a settlement, and they "were very good in giving to those who asked food, expressing their sympathy for us whenever they visited our camp." Whether motivated by concern or prejudice, some locals "tried to dissuade" them from traveling to Salt Lake by handcart; some offered employment and housing. "A few of our company left us from time to time; but the elders constantly warned us against 'the Gentile,' and by close watching succeeded in keeping the company tolerably complete," Chislett remembered. Meetings occurred nearly every evening for counsel, prayer, and preaching, the main theme of which was "'obey your leaders in all things.'" In retrospect, Chislett felt some bitterness against those who sent them on their journey with such limited provisions. "I do not know who settled the amount of our ration," he observed, "but whoever it was, I should like him, or them, to drag a hand-cart through the State of Iowa in the month of July on exactly the same amount and quality of fare we had."¹²

On July 25, the weather remained warm as the Willie Company traveled over the rolling prairie. Despite a cool breeze, many sickened and sought to ride in the provision wagons. That afternoon, the Poweshiek County sheriff stopped the

12. Chislett, "Narrative," 316.

handcart train to search for women reportedly tied up and held against their will in the wagons. Captain Willie gave permission for the posse to search for the alleged captives. Finding nothing, the sheriff's group left the company to continue the journey. The migrants made 13 miles that day, then camped at a disappointingly poor campsite. About 30 antagonistic local denizens came near the handcart camp that night, creating a noisy disturbance, singing bawdy songs, making threats, and calling the Mormons names. Seeing the camp guards, they left without further incident.

A heavy rain fell next morning. Despite the downpour, the company slogged forward through mud and splashed through puddles. The "rather muddy" roads, in Woodward's words, made traveling difficult. Cart wheels bogged down and the drenched human teams tired as they struggled to pull their carts along. About ten o'clock, the rainfall ceased and the road slowly began to dry up. The company kept moving until one o'clock in the afternoon, then, having trekked about 11 miles, stopped for the day.

On Sunday, July 27, the company rolled out after prayers. Through the cool, pleasant morning hours, the cart wheels rolled over hilly terrain for five, possibly six miles. After two hours of walking, the company camped on North Skunk Creek so the Saints could worship and attend to practical matters such as washing their clothing. After two consecutive days of short travel, the people felt stronger and healthier.

Levi Savage noted that a "goodly number" of curious local citizens, including some "ruffians," visited the camp to see these Mormon handcart migrants and hear the Mormon preaching. One troublemaker stole a hatchet, which led to an angry exchange of words. During the afternoon and into the evening, a few belligerent strangers threatened to cause a disturbance, but when it became obvious that the Mormons would defend themselves if necessary, the intruders did not carry out their threats.¹³

Shortly after 7 a.m. on July 28, the line of handcarts ascended a steep hill to begin their day. Tugging their carts along over a rolling, sometimes thickly wooded and sparsely settled country,

13. Savage, Journal, 7/27/1856.

the emigrants soon found more steep hills to climb. Using all the strength they could muster, they walked for nine or ten miles, then halted to rest for an hour or two. As they continued, the road became hilly and rough. When they neared the town of Newton, they closed ranks. The leaders had heard rumors that the company might have trouble in Newton—a few weeks earlier the Bunker handcart company had experienced opposition there.¹⁴ To minimize confrontation, the long, strung-out line of carts concentrated into a compact column and went “fearlessly,” in Savage’s words, through the town. The local residents lined the street to watch them pass. They stared, but did not molest the handcarters or cause trouble. Although the Willie company camped only two miles past Newton, the night was peaceful.

The next day, there were several creeks to cross, and decayed bridges made the going difficult. The migrants tramped about 12 miles and camped on South Skunk Creek. The company clerk noted that they had several “heavy hills to ascend.” Some Saints, according to Savage, were “ailing and sore footed and lame.” Still, the travelers maintained a “good spirit.” Henry Newman, however, decided that he was not going any farther with the handcart train. Captain Willie, who insisted on orderliness and absolute compliance to authority to keep the group moving efficiently, warned the Saints assembled at meeting that evening against the disorder that was present in the company. That night, two-week-old Selena Hurren died, the second death since leaving Iowa City.¹⁵

With fine weather on July 30, the Willie company made 8–10 miles before halting for a two-hour noon rest. When they set out again, the Danish hundred was in the lead. Although Captain Willie wanted the company to go only four more miles to the next creek, the Danes misunderstood the instructions and kept going beyond the intended campsite. Rather than turn the

14. John Parry, *Reminiscence and Diary*, March 1857–September 1867, photocopy of manuscript, LDS Church Archives, 56. John Parry captained one of the “hundreds” in the Edward Bunker company, the third handcart company to cross Iowa in the summer of 1856.

15. Selena Hurren was the infant daughter of James and Eliza Reeder Hurren. Eliza gave birth to Selena on July 15, 1856, at the Mormon camp near Iowa City. Three other daughters traveled with James and Eliza Hurren: Mary (8), Emma (4), and Sarah (2).

Danes around and have them backtrack, Captain Willie ordered the handcart train to proceed to the next creek beyond the planned one. On they went, mile after mile, without finding a creek or suitable campground. When they reached the outskirts of Des Moines, they gave up for the night. They had traveled some 20 or 21 miles. Levi Savage wrote, "Many of the Saints were nearly overdone by the long march."¹⁶ Because they were so near town, many visitors came, but they made no disturbance.

On the last day of July, the company got an early start, crossed the Des Moines River on a floating bridge and passed quietly through the city of Fort Des Moines without incident.¹⁷ They rested for the remainder of the morning on a small creek about a mile or two outside town. That may have been where Charles Good of Des Moines came with a generous donation. That kindly gentleman presented 15 pairs of children's boots to the company. Because he gave the shoes freely and in friendship with no ulterior motives or desire to embarrass the Mormons, the Saints accepted his charity.¹⁸

In the afternoon the handcarts again rolled west. Despite the heat, the company covered four more miles before camping for the night. A group of men from Fort Des Moines came later that evening to harass the Mormons. A strong guard posted around the camp foiled the intruders, who only made a little noise, then left about midnight.

The goal for August 1 was to reach the town of Adel, 20 miles distant, by evening. The company traveled ten miles before halting for a rest. As they continued their march in the afternoon, the day became "very hot indeed," preventing them from making their goal, and the handcart column stopped for the night only four miles from the site of their noon rest. Regrettably, one part of the company, consisting of several elderly and infirm persons who were ambulatory but unable to help propel

16. Savage, Journal, 7/30/1856.

17. This "floating bridge" was likely a pontoon (bateau) bridge, meaning the bridge structure floated for support on flat-bottom boats, secured to each other and the river banks.

18. Willie Company, Journal, 7/31/1836; William G. Hartley and Fred E. Woods, "Charles Good's Act of Kindness and the Handcart Children," *Iowa Heritage Illustrated* 87 (2006), 88-91.

the carts, walked in advance of the handcart train and did not receive word to stop. Obeying the earlier instructions, the small group tramped almost all the way to Adel, six miles beyond the point where the others had stopped. Captain Willie sent the mule team and wagon to "fetch them back." It must have been very late when the group arrived in camp after their 20-mile walk and 6-mile return ride in the mule wagon. Despite the terrible heat and the long walk, the clerk wrote, "The Saints all seem pretty well." The evening passed peacefully because "the inhabitants round were civil and obliging."¹⁹

Before reaching Adel on August 2, the company arrived at the North Raccoon River. A crowd of townspeople gathered to watch the migrants ford the knee-deep water. Some spectators called to the women to leave the company, but the women paid no heed, pretending to not even notice the bystanders. Immediately after crossing the river, the members of the Willie company, in their wet clothing, passed through Adel without further incident.

The day tested the handcarters' ability to endure patiently. During the course of the day, the migrants walked and pushed their carts 17 arduous miles, waded two rivers and a creek, slogged through a mud hole, and climbed several difficult hills. It seems that some became cranky and grumbled. Peter Madsen noted in his diary, "There was much unrest in the company, and the bad feelings showed themselves in word as well as deed."²⁰ In late afternoon, the company arrived at the Middle Raccoon River and camped. Local residents visited the Mormon camp without making problems. The company clerk observed, "a good spirit prevails in our midst," the hardship apparently forgotten once the travelers settled down for the evening.²¹

The handcart train could not afford the time to take a whole day off for worship on Sunday, August 3. The handcarts bounced behind their human teams the ten miles to the South Raccoon River. There they rested, worshiped, bathed, and laundered for the remainder of the day. The local citizenry, interested in these

19. Willie Company, Journal, 8/1/1856.

20. Madsen, Diary, 8/2/1856.

21. Willie Company, Journal, 8/2/1856.

transients with their strange conveyances, visited the camp, but behaved civilly.

As usual, the bugle blew at 4 a.m. to rouse the camp on Monday, August 4. It was a beautiful morning as the carts rolled away from the campsite. Their pace was rapid, despite the hills. The wayfarers marched to Bear Grove Creek, arriving at about two o'clock in the afternoon, having walked 17 miles in five hours, minus a two-hour mid-morning break.²²

Nature blessed the Willie company with beautiful weather again the next day. The long line of carts and walkers traveled to Turkey Creek, making a total of 18.5 miles, a tremendous distance for underfed people, already footsore and weary from the previous day's effort. Apparently some lagged behind, thus delaying the company. Perhaps some members complained about the demands placed on them by the handcart mode of travel, for at the camp meeting that night Captain Willie and second-in-command Millen Atwood scolded the travelers for their discontent and lack of diligence. Knowing that they needed to hurry because they had been so late starting their journey to Utah, the leaders "reproved the Saints for being so dilatory & told them if they did not repent they would not have the blessings of the Lord & would not get through this season."²³ Seasoned veterans of the trail, Willie and Atwood knew that the safe traveling season was drawing to a close and they must speed up in spite of the hardships.

During the early morning hours of August 6, the thunder boomed, a strong wind blew, and rain poured down in torrents, so the emigrants stayed in their tents longer than usual. The cleanup after the storm, which abated about 7 a.m., delayed the company's start. Part of the camp did not get on the road

22. For the location of Bear Grove Creek and many other locations mentioned in this article, see Steven F. Faux's article in this issue. Faux's analysis of the handcart route, with towns and watercourses located along the route, and his maps help readers understand the Iowa experiences of the Mormon handcart companies. A forthcoming book by Gary Long and Lyndia Carter, *In Their Footsteps: Following the Willie Handcart Company across Wyoming and Utah* (to be published by the University of Utah Press) contains a chapter detailing the Iowa portion of the trek. The chapter goes into much more depth than is possible in this shorter article.

23. Willie Company, Journal, 8/5/1856.

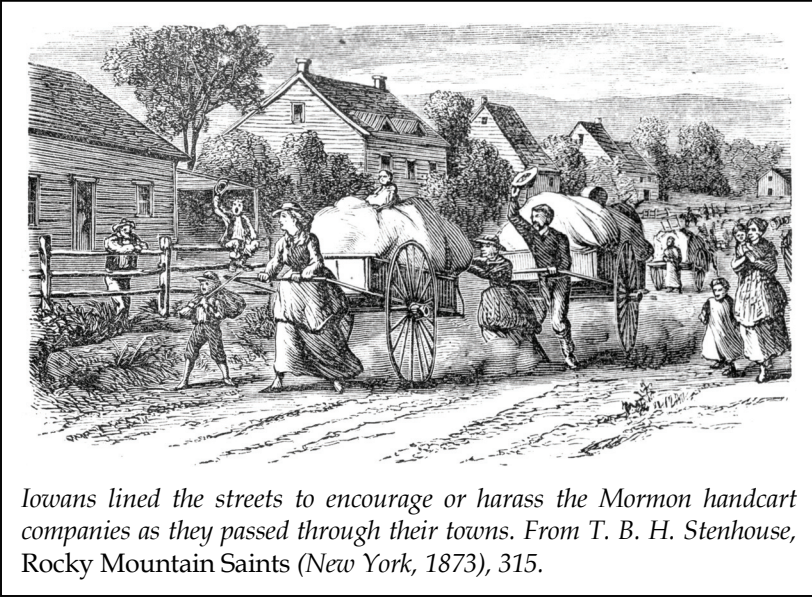
until ten o'clock. They traveled awhile, then took their mid-day break. Pushing on again, the company followed a new road for most of the day. The dirt road, slick because of the earlier rain, ran over hilly terrain. The slippery, muddy road, rutted and pocked by hundreds of tramping feet and cart wheels, wore the walkers down. Fourteen miles from the morning's starting point, the company camped for the night at "Jordan Creek." It had been a hard day. The company clerk noted that all were "very much fatigued." Peter Madsen worried about the health of the Danish hundred; twelve Danes were sick, two children very sick. As if Anna Jacobsen did not have trials enough, her baby now entered the world.²⁴

After spending a cold night, the company had a better day on August 7. Splendid roads and beautiful weather made the seven-mile trek to Indiantown much easier. The company passed through town during the late morning and camped a mile beyond for their dinner. Several of the emigrants stopped in Indiantown (today's Lewis, Iowa) to buy or trade for necessary provisions stocked by the merchants there. After a two-hour break nearby, the handcarters pushed on more than five miles to Walnut Creek. There Isaac Smith realized that he had left his purse, containing all his money, in a shop back in Indiantown. With William Woodward, James Oliver, and two female witnesses, Smith returned to the town. Woodward obtained a search warrant from the justice of the peace. Unfortunately, their quest failed and the money was not retrieved.²⁵

The handcart column pulled out early on the fine morning of August 8, but the provision wagons under Savage's command waited for the return of Woodward and the mule-drawn wagon. After waiting for awhile, the wagons left. Woodward did not catch up with the company until its noon rest on an east branch of the West Nishnabotna River. Through the afternoon, the handcart train made its way 15 miles to the West Nishnabotna.

24. Madsen, diary, 8/6/1856. Don Smith's translation of Peter Madsen's diary is of great value for studying the Willie company. Madsen's detailed account of the Danish hundred's experiences adds a human perspective and an exceptionally picturesque view of the Iowa landscape in 1856.

25. Woodward, Journal, 8/7/1856.



During the morning of August 9, the emigrants trekked about 11 miles through sparsely settled, rolling country, tugging their carts up high hills and holding the vehicles back while going down. At or near Silver Creek, Charles Gurner and his 15-year-old daughter and 13-year-old son left the company. Charles's wife, however, refused to drop out. After their rest and meal, the migrants moved six more miles over rolling terrain to Keg Creek. They encountered thunder and a short rain shower on the way. Likely everyone felt enthusiastic that evening in meeting because Council Bluffs lay only ten miles away. The company clerk observed, "Much of the spirit of the Lord in our midst."²⁶

On Sunday, August 10, the Willie company remained in camp at Keg Creek nearly all day doing laundry, cleaning up, and resting. Having failed to convince his wife to stay with him in Iowa, Charles Gurner and his children rejoined the company. At approximately 4 p.m., the handcart train rolled away from Keg Creek and headed for Mosquito Creek, nine up-and-down miles distant, where they camped. They were now only a couple of miles outside Council Bluffs.

26. Willie Company, Journal, 8/9/1856.

The last day the Willie company spent in Iowa was Monday, August 11. At 7:15 a.m., they moved toward Council Bluffs. William Woodward had preceded the train and alerted church emigration official James McGaw that the Willie company would soon arrive.²⁷ As the handcart train passed through Council Bluffs the townspeople “thronged” the sides of the streets and “gazed” at the long line of handcarts parading by. The majority of spectators simply stared and satisfied their curiosity. A few, however, rudely made “sport” of the Mormons and their strange mode of conveyance and aimed jeers at the lame and crippled members of the handcart brigade. To the credit of the Council Bluffs citizenry, members of the crowd reprimanded the rowdy element.²⁸

Headed north for the steam ferry that crossed the Missouri River to the Mormon outfitting camp at Florence, Nebraska, the handcart column traveled seven or so miles, passing through a couple of small communities. James McGaw caught up with part of the troupe near a house by the road where a group of Mormon apostates and local residents started to insult the handcarters. McGaw, unwilling to tolerate the abusive criticism and bullying behavior, came to their defense. Tempers flared and he got into a fistfight, but no serious injury was done.

The Willie company intended to stop at a creek between Council Bluffs and the ferry, but the stream was dry, so they continued to the ferry landing. McGaw assisted Captain Willie with the tremendous task of getting nearly 500 emigrants, their handcarts, and five provision wagons transported across the Missouri River on the steam ferry *Nebraska*. The process took several hours and many crossings to complete. By evening the job was done, and the Willie company had completed its trek across Iowa.

The weeks of walking, the labor of hauling carts, and the daily hardships had undermined the health and determination

27. Mormon Apostle John Taylor, president of the church's Eastern States Mission and editor of *The Mormon*, a church newspaper published in New York City, had appointed James McGaw to be one of the church's emigration agents at Florence, Nebraska Territory, to assist with purchasing provisions and cattle on the frontier to supply Mormon handcart and wagon companies as they “jumped off” from Florence. See Don Smith's article in this issue.

28. Savage, Journal, 8/11/1856

of some members of the company. These factors along with meager provisions, drudgery, the risks associated with starting so late, exhaustion, and illness discouraged about a fifth of the group. Besides those who dropped out of the company between Iowa City and Council Bluffs, others who felt they had endured enough made the decision not to resume the journey from Florence, where Mormon agents maintained an outfitting camp. Most hoped to finish the journey to Zion in the future under more favorable circumstances. Of the 500 or so who started from the Mormon campground near Iowa City, about 400 remained with the Willie company when it continued west a few days later after resting, repairing carts, and replenishing supplies at Florence.²⁹

BACK AT THE MORMON CAMPGROUND near Iowa City, in mid-July Daniel Spencer divided the large group of emigrants who had left England on the *Horizon* in late May, forming two handcart companies from those passengers and others at the Mormon campground who had not joined earlier groups. Edward Martin captained one, called the fifth company, and Jesse Haven commanded the other, the sixth company. By the third week of July the emigrants still at the Iowa City camp obtained their handcarts as the workmen finished them. On the evening of July 20, Jesse Haven received notice that his company of approximately 300 must leave as soon as possible.³⁰

29. According to the various journals written by members of the Willie company, part of the group left Florence on August 16 and camped on Little Papillion Creek, where they waited for the rest to join them on August 17. Reunited, the company again moved westward on August 18. The Willie company, now numbering 85 carts and approximately 400 persons, continued the journey under Willie's command. However, there were still five "hundreds" with the original five captains of those divisions continuing their responsibilities over fewer people.

30. Jesse Haven's daily personal diary account of the trek across Iowa (in LDS Church Archives) is the only extant contemporary account of the progress of the Haven company. A few reminiscences supplement his record. They will be cited as they are used. Although Jesse Haven captained the "sixth" company, his group was actually the fifth to leave Iowa City. This was probably an executive decision made by Daniel Spencer because of various unknown factors,

On July 22 he moved his group one mile, then set up camp again. They did not move again until the evening of July 24, but only went two miles. The next day they stayed where they were. Ether Enos McBride, then just a child, later recalled that many grumbled about the slow start.³¹

On July 26, the Haven company pushed and pulled their carts three miles. The provision wagon cattle gave the teamsters a great deal of trouble, so the tents did not catch up with the walkers until after dark. While they waited for the tents, a rain-storm struck, drenching the migrants. Years later, John Southwell recalled an incident that might be the one of July 26:

Here was no sign of shelter. Our tents were rolled up in our wagons. After everyone was drenched and many were unable to move out of their tracks, the captain gave orders to pitch camp and set up the tents the best they could in the mud and as quick as possible this was done. It proved a temporary shelter for the old people and children. They were protected from the rain but they were still ankle deep in mud. At this stage of the game, the younger men displayed their heroism. Near our intended camp ground was a large patch of young willow and they attacked the willow patch with ax and pocket knives and in as short a time as possible they had enough ground covered on which we raised our tents, spread down the bedding, and then a good old farmer living in the distance gave us wood from his pile of dry willows which was soon piled up and a fire built. In the meantime the storm had spent its fury and men, women and children were soon standing and turning themselves around drying their wet and bespattered clothing.³²

but likely based on relative preparedness and the fact that John Jaques, one of the leaders of the Martin (or "fifth") company, was not yet back from St. Louis, where Spencer had sent him on business. John Jaques (in St. Louis), to Orson Pratt, 7/22/1856, in Stella Jaques Bell, *Life History and Writings of John Jaques* (Rexburg, ID, 1978), 111-16.

31. Ether Enos McBride, "Autobiography," in Kate B. Carter, comp., *Heart Throbs of the West*, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1939-1951), 1:81. Because McBride was a very young boy in 1856 and wrote his memoirs much later in life, he mistakenly names Edward Martin as his captain, but Martin did not take over command of his group until the two groups combined in Florence.

32. John William Southwell, "Diary of John William Southwell" [actually an autobiography written at age 79], typescript, LDS Church Archives. Southwell indicated that they laid over the next day, which is in error since the company did travel three miles on July 27.

The next morning everything was still soggy, and the hand-carters complained, blaming Haven for the missing tents. Even though it was Sunday, the Haven company moved three miles on July 27. In meeting that evening, Haven felt it necessary to call the grumblers to repentance. In his journal he wrote, "I told them if they did not scese their grumbling that sickness would get into their midst and they would die off like rotten sheep. But if they would be humble and keep united the blessings of the Lord should attend them."³³

The next day, Haven's followers again moved just three miles. Finally the company made its first long pull on Tuesday, July 29. After traveling 15 miles, the migrants encamped "much fatigued." Emma Batchelor left the company and went among the Iowans, an act that caused Haven to disfellowship, or banish, her from the company. She joined the Martin company a few days later.³⁴

The next day's trek put nine miles behind them. The journey became too much for Robert Evans, who was in poor health. He and the elderly Sarah White, 75 years old, obtained permission to drop out of the company.

Repairs of a broken ox yoke delayed their departure from camp the last day of July. By traveling in the evening, they achieved ten miles for the day. A group of local settlers came to camp, intending to disturb the migrants, but with genial words Haven cooled down the bunch of rowdies. This may well be the situation Southwell remembered:

We came to a halt by a nice stream and in the foothills was grass for the oxen. The teams were out to feed and instantly two men started for them, cursing the G.D. Mormons, declaring they would kill every S.O. a B. of them. Captain Haven met them and in his gentlemanly way apologized and offered them pay in order to secure a night's feed for the poor, hungry brutes. This kind act on his part took them by surprise and they consented to leave them there without further trouble. The singing of the young ladies at evening service drew the attention of the kinder disposed people

33. Haven, *Diary*, 7/27/1856.

34. Much confusion exists concerning Emma Batchelor. Several modern works erroneously place her in the Willie company and have her joining the Martin company in the Fort Laramie area. Haven's diary corrects the misinformation.

and in the morning they brought butter and milk into camp and expressed themselves as being pleased with the way we conducted ourselves traveling through their country.³⁵

The first day of August was just plain terrible. First, five people gave up the journey. Then the day grew hot and the people became hungry. They complained that their rations were insufficient. After a hard day's travel of six miles in the heat, the Moss and Hunter families sought permission to give up the journey. Haven let them stay behind. The Moss family and two of the Hunter boys later joined the Martin company.

On August 2, after being delayed by a rain shower, the Haven company tramped 18 miles, a grueling feat that drained their energy. Captain Haven noted: "some got into camp late—some did not come in at all." The trial run across Iowa was proving a trial to the runners. Fortunately, the company rested the next day, a Sunday. The heat was just too unbearable to move and they did not even hold worship services.

On Monday, August 4, the Haven company passed through Newton, where Haven purchased some tallow to grease squawking cart wheels. After traveling 20 miles, the migrants encamped late that evening. The following morning they went five miles to the Skunk River. They took the ferry across the river, although they had previously simply waded the streams. Ferrying ate up several hours, as it took 13 trips to get all the carts, supply wagons, and people to the opposite side. Still, they went another five miles before setting up camp late that night.

Hoping to make their food supply last until they reached Florence, Haven had been doling out only ten ounces of flour per person each day, giving them less than a thousand calories to work on. But the scanty allowance was causing "so many to leave me," Haven wrote, that on August 6 he decided to increase the ration to 12 ounces of flour.³⁶

35. Southwell, "Diary" n.p.

36. Haven, *Diary*, 8/6/1856. Flour was the staple in the handcart diet. Ten ounces of flour equates to approximately 875 calories; 12 ounces supplies about 1,050 calories. A few other items, as mentioned by Chislett and others, were doled out occasionally, but extras came seldom and in meager amounts. The handcarts supplemented their diet with edibles they found in nature, foodstuffs they purchased (if they had any cash or things to trade), by accepting food and milk local residents gave them, and by begging.

Taking the toll bridge across the Des Moines River, Haven's company passed through Fort Des Moines on August 7 and camped four miles outside the city. The next day, Haven received a handout from a local settler, as had others in his party from time to time. On August 9 Haven had breakfast at the Hildreth home. Mr. Hildreth was a former Mormon; Mrs. Hildreth was still faithful to the church. Elizabeth Sermon, who likely was a member of Haven's company, remembered the kindness of the Iowans: "Some farmer[s] who lived between Iowa [City] and Florence, Neb. would take up the children that had to walk and bring them along for a few miles. Some of the farmers kindly gave the children food to eat, which I have no doubt was well received by the way it was soon out of sight."³⁷

August 9 was a bad day for these handcart migrants. They became "much scatered" along the road, the line of carts stretching for a great distance because many were not able to keep up. Eleven more gave up and left the group that evening after eventually reaching camp. To make matters worse, some Iowans came around camp making noise to disturb the weary travelers.³⁸

Disturbers came to camp again the next day, slinging ugly insults and jeers. Although it was the Sabbath, the handcarters took down their tents and moved ten miles, camping near the South Raccoon River. For the next two days, the Saints traveled well, apparently without complaint or dropouts, averaging about 16 miles per day over good roads. Rain forced the migrants into camp early on August 13 after a march of only six miles.

On August 14, Haven changed the routine. Normally the supply wagons followed the handcarts so that if anyone fell behind because of sickness or extreme fatigue, the teamsters could pick them up and give them a ride. But this day, Captain Haven sent the wagons ahead of the carts, thus forcing the travelers to rely more on their own power. The company traveled nearly 18 miles and camped about five o'clock. The pleased leader wrote in his journal, "all got into camp in good season."³⁹

37. Elizabeth [Sermon] Camm, "Letter" written to her children, 3/16/1892, LDS Church Archives.

38. The Kirkman family—Robert, his wife, Mary, and their six sons—likely left the Haven company at or near Adel but later joined the Martin company.

39. Haven, Diary, 8/14/1856.

Despite a delay to fix broken carts, the Haven company covered 18 miles again the next day. The 21-mile trek of August 16 was made in two parts: 14 miles to Silver Creek, then “tea” and rest, followed by another 7 miles to Keg Creek, where the company camped. While at Keg Creek on Sunday, August 17, an unidentified woman gave birth to a son. At five o’clock that afternoon, the handcarters hitched up and pulled 10 miles to Mosquito Creek, not arriving there until nearly 10 p.m.

On August 18, the company passed through Council Bluffs. Captain Haven made no mention of any trouble there. Outside of town a couple of miles, a teamster turned over one of the supply wagons while crossing a bridge. In the accident an older woman was hurt, but no bones were broken. The line of carts pushed north to the ferry that crossed the Missouri River. They camped for the night and the next day ferried across to Florence, where they camped and waited for the Martin company. After Martin’s arrival at Florence, church emigration agents there relieved Haven of his command and placed the members of his company under Captain Martin’s direction.⁴⁰

Despite hunger, hardship, and the fact that they were too late to be crossing the Plains safely, the members of the company were eager to finish what they had begun. An example of such commitment was Thomas Durham of Haven’s company. The offer of a job at the steam ferry across the Missouri River could not entice Durham to give up the journey to Utah Territory that season. Durham remembered the incident: “Met James Bradshaw the captain of the steam ferry boat across the Missouri River. Took us in and treated us like his own. Wanted me to stay with him through the winter and he would fit me up with a team in the spring to cross the Plains with. He said it was too late to cross the Plains that season.” But Durham chose to ignore the warning and turned down the proposal. He would take his chances with the others of the Martin company when the two companies merged.⁴¹

40. Jesse Haven finished the journey west that fall with the Hodgetts wagon company, a Mormon wagon train that traveled near the Martin Company.

41. Thomas Durham, *Reminiscence*, ed. G. Homer Durham, typescript, LDS Church Archives, 15.

Heber Robert McBride, a 14-year-old boy in 1856, later summed up his passage with the Haven company across Iowa: "nothing of intrest only hard work."⁴² A 15-year-old lad in the company, Aaron Giles, who experienced hunger and sickness along with hard work, complained:

we had our Raitions served out to us which was very little. The 2 sisters never gave me vitules enough. and never gave me my full Raitions of provision. . . . They never gave me enough to keep my up [*sic*] before I had got halfway from Iowa City to Council Bluffs I took sick with a very bad Cold which brought on the ague fever. . . . I had to work and travell all the time I was sick which was a hard trial.⁴³

Although Giles's case is remarkable, it demonstrates challenges involved with handcart travel and the restrictions of its lean budget. The hardships of the trek across Iowa tested the Saints in the Haven company, but most, even some of those who gave up temporarily in Iowa, maintained their commitment. After a few days' rest in Florence they were ready to willingly pursue the journey across the Plains and mountains to Salt Lake Valley with the Martin company.

RECORDS left by members of the Martin company chronicling their Iowa crossing are abundant and rich in detail, but only a brief summary is necessary for this composite narrative.⁴⁴ A

42. Heber Robert McBride, "Reminiscence," BYU Library.

43. Aaron Giles to [Mr. and Mrs. Barnet Giles], 12/3/1856, Brigham Young Papers, Incoming Correspondence, LDS Church Archives. Aaron Giles wrote the letter from Fort Leavenworth to his parents in Somerset, England, who in turn sent a copy to Orson Pratt, president of the LDS church's British Mission in 1857. Pratt forwarded the copy to Brigham Young. Aaron Giles traveled without parents or siblings from England and was assigned to help two women pull a handcart. Because he felt mistreated, he left the women and drew his rations with another man. Giles experienced many difficulties traveling across Iowa and Nebraska Territory and dropped out about a hundred miles east of Fort Laramie. Some U.S. soldiers found and took care of him.

44. Diaries and journals are as follows: Joseph Beecroft, Journal, LDS Church Archives (Beecroft's 1856 journal is wonderfully detailed; unfortunately, the information about the Martin Handcart Company ends when illness caused Beecroft to quit the company at Des Moines on August 14, 1856); John Jaques, Diary (edited by his great-granddaughter), in Stella Jaques Bell, *Life History and*



This C. C. A. Christensen painting, "Handcart Company," depicts a Mormon handcart company crossing a stream, possibly in Iowa. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art, Salt Lake City.

main focus here will be on this company's interaction with the people of Iowa as they traveled. The places, terrain, heat, dust, rain, hunger, sickness, occasional deaths, and terrible fatigue were much the same as experienced by the Willie and Haven handcart companies.

Starting on July 25, the 300 or so people assigned to Captain Martin made a series of little moves over the next several days. Years later Albert Jones wrote delightfully of the first creek crossing after leaving the camp near Iowa City. A spry 50-year-

Writings of John Jaques (Rexburg, ID, 1978), 118-27 (the holograph was lost in the flood caused by the breaking of the Teton Dam in Idaho); James Godson Bleak Sr., Diary, 1854-1860, holograph, LDS Church Archives; William Lawrence S. Binder, "Biography and Journal of William Lawrence S. Binder," photocopy in author's possession (apparently Binder copied his 1856 handcart diary into the autobiography he wrote in later years, date unknown); Samuel Openshaw, Diary, in *An Enduring Legacy*, ed. Daughters of Utah Pioneers Lesson Committee, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1981), 4:197-208. The most useful reminiscences are John Jaques, "Some Reminiscences," in *The Salt Lake Daily Herald*, 12/1/1878; and Josiah Rogerson, "Martin's Handcart Company, 1856," in *Salt Lake Herald*, 10/20/1907. Other reminiscences will be cited as they are used.

old woman from Scotland led the way for the females in the company, he remembered:

some of the Girls quite a number, were in a great quandary as to how to get over: in a twinkling this Sister had her Shoes and Stockings in her hand, with skirts tucked up daintily to her knees, was in the Creek with a hop and skip—saying “come bonny girls let me show you the way and dinna be afraid of showing your legs for I ken you will wade more than once on the journey.”⁴⁵

They were not really on their way until the afternoon of July 31, when they traveled about five to seven miles in about five hours. Sarah Loader reportedly remembered that it was “a glorious day to be on the move. It was like going to a picnic after the long tiresome wait in the heat.” It may have seemed like a picnic to Sarah, but to Joseph Beecroft it was “much labor.”⁴⁶

The next day the Martin company moved only six or so miles although they traveled from nine or ten in the morning until about seven in the evening, with a long rest at midday. Progress was slow over sandy roads, the weather intensely hot. For Beecroft it was a difficult day. He felt fatigued and faint, his shirt “quite wet with sweat.” For others who were younger or had better health or more stamina, the labor was less arduous, and high spirits and anticipation tempered the hardships of the first days. Samuel S. Jones remembered, “As we journey[ed] through Iowa with our novel conveyances we assumed somewhat of a jaunty air. The handcarts were all new and we merrily sang as we traveled along.”⁴⁷

The morning of August 2 a heavy thunderstorm hit, delaying departure and making travel over wet roads laborious, but cooler in contrast to the previous day. Then the weather turned oppressively hot again during the days that followed. The long line of exhausted handcarts stretched out on the road, the people moving at their own pace, some lagging far behind.

45. Albert Jones, *Reminiscences and Journal*, holograph, BYU Library, 38.

46. Interview with Sarah Loader Harris Holman, at age 92, regarding her handcart experiences in Ray J. Davis, *Autobiography of a School Teacher* (privately published, 1967), 99–100; Beecroft, *Journal*, 7/31/1856.

47. Beecroft, *Journal*, 8/1/1856; Samuel S. Jones, in *Provo Daily Inquirer*, 7/6/1892.

Amazed Iowans recognized the difficulty of this novel mode of travel. John Watkins recalled,

While traveling through the state of Iowa . . . the dust of harvest weather was four or five inches deep. The sun's rays poured down on our heads, the perspiration and dust streamed down our faces and got into our throats, choking us so that we could hardly breathe. We were tantalized by the people coming out of their houses to tell us, 'That is a damn hard way to serve the Lord.'⁴⁸

The Martin company camped near Marengo the night of August 3. Marengo residents visited the handcarters in their camp two or three miles southeast of town and proved as troublesome to the Martin company as they had to the other handcart groups. Joseph Beecroft noted that these strangers annoyed them and "hung after Sister Elizabeth Walker. Some were rather intoxicated and came out in a threatening attitude and with threatening language." John Jaques also noted the unfortunate incident with some local rowdies: "Two wagon loads of rough men came to our camp from Marengo with the intention of creating a disturbance, but they were unable to and went away in a short time shouting and yelling." These ruffians, according to Jaques, gave the migrants a sample of "western profanity, oaths and 'by Gods' rolling from their tongues about as frequently as other words, and with much more gusto."⁴⁹ To avoid further trouble, the Mormons took a fork in the road the next day to bypass Marengo.

The road they traveled on August 5 led through the woods. The emigrants dodged stumps that had not been removed when the road was cut. Unfortunately, the Openshaw cart ran against a stump, breaking the wheel off. The Openshaws piled their belongings in a wagon, tied up the cart and wheel with rope as best they could, and caught up with the company at Bear Creek. The road also caused another cart's axle to break.⁵⁰

48. John Watkins, reminiscence quoted by his daughter Mary A. Schaer, in *A Brief History of the Pioneer John Watkins* (privately published, undated), 24.

49. Beecroft, Journal, 8/3/1856; Jaques, Diary, 8/3/1856, in Bell, 120; Jaques, "Some Reminiscences," *Salt Lake Herald*, 12/1/1878.

50. Openshaw, Diary, 8/5/1856; Jaques, Diary, 8/5/1856, in Bell, 120-21.

Apparently men as well as carts broke down. On August 6, for instance, Samuel Openshaw felt so weak he could not pull the cart for his parents and the children; he had to switch places with his father, who normally drove a provision wagon. Joseph Beecroft felt fatigued, feverish, and in pain. Francis Webster was ill much of the way across Iowa. He remembered, "I had the diarrhea all the way from Ioway City to Florence so bad that I have sat down on the road and been administered to by the Elders and got up and pulled my hand cart with renewed vigor."⁵¹

Illness forced the Josiah Rhead family to drop out August 8 near Newton. When Rhead collapsed, the company had gone about 15 miles, and the day's travel was not yet finished. Josiah was extremely ill and exhausted, unable to walk another step. His wife, Eliza, with two children, Edward, 5, and the baby, Eliza, 1, could not possibly carry him on the family's cart. Because they were not too far from a settlement and it was absolutely impossible for Rhead to continue, the Martin company abandoned the family and took the handcart because it was church property. Edward, the boy, wrote of the experience more than 50 years later:

When about 100 miles on the way Father was taken very sick, when our handcart was taken from us and we were left on the Iowa praires with but one old tin box which contained our whole effects of food and clothing. Father was so ill that Mother had to carry him for about three or four miles on her back to the nearest town, then called Newton.

Eliza got her husband to a farmhouse, where the farmer provided him with shelter and care. A few years later when health and financial circumstances permitted, the family was able to complete their journey to Zion.⁵²

51. Openshaw, *Diary*, 8/6/1856; Beecroft, *Journal*, 8/6/1856; Francis Webster, *Reminiscences, 1848-1881*, 9, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives.

52. Edward H. Rhead to the Handcart Veterans Association, 11/21/1907, Coalville, Utah, in the Handcart Veterans Scrapbook, LDS Church Archives. Additional Rhead family records are in the Silas LeRoy Collection, BYU Library. From these accounts it seems that the Rhead family was with Edward Martin's company. No contemporary complete list of names is extant for either company, making it impossible to say precisely who was in which company in Iowa, although many names can be ascertained in various pieces of evidence in extant documents such as this letter.

Josiah Rogerson remembered people from Newton visiting the Martin company camp a couple of miles beyond Newton. "They came to our camp and entreated of us earnestly and sincerely not to go any farther on account of the lateness of the season, and seemed to be very anxious in wanting us to stop. That they could and wood furnish us employment for a number of our able bodied men, etc., but we were westward bound, and none stopped."⁵³

Despite the great faith and determination of nearly all in the Martin company, there were some dropouts who felt handcart travel was not for them. Twelve-year-old Zachary Robinson was one. After listening to the enticements of a rich man on the road during a rest break, Zachary was "decoyed" away. The man was taking a large machine to where he lived farther west and likely offered the boy a job. Zachary disappeared. Early the next morning, August 9, his father, George Robinson, refusing to leave his youngest son, left his family and set out searching for him. Although he later found the boy, neither the father nor the son went on to Utah. The mother, Margaret, and their two daughters continued west with Captain Martin's company.⁵⁴

The company experienced its first recorded deaths since leaving the Iowa City campground as it camped by the South Skunk River. Daniel Normington, aged one year and eight months, perished of diarrhea on August 10. The next morning John Wright, 42, died of ague and fever and was buried at the same camp.⁵⁵

William Binder described the company's reception at Des Moines on August 12: "while crossing the river the inhabitants ridicule our Mode of travel and made some very unkind remarks about us. But we gave them to understand that we were fulfilling the commandments of God and while they scoffed the saints rejoiced."⁵⁶ However, the Beecroft family received kind treatment there when they found it impossible to continue their journey.

53. Rogerson, "Martin Handcart Company, 1856."

54. Beecroft, Journal, 8/9/1856. Beecroft calls the lad Zachary, although the passenger list from the ship *Horizon* says George Robinson, like his father.

55. Binder, Journal, 8/10-11/1856; John Jaques' list of deaths in Bell, 306. Jaques inadvertently lists both deaths as August 12.

56. Binder, Journal, 8/12/1856.

After leaving Iowa City in July, Joseph Beecroft grew increasingly weak, his journal chronicling his sufferings and decline. He became ill, the symptoms indicating severe ague or malaria. With each day his struggle to keep going became harder. As the Martin company neared Des Moines, Beecroft was too weak to pull his cart. Men attached his cart to a wagon, and Joseph tried walking, but staying on his feet became impossible. One of the leaders ordered him into a wagon to ride. About ten o'clock the company entered Des Moines. Beecroft, a bit rested and hoping to purchase in town some medicinal gin to ease his malady, had walked with his son ahead of the main party. He left his son and hurried off to find a liquor shop, giving his son instructions to tell his wife and the teamster to stop and wait for him. The boy gave the message to his mother, but failed to tell the teamster, so the company moved on through town without him.

Near total collapse and realizing that it was impossible for him to go on, Joseph Beecroft resolved not to leave Des Moines until he felt better. Reunited with his wife and son and in horrible pain, he sat down in a wood yard and left himself and his family in God's hands. A number of curious people stopped and asked questions, but none gave assistance. The situation seemed gloomy. Rather than stay outdoors all night, Joseph's wife and son went in search of lodgings. A kind-hearted man, Tudor Beall, gave Joseph and his family accommodations and would not accept money for either food or lodging. Some of Beall's servants protested against taking care of Mormons, but the good man and his wife told them they could quit, but the Mormons were staying. Some men from the Martin company came back with a cart for Joseph, but his wife informed them that he was too sick to be moved. Understanding the situation, they left their blessing and returned to the company. The Beecrofts' personal possessions were left at a post office four miles beyond Des Moines.

The family stayed in the city. Joseph slept until noon, but remained sick with diarrhea, shivering, pain in his limbs, and extreme weakness. Their kind benefactor provided them with a house, food, and medical attention during Joseph's recuperation. Within a few years, the Beecroft family was able to finish the

trek to Utah Territory, but with oxen and a wagon instead of a handcart.⁵⁷

Before reaching the town of Adel on August 14, the Martin company forded the North Raccoon River, which was about 20 inches deep.⁵⁸ Stream and river fordings, such as this one, supplied the ruder residents along the handcarters' route through Iowa an opportunity to ridicule the migrants. Crossing streams was anything but pleasant for women in long skirts and petticoats. Yet cross them they must, and frequently. Modesty was compromised in the process. Such a show was quite interesting and amusing for some male settlers scattered across Iowa. John Watkins wrote in disgust of such "young hoodlums," who would "go ahead of the company to the next river or creek to ridicule our wives and daughters who had to raise their dresses out of the water to wade the streams as there were not many bridges in those days."⁵⁹

The Martin company picked up the Kirkman family at Adel.⁶⁰ Robert Kirkman, his wife, Mary, and their six young sons, the youngest born at the Iowa City camp, had dropped out of the Haven company and were at Adel when the Martin company passed there several days later. After being encouraged by members of the Martin company to join them, Robert Kirkman decided that his family would finish the long trek to Zion that season despite their misgivings. John, one of the sons, later recalled, "My Father had been offered a position for the Winter so decided to stay in Iowa until the Spring, but the Saints came so many times to see my parents and urge them to travel

57. Beecroft, Journal, 8/12/1856. The first journal entry to indicate Joseph Beecroft's illness was August 1. From that time, the entries record in detail his increasingly debilitating condition. Beecroft, when well enough, continued to keep a journal after his decision to remain in Des Moines, allowing researchers to follow his story.

58. Openshaw, Diary, 8/14/1856; Binder, Journal, 8/14/1856. The Martin company negotiated two major river crossings that day, the North and South Raccoon. Although all had to walk through the North Raccoon River, men dragged the carts across the South Raccoon while the women and children crossed on a footbridge.

59. John Watkins, quoted in Schaer, *Brief History of the Pioneer John Watkins*, 24.

60. Openshaw, Diary, 8/14/1856. The transcript of the journal spells the family name as Thirkman rather than Kirkman.

with them, so after talking it over with Mother he said, 'Well, we'll go with them live or die.'" As it turned out, Robert and his infant son did die, both on the same night in November at one of the Martin company's camps in the Sweetwater Valley after leaving Martin's Cove in what is today Wyoming. They were buried together, the baby cradled in his father's arms. Mary and their five other sons, one of whom had badly frozen feet that impaired him for life, made it to Utah Territory.⁶¹

The sixteenth day of August presented a new trial – too little water. During the three previous weeks, too much water had often been a problem, with sudden rainstorms or many streams to cross. But this day there was no water to quench their thirst or cool them. Covering 17 miles in about 6–7 hours, the handcart brigade traveled through dry, sparsely settled country. They could carry only a little drinking water, and that was soon used up. James Bleak tersely recorded, "Travelled all day without water," and Samuel Openshaw complained, "The day being hot we felt the want of water." The handcarters finally refreshed themselves when they camped west of Mud River, not far from the little town of Dalmanutha (now a ghost town).⁶²

As time was running out on them, the Martin company rushed toward the Missouri River, covering more than 17 miles on August 17. Samuel Openshaw noted that they "travelled all day without seeing an house or even a tree except a few at a distance, nothing but prairie grass to be seen."⁶³ Water was again scarce, except for the drenching thunderstorm that hit them that afternoon almost immediately after they pitched their tents on Turkey Creek near Morrison Grove.

During each of the next few days the company pushed grueling, long distances in excess of 20 miles. Illness and physical strains increased. Langley Bailey became seriously ill, likely in

61. John Kirkman, in his biography of his mother, Mary Lawson Kirkman, in *Pioneer Histories, Camp Springville* (1936), 1:157–60, located in the Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, Springville, Utah. A slightly variant version is John Kirkman's "Sketch of the Lives of Robert Kirkman and Mary Lawson Kirkman and Family," read by him at a Springville Daughters of Utah Pioneers meeting, 3/13/1930 (and now held by the museum).

62. Bleak, *Diary*, 8/16/1856; Openshaw, *Journal*, 8/16/1856; Binder, *Journal*, 8/16/1856; and Jaques, *Diary*, 8/16/1856.

63. Openshaw, *Diary*, 8/17/1856.

western Iowa, although his reminiscence does not name a specific place. He recalled, "This mode of travel proved too much for me. I was taken down with hemerage of the bowels. I was unable to walk, had to be hauled on Bro. Isaac J. Wardle and my brother's cart." In painful agony he bounced along the trail in a cart by day and groaned in his bedding at night.⁶⁴

The Samuel and Elizabeth Read family became separated at the Keg Creek camp in southwestern Iowa, August 20–21. Walter, their eight-year-old son, disappeared. Not until much later would his parents learn what happened. Lured by the tempting offer of a pony, Walter ran away with two men to work on their farm. Elizabeth and Samuel, not knowing what had become of their son, decided that Samuel and their older son, 14-year-old Samuel Milford, should remain in Iowa to search for Walter. Elizabeth and the two daughters, Thisbe, 9, and Alicia, 15, would go on with the company. The couple hoped that the missing boy would soon be found and Samuel and both boys would catch up. Unfortunately, they did not. George eventually tracked down and retrieved his stray child, but the search took months. Meanwhile, the older son became separated from his father. The family was at last reunited in Utah Territory, but only after several years and a number of trips across the Plains, in both directions, by various family members.⁶⁵

With instructions from their captains to keep close together, the members of the Martin company passed through Council Bluffs the afternoon of August 21, apparently without incident. The emigrants traveled north up Pigeon Creek seven or so miles and encamped at "Missouri bottom."⁶⁶ The next morning they tugged their carts the last four miles west on a sandy road to the ferry that crossed the Missouri River to Florence. The crossing took six hours to complete.

64. Langley Allgood Bailey, *Reminiscences and journal*, ca. 1920–1929, 5, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives.

65. "Walter Pyrimus Read," and "Alicia Read Arnold," in Andrew Jenson, comp., *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (1901–1936), 2:493, 494; May S. Arnold, "Samuel Read Family," in Carter, ed., *Heart Throbs of the West*, 6:370; Elizabeth Read Black, "Samuel George Read and Family," *ibid.*, 5:269.

66. Josiah Rogerson, "Martin Handcart Company, 1856," *Salt Lake Herald*, 10/20/1907.

While waiting his turn, Samuel Openshaw climbed a hill and reflected on the journey across Iowa:

Every place we came through we were admired by the people very much, some looked upon us as if we were divine; others, who were old apostates, came with all the subtlety of the devil and all the cunning gained by their own experience, trying to turn the Saints to the right hand or to the left, but thanks be to God, but few or none adhered to their advice.⁶⁷

With their arrival at Florence on August 22, Iowa was behind them. Josiah Rogerson later summed up the first segment of the long handcart road to Zion: "Nothing of any great consequence occurred on this trial trip of our handcarts, and ourselves, except that we had some excessive hot weather, very dusty and badly cut up roads and [some] deaths occurring." Completing that portion of their long journey to their Zion required physical and emotional stamina. John Jaques called the work of pushing and pulling handcarts a "killing business." Some, like Jaques, found pulling handcarts from Iowa City to Florence a trial of endurance, but Isaac Wardell, then 21 years old, later opined, "We did not have difficulty on the road."⁶⁸ Despite his assessment, the emigrants had endured hardships. Some got stronger and grew accustomed to the work as they went; a few became sick, so sick they had to end their journey in Iowa, either because of death or total inability to travel. A small minority, particularly young boys, grew discouraged with the drudgery and the lack of sufficient food and dropped out. However, the vast majority overcame the personal discomforts and trials inherent in handcart travel.

They ignored the ridicule, warnings, and advice of the local residents along the road, and kept walking west. Samuel S. Jones remembered words of sympathy and caution from the Iowans: "As we passed through the different towns in the state of Iowa till we came to Council Bluffs, the inhabitants would come out and look wonderingly at the novelty of the spectacle

67. Openshaw, *Diary*, 8/22/1856.

68. Josiah Rogerson, *Autobiography*, in "Autobiographical Sketches of Beaver Residents," LDS Church Archives, 23; John Jaques, "Some Reminiscences," *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, 1/19/1879; Isaac Wardle, *Autobiography*, typescript, in Ray Olsen, "Family Histories," BYU Library.

we presented and in many cases plead with us not to go on, urging two important arguments: first, we were too late in starting; second, our conveyances were too frail for the journey. But in no case thus far were their arguments of any avail; the watchword was onward."⁶⁹ Except for a very few cases, extreme illness seems to have been the only thing that could convince Martin's Zion-bound travelers to give up the journey.

AFTER HEARING of the handcart companies' arrivals in Florence, Apostle John Taylor, president of the church's Eastern States Mission, expressed his feelings about the handcart plan:

It is exceedingly gratifying for us to learn that the hand-cart system is so successful, and that the parties engaged in it are in such good health and spirits. . . . We had, as we expressed at first, considerable apprehensions as to the feasibility of so many women and children adopting this mode of transit, and the principal relief, to our mind, was, that in the event of sickness, weakness, or any other impediment, they would, for the first part of their journey, be in the neighborhood of inhabitants, where they could either rest or stay, according to circumstances; and we considered that as the distance from Iowa City to the city of Florence . . . was about 260 or 270 miles . . . they would have fairly tested their strength and the applicability of the hand-cart system, as it was our opinion that this would be the heaviest part of their journey. We are, therefore, exceedingly glad to find that they are succeeding so well, and are in the enjoyment of such good health and spirits.⁷⁰

Most of the members of the Willie, Haven, and Martin companies chose to stay the course to Utah by handcart; but some, weighing their individual and personal circumstances, decided to stop in Iowa or Nebraska until they could better finish the journey. About a fifth of the Willie company either dropped out in Iowa or chose to stay at Florence. Several from the Haven and Martin companies left those companies during the Iowa crossing. Those who stayed behind, including ones who had legitimate

69. Samuel S. Jones, July 24 celebration speech, recorded in the *Provo Daily Enquirer*, 7/26/1892.

70. John Taylor, "Hand-Card Emigration," *The Mormon*, 9/13/1856.

reasons for doing so, received some heavy criticism and censure for their choice. However, Apostle Taylor understood their reasoning and accepted their choice to wait for another opportunity to finish what they had started:

We see by some remarks of our correspondence a disposition to reflect upon those who have tarried; this may be correct, in some instances, but it is not well, in such cases, to be too censorious; all men and women do not possess the powers of endurance alike; and where people find their bodily strength give way, we should not blame them for tarrying, they have a legitimate reason for so doing.

We are told, indeed, to hasten to the mountains as fast as circumstances will admit; but we are not told, at present, "to tarry not in all the plains lest we be consumed." We therefore say to those whose circumstances or lack of bodily strength may have constrained to tarry for a while: Attend to your duties, fear your God, and live your religion, and in due time you shall go to Zion; and all shall be well with you; for although it is exceedingly pleasant to be swift in the race, and strong in battle, yet, the "race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong."⁷¹

When the handcart companies ferried across the Missouri River, they completed their trial run across Iowa. Most of the migrants had finished it successfully, some had not, but the Iowa trek was now part of each one's history. James Loynd, summing up the trial run as a learning experience, later wrote, "The emigrants learned many lessons regarding this mode of travel which were of great value to them later when they were hundreds of miles from civilization."⁷² They learned to cope with pulling handcarts over many kinds of terrain and to repair the carts when they broke down. They learned to bear the burdens of hunger, exhaustion, sickness, and unpleasant weather. They developed the strength, stamina, and willpower to keep going, or they realized their limitations and quit.

Although some Iowa residents harassed and ridiculed the emigrants, many others treated them with kindness, generosity, and sincere concern. But now the taunts, the advice, and the kind-hearted acts of the Iowans were behind them. Once on the west side of the Missouri, the Mormon handcart pushers and pullers

71. Ibid.

72. James Loynd, "Account," 11/28/1926, LDS Church Archives.

pullers were no longer rehearsing for the big trek across the Plains to Zion. Ready or not, the thousand-mile journey stretched out before them, and they were running out of time. Real drama lay ahead in the seemingly endless, empty miles of Nebraska and in the wretchedly frigid winds and snow of Wyoming.⁷³ Despite the hardships, the hunger, the sickness, and the sweat and toil of crossing Iowa, the trial run was mild compared to the trials they had yet to face and endure, as more than 200 of them would die before the Willie and Martin companies, aided by rescuers, finally reached Zion.

73. In 1856 the states of Nebraska and Wyoming did not exist. Nebraska Territory stretched far into the present state of Wyoming from the east. Parts of western Wyoming were in Oregon and Utah territories.

Faint Footsteps of 1856–57 Retraced: The Location of the Iowa Mormon Handcart Route

STEVEN F. FAUX

THE YEAR 2006 marks the sesquicentennial of the Mormon handcart pioneers who walked across Iowa on their way to Salt Lake City via the Oregon/Mormon Trail. These handcart pioneers totaled about 3,000 individuals divided among ten main companies. Seven of these companies departed from Iowa City, pulling or pushing their belongings across Iowa roads in 1856 and 1857.¹ The mode of transportation, along with late depar-

This article began as a consuming effort of ten undergraduate honors students (Tracy Bainter, Shannon Dale, Melissa Farren, Jackie Gardner, Angela Grippo, Nick Hillyard, Sheila McCoy, Jeff Nelson, Rob Vincent, and Rose Winkeler) and myself as instructor in a course at Drake University titled "On the Mormon Trail: 1830–1857." Although the class covered general topics in early Mormon history, it concentrated on the handcart trek for a full semester. This article, however, is the culmination of my own research, writing, and conclusions. The primary historical accounts were ten diaries selected for the project by Melvin Bashore of the Latter-day Saint Historical Department in Salt Lake City. His selections were based on those diaries that contained geographical details on the Iowa portion of the handcart experience. I thank him for recommending these indispensable sources. I am also grateful to Don Smith of Pullman, Washington, for providing some initial information on trail locations and commenting on an early version of the paper. Jim Leonardo of Cowles Library at Drake University helped identify appropriate cartographic materials. Frank Meyer of Stuart, Iowa, provided invaluable assistance with mapping the trail between Morrisburg and Dalmanutha in Guthrie County.

1. Details about the seven Iowa handcart companies, number of people in groups, and departure dates from Iowa City in 1856 and 1857 can be found in LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion: The Story of a Unique Western Migration, 1856–1860* (1960; reprint, Lincoln, NE, 1992) and in earlier

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ture dates, resulted in some of the worst casualties along the overland trail.² Perhaps because the most terrible tragedies occurred outside of the state, the location of the Iowa route has tended to be neglected in the literature. This article will document the location of the handcart route in Iowa using Mormon diaries and contemporaneous maps.

All Iowa handcart companies took the same basic route across the state. Although the handcart route merged with the well-known Brigham Young trail of 1846 in Cass County (see appendix), the two routes were distinct across most of the state. Signposts now identify as a "National Historic Trail" many portions of the Brigham Young trail, marking the exodus of Mormons in covered wagons across southern Iowa from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the Missouri River in 1846.³ Less well described and unmarked is the route of the Mormon handcart pioneers in 1856 and 1857, beginning in Iowa City and going through or near Marengo, Grinnell, Newton, Des Moines, Adel, Lewis, and Council Bluffs.

Iowa historians have long had an interest in the handcart experience, yielding many worthy sources.⁴ However, pub-

articles in this issue of the *Annals of Iowa*. The remaining three companies departed from Florence, Nebraska, in 1859 and 1860. For a summary of basic data about the ten companies, see the table in William Hartley's article in this issue.

2. See Rebecca Bartholomew and Leonard J. Arrington, *Rescue of the 1856 Handcart Companies* (Provo, UT, 1993); Lyndia McDowell Carter, "The Mormon Handcart Companies," *Overland Journal* 13 (1995), 4-18; and D. K. Grayson, "Human Mortality in a Natural Disaster: The Willie Handcart Company," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 52 (1996), 185-205.

3. Stanley B. Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails* (Urbana and Chicago, 1988), concentrates on the Brigham Young trail in southern Iowa and beyond, but it has a good chapter on the handcart trail. William G. Hartley, "Mormons and Early Iowa History (1838 to 1858)," *Annals of Iowa* 59 (2000), 217-60, provides a well-rounded survey of early Mormons in Iowa.

4. Standard references include Ruth A. Gallaher, "The Handcart Expeditions," *Palimpsest* 3 (1922), 214-26; Edgar R. Harlan, "First Mormon Handcart Trip across Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* 20 (1936), 444-49, which contains the camp journal of the Ellsworth handcart company kept by Andrew Galloway, 6/9-7/9/1856, with annotations about trail locations, including a comment that Harlan spent two weeks with prominent Mormon historian Andrew Jensen in 1925 relocating the trail on site; and William J. Petersen, "The Handcart Expeditions: 1856," *Palimpsest* 47 (1966), 368-84, an excellent introduction to the Iowa handcart trail by a noted historian of Iowa. Also covering the handcarts was Wallace

lished maps of the route from these sources are vague about location, usually showing only five or six cities that the route intersected. Moreover, the handcart route has never been systematically described in the context of nineteenth-century maps. With historical organizations such as the Iowa Mormon Trails Association interested in marking the route, it is important to document known locations.⁵

THE HANDCART PIONEERS took existing state roads when possible, always trying to travel on the high ground to stay out of the mud. However, the roads would keep them near enough to rivers (low ground) where their few animals could be watered and feed would be available. The handcart companies averaged about 15 miles per day. Much of their trail between Iowa City and Council Bluffs is located roughly on or near U.S. Highway 6.⁶ However, diary materials and period maps give important geographic details (see appendix), allowing for a reasonably accurate reconstruction of the trail's location (see figs. 1-10).

The Iowa handcart pioneers followed a well-used route across the state that stretched from the Mississippi River to the Missouri. Mary Alice Shutes, who made her way along the road in 1862, called it "the main State Road."⁷ Legislative enactments from 1845 to 1856 make it clear that the road the handcart pioneers used was developed during those years. For example, the

Stegner's classic, *The Gathering of Zion* (1964; reprint, Lincoln, NE, 1981), which was partly inspired by his having lived in both Iowa and Utah. The most widely cited reference for study of the handcarts is the Hafens' *Handcarts to Zion*, which contains a fair amount of material on Iowa.

5. See, for example, "IMTA to Assist Handcart Trail Development," *Wheel Writes: Newsletter for the Iowa Mormon Trails Association* 5 (Winter 1998).

6. A reasonable automobile tour of some major sites along the Iowa handcart route is given in William G. Hartley and A. Gary Anderson, ed., *Sacred Places: Iowa and Nebraska, A Comprehensive Guide to Early LDS Historical Sites* (Salt Lake City, 2006).

7. Glenda Riley, ed., "Pioneer Migration: The Diary of Mary Alice Shutes, Part II," *Annals of Iowa* 43 (1977), 567-92. According to Johnson Brigham, *History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1911), 1:99, "the State road to Council Bluffs was one of the principal feeders for the trail which began at the Bluffs."

territorial legislature of 1845 approved an act "to lay out and establish a territorial road, commencing at Iowa City, and running thence west, by the old trading house [Nine-Mile House], to Marengo in Iowa county; and thence through the counties of Poweshiek and Jasper, to Fort Desmoines [*sic*], in Polk county."⁸ Prospectors took that road during the California gold rush and Pike's Peak fever, and it probably played a role in Iowa's Underground Railroad during the late 1850s and early 1860s.⁹ The handcart route was also a main stage road.¹⁰ Thus, the significance of the handcart route goes well beyond Mormon history.

8. *Laws of Iowa: Territorial Legislature of Iowa, 1840-1846*, 701. Most other components of the road were authorized between 1849 and 1856 and are documented in *Laws of Iowa* for those years.

9. Theo. C. Ressler, "Across Iowa in 'Forty-nine,'" *Palimpsest* 55 (1974), 2-17. See also Kenneth F. Millsap, ed., "Romanzo Kingman's Pike's Peak Journal, 1859," *Iowa Journal of History* 48 (1950), 55-85. In the spring of 1859 Kingman passed through the following handcart route locations: Amana, Brooklyn, Newton, Des Moines, Adel, Morrisburg, and Dalmanutha. Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1898), is still probably the best overall analysis of the Underground Railroad. Charles E. Smith gives a detailed analysis of roadways in "The Underground Railroad in Iowa" (M.A. thesis, Northeast Missouri State College, 1971). See his map 9, p. 128. See also Curtis Harnack, "The Iowa Underground Railroad," *Iowan* 4 (1956), 20-23, 44, 47; and G. Galin Berrier, "The Underground Railroad in Iowa," in *Outside In: African-American History in Iowa, 1838-2000*, ed. Bill Silag et al. (2001), 44-49. William Houlette, *Iowa: The Pioneer Heritage* (Des Moines, 1970), 140-42, describes how fugitive slaves in the 1850s were taken from Tabor to Hastings, Macedonia, Lewis, Dalmanutha, and Apple Grove. Jacob Van Ek, "Underground Railroad in Iowa," *Palimpsest* 2 (1921), 130, describes how the "main line entered the State in its southwest corner near Tabor, passed through the towns of Lewis, Des Moines, Grinnell, Iowa City, West Liberty, Tipton, De Witt, and Low Moor, and crossed the Mississippi River at Clinton." Reported way stations on the Iowa Underground Railroad include the George B. Hitchcock home in Lewis, the Isaac Brandt and James Jordan homes in Des Moines, and the J. B. Grinnell home in Grinnell. For a map and descriptions of the Underground Railroad route through Iowa, see James Connor, "The Anti-slavery Movement in Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* 40 (1970), 465-78.

10. See stage stops listed in Nathan Howe Parker, *Iowa as It Is in 1855* (Chicago, 1856), 100. Parker's is the best contemporaneous description of Iowa when the handcarts crossed the state. He lists the following stage stops from Davenport to Council Bluffs in order (with mile distance in parentheses): Muscatine (30), Iowa City (33), Marengo (26), Sugar Grove (46), Newton (20), Keith's (19), Ft. Des Moines (14), Adel (24), Panther Creek (5), Bear Grove (22), Indian Grove (11), Nishnabottanny (15), Pleasant Spring (9), Indiantown (4), Walnut Creek (5), West Nishnabottanny (15), Silver Creek (13), Keg Creek (6), and Council Bluffs (10).

Despite broad public use of the road, Mormon links to the road endured for some time after the handcart passage. For example, when non-Mormon Mary Alice Shutes was in Coralville on her way across much of the state in 1862, she wrote, "We are told . . . [Mormons] started their handcart trip to Utah from here"; and from Des Moines, "We followed what we were told was the old Mormon trail of 1856."¹¹ Apparently, then, by 1862, just six years after the first handcart company passed across Iowa, local inhabitants had already begun to name the road after the Mormons. The reputation of Mormons and their unique mode of travel placed an enduring stamp on a pre-existing road.

The major locations along the Iowa handcart trail form a recognizable road system, known to historians.¹² Yet the trail has never been mapped with any precision. Using ten handcart diaries I have identified 48 documented locations or landmarks along this trail (see appendix). These locations combined with the well-known 1875 Andreas county maps of Iowa (and other noted contemporaneous maps) allow a reasonable retracing of the handcart route. Figures 1 through 10 (except fig. 6) are digitally revised maps from the Andreas atlas, indicating major locations and the probable course of the trail.¹³

These trail maps should be studied in conjunction with the locations and diary sources given in the appendix. Trail connections between locations are the most likely paths based on careful study of the handcart diaries and period maps. Connections between locations in the appendix were most often based on the main roads in the 1875 Andreas atlas, which was created 19 years after the handcart period.

BEGINNING IN IOWA CITY (Johnson County), the handcart trail went through Coralville and Oxford (fig. 1). In Iowa County it continued through Homestead, South Amana, and

11. "Diary of Mary Alice Shutes," 575, 583.

12. See, for example, Harlan, "First Mormon Handcart Trip across Iowa"; Har-nack, "The Iowa Underground Railroad"; and Ressler, "Across Iowa in 'Forty-nine.'"

13. Maps were digitized from A. T. Andreas' *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago, 1875). The digital revisions include adding a line to represent the handcart trail and removing indications of railroad tracks, which could be confused with the trail.

curved just south of Marengo (fig. 2). Going southwest, the trail continued along Little Bear Creek. In Poweshiek County it went just south of present-day Brooklyn, continuing to Malcom and a stage station, Westfield, that was in the southern portion of Grinnell Township (fig. 3). The handcart Mormons entered Jasper County through the southern portion of Rock Creek Township, then continued west directly through Newton and through present-day Colfax (fig. 4). In Polk County they took a southerly turn through a location known by locals as "Mitchell's" Apple Grove, and then through Rising Sun and Des Moines (fig. 5). In Des Moines they probably passed by the future location of Drake University (fig. 6 and appendix under Fort Des Moines, location 25). Outside of Des Moines in Dallas County they took the old State Highway, now U.S. Highway 6, to Adel and then to Wiscotta, south of present-day Redfield (fig. 7).

Some understandable confusion has arisen about handcart locations in Guthrie County (fig. 8). Some historians have proposed that there were two main stage routes from Morrisburg: a northerly route to Bear Grove Post Office in Bear Grove Township or a more direct southerly route that passed through Dalmanutha in Thompson Township (see appendix).¹⁴ The confusion exists because two sites in Guthrie County went by the name "Bear Grove": Bear Grove Post Office and Bear Grove Station (also Bear Station or Gopher Station), the latter being near Dalmanutha. The handcart diaries do not clarify the situation, referring to either Bear Station or Dalmanutha, as if separate routes were taken. Since Bear Station and Dalmanutha were very near each other (fig. 8, locations 33 and 34), the companies were likely to stop at one and not the other, and thus record one and not the other.¹⁵ The appendix provides strong evidence that there was a single road, the southern route through Dalmanutha (appendix, location 33).

14. See, for example, Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails*, 43–44.

15. For example, the first handcart company of Capt. Edmund Ellsworth (see Harlan, "First Mormon Handcart Trip across Iowa," 447) recorded "Bear Station" but not Dalmanutha; the fifth company of Capt. Edward Martin (see the John Jaques diary, 8/16/1856, in Stella Jaques Bell, *Life History and Writings of John Jaques* [Rexburg, ID, 1978]), recorded the reverse.

In Cass County the handcart Mormons took a southwesterly trajectory along Turkey Creek, passing through what they referred to as "Morrison's," but what was officially Lura, a settlement near present-day Anita (see appendix and fig. 9). A diary account mentioned camping at "Turkey Grove," which would place the handcart pioneers in Grove City near present-day Atlantic (see appendix). At Lewis and Indiantown the handcart Mormons would have met up with Brigham Young's 1846 Mormon trail. Over that portion of the trail they passed through the southern end of Pottawattamie County to Council Bluffs and the Missouri River (fig. 10).

THEO. RESSLER argues that if gold-seekers in Iowa City asked how to get to Des Moines they would be told, "Follow the wagon tracks. They'll take you to . . . Marengo, . . . Newton and Fort Des Moines."¹⁶ Major roadways were fairly well established across Iowa by 1856, but it would have been easy to get lost or to take a wrong turn. The handcart Mormons must have had maps, although we do not know which ones.¹⁷ The handcart diaries surveyed in this study indicate that the diarists had a good knowledge of Iowa geography; they were very accurate in identifying counties, cities, and creeks. Occasionally, the pioneers would mention specific map coordinates in terms of township, range, and section. If not from maps, the pioneers may have known their location from newly planted survey stakes, signs, or local settlers.

In 1855 Nathan Howe Parker provided a picturesque but diplomatically worded description of the state during the time of the handcart crossing. He described Iowa as "*not flat*, but [it] exhibit[s] a gracefully waving surface, swelling and sinking with easy, graceful slopes, . . . avoiding . . . the interruption of abrupt or angular elevations." The handcart Mormons had their own views of the Iowa surface. In the summer of 1856 Peter Madsen described the roads near Iowa City as "hole filled" with "no improvements, and one drives where best he can through

16. Ressler, "Across Iowa in Forty-nine," 9.

17. D. J. Fox, *Checklist of Printed Maps of the Middle West to 1900*, vol. 8, *Iowa* (Boston, 1981), provides a nearly comprehensive list of maps available in 1856–1857.

fertile hills and plains." Andrew Galloway described the roads as "rough," "dusty," and "hilly." The term "rolling prairie" had added significance to the handcart pioneer, as he or she pulled a cart up a hill, only to be pushed forward by the weight of the cart on the way back down. William Woodward described the effect this way: "We ascended a steep hill & rolled on our way."¹⁸

LAUNCHING THEIR TREK from Iowa City, the Mormon handcart pioneers sought a religious utopia, a Zion, in their journey to Salt Lake City. The overall handcart experience was significant because of the associated casualties, the faith-driven motivation of the pioneers, and the social prejudice that the handcart Mormons sometimes experienced.¹⁹ But what made the Iowa portion of the handcart route distinctive and important? Iowa was not the scene of great tragedies, nor was it a long segment of the trip. The Iowa route was significant by virtue of its geography. The well-used Iowa road taken by the handcart Mormons was a last stretch of civilization where multiple settlements could be encountered near any segment of the route. Iowans must have viewed handcart Mormons leaving Iowa as also leaving their senses. Iowa's physical and psychological challenges required the handcart Mormons either to reaffirm or to recant their quest for "Zion." Impressively, most endured each challenge.

Thousands of pioneers took the same road as the handcart Mormons. The handcart route was a main stage road used by many "Forty-niners" during the gold rush, and it probably played a role in the Iowa Underground Railroad. In a way, the road was all about rushing—a rush to Zion, a rush to riches, or a rush to freedom.

18. Parker, *Iowa as It Is in 1855*, 25–26; Peter Madsen, Diary, 7/18/1856, typescript, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City; Andrew Galloway, Diary, 6/23/1856, in Harlan, "First Mormon Handcart Trip across Iowa," 446; William Woodward, Diary, 7/28/1856, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives.

19. A. K. Peters, *Seven Trails West* (New York, 1996), provides a useful introduction to nineteenth-century western migrations, and contrasts handcart Mormons with other pioneer groups. For examples of acts of prejudice Mormons encountered on their trek across Iowa, see Lyndia Carter's article in this issue.

Appendix

Documented Locations along the Iowa Handcart Trail

The location numbers in figures 1 through 10 correspond to the numbered items in this appendix. Each location is numbered in geographic order going from east to west.

1. Iowa City/Coralville, Johnson County: On July 10, 1856, John Jaques wrote: "Crossed the Mississippi to Davenport, thence for Iowa City."²⁰

The handcart emigrants would have arrived at the Mississippi & Missouri Railroad depot, which was located near the intersection of current Bowery Street and South Johnson Street in Iowa City.²¹ The emigrants then walked 3 miles to the future site of Coralville and camped beside Clear Creek. On June 9, 1857, Johan F. Dorius wrote: "We arrived in Iowa City in the afternoon, and were at once guided to the camp place two or three miles [distant], and here we raised our tents which were pitched in a circle like fashion."²²

In her May 30, 1862, diary entry, Mary Alice Shutes tells about Coralville: "We are told, 'we are in the Mormon's town where they camped in 1856 and started their handcart trip to Utah from here.' Pa . . . remarked that 'we would follow the same trails they did untill after we passed Des Moines.'" ²³

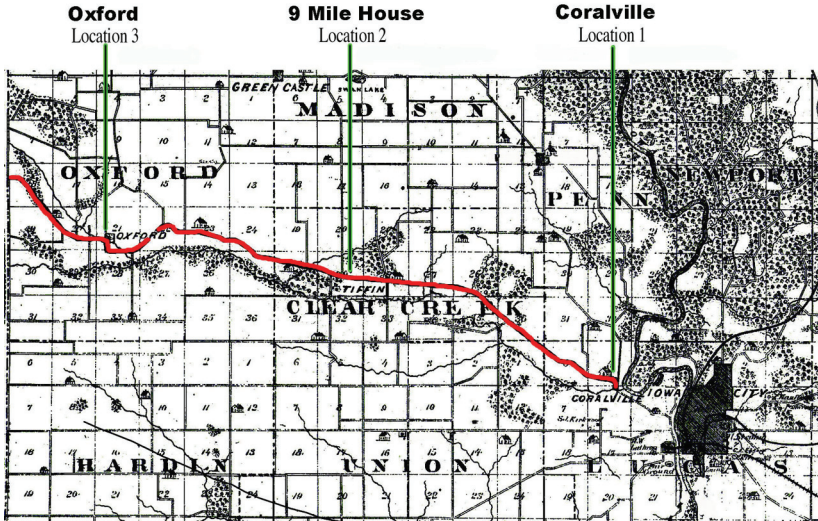
20. Jaques, Diary, 7/10/1856. See also Patrick Twiss Bermingham, Diary, 6/11/1856, Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, LDS Church Archives; and Samuel Openshaw, Diary, 7/29/1856, in *An Enduring Legacy*, ed. Daughters of Utah Pioneers Lesson Committee, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1981), 4:197-208.

21. The location of the depot can be identified as location 11 in A. Ruger, *Bird's Eye View of Iowa City, Johnson Co., Iowa* (Chicago, 1868), from Library of Congress Panoramic Maps, 2nd ed., on the Library of Congress Web site at <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/gmdhome.html> (the Ruger Collection on that Web site also includes bird's-eye views of Marengo, Newton, Des Moines, and Council Bluffs). Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails* confirms this location.

22. Johan F. F. Dorius, Journal, 6/9/1857, Church Emigration Book, 1857, LDS Church Archives, 6-7. The campsite is now marked, and detailed instructions for getting to the location are in Hartley, "Mormons and Early Iowa History," 253n; and Hartley and Anderson, *Sacred Places: Iowa and Nebraska*, 167.

23. "Diary of Mary Alice Shutes," 575. The 1862 travel diary of Mary Alice Shutes, a non-Mormon, has exceptional value for locating the handcart trail. She repeatedly verifies being on the Mormon handcart road of 1856, and she provides essential geographical details about travel between Iowa City and Adel not mentioned in handcart diaries.

FIGURE 1
JOHNSON COUNTY LOCATIONS



NOTE: The trail is marked by a solid bold line going east to west. Location numbers, as for all of the following maps, correspond to numbered items in the appendix. Unless otherwise noted, all maps are adapted from A. T. Andreas' *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago, 1875), with square numbered sections representing one square mile.

2. Tiffin and Nine Mile House, Johnson County: On June 11, 1856, Twiss Bermingham wrote: "We left [Coralville] with the handcarts, and traveled 8 miles; camped at 9 mile house." Nine-Mile House could be an early name for present-day Tiffin. Andreas's map of Johnson County locates Tiffin in the southern portion of Section 28, Clear Creek Township, which would be about 9 miles from Iowa City, accounting for the early name, Nine Mile House. On May 31, 1862, Mary Alice Shutes wrote, "Came to a town, Tiffin, but not much there."²⁴

The trail going northwest from Coralville would have closely followed Clear Creek to Oxford Township, where the trail then followed a branch of the creek, continuing northwest. On that route, it is possible, but not likely, that the Mormons went near Copi (extant 1847-1868), about 5 miles from Coralville. J. H. Colton's 1855 map and Johnson and Ward's 1864 map put Copi on the main road. However, David

24. Bermingham, Diary, 6/11/1856; *Andreas' Atlas*, 56; "Diary of Mary Alice Shutes," 576.

Mott gives the location of Copi as Section 24 of Oxford Township.²⁵ That would be about a mile north of Clear Creek and well off the main road given in the Andreas map, suggesting that the Mormons did *not* pass through Copi.

3. Oxford, Johnson County: This post office was established by September 1855. Mary Alice Shutes wrote on May 31, 1862: "Things sure look neat. Annother depot at Oxford." Andreas's map of Johnson County shows Oxford located in the southwestern portion of Section 21, Oxford Township.²⁶

4. Homestead, Iowa County: A Homestead post office was established by August 1852. Mary Alice Shutes wrote on June 1, 1862: "We are south of the railroad. . . . Here we are in Homestead."²⁷

5. South Amana, Iowa County: This settlement was established in the fall of 1856.²⁸ Only the Evans and Christiansen handcart companies leaving Iowa City in May and June 1857 were likely to encounter Amana Colonists.²⁹ Glenda Riley indicates that Mary Alice Shutes encountered the Amana people in 1862 but confused them with the Amish and Mennonites. On June 1, 1862, Shutes reports having "passed through a town" about an hour after Homestead and prior to reaching Marengo. That town probably was South Amana.³⁰

25. J. H. Colton, "Iowa," *Atlas of the World* (New York, 1855); A. J. Johnson and Benjamin P. Ward, "Iowa and Nebraska," *New Illustrated . . . Family Atlas* (New York, 1864); David C. Mott, "Abandoned Towns, Villages and Post Offices of Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* 17 (1931), 579 [this article continues in vol. 18, also dated 1931]. Colton's map, held at the State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines, and at Drake University, has some inaccuracies, but is indispensable. Johnson and Ward's map accurately shows large portions of the handcart trail.

26. Alan H. Patera and John S. Gallagher, *Iowa Post Offices, 1833-1986* (Lake Oswego, OR, 1986), 102; "Diary of Mary Alice Shutes," 576; *Andreas' Atlas*, 56.

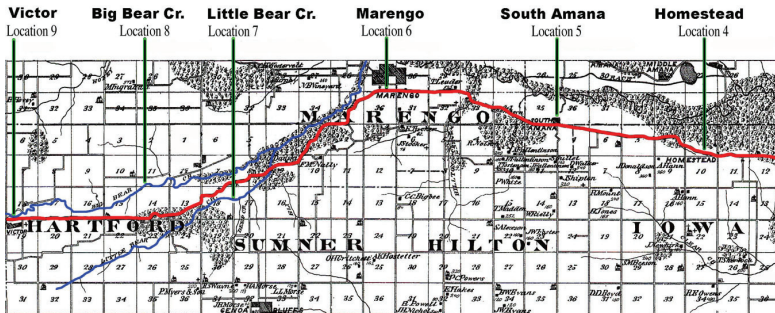
27. Patera and Gallagher, *Iowa Post Offices*, 92; "Diary of Mary Alice Shutes," 577. This location is present on the main road in both Colton's 1855 map and Johnson and Ward's 1864 map. See also S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard H. Jackson, eds., *Historical Atlas of Mormonism* (New York, 1994), map 35, a superior map with much historical information.

28. Jonathan Gary Andelson, "Communalism and Change in the Amana Society, 1855-1932" (Ph.D. diss, University of Michigan, 1974), 72, states, "In the fall of [1856] . . . the Bruderrath ordered new villages to be started at two of the farms; these became Sued (South) Amana and West Amana." By the end of 1857, according to Andelson, the Amana Colonies' total population was only 295.

29. Brown, Cannon, and Jackson, *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, map 35; see also the Johnson and Ward 1864 map and the table in William Hartley's article in this issue.

30. "Diary of Mary Alice Shutes," 577-78. Amana's location is also confirmed in Romanzo Kingman's travel diary entry dated 4/5/1859 in Millsap, "Romanzo Kingman's Pike's Peak Journal, 1859," 61.

FIGURE 2
IOWA COUNTY LOCATIONS



6. Marengo, Iowa County: The post office was established in March 1846. The route curved just south of the town. John Jaques wrote on August 3: "Three miles from Marengo, on our right." On August 4, "At 4 p.m. we started, crossed the creek, took the left hand road, (the right leading to Marengo), passed the woods, kept Marengo in sight for 2 or 3 hours. Traveled about 7 miles, forded Bear Creek."³¹

7. Little Bear Creek, Iowa County: The creek often was called "Bear" creek in the diaries, raising the potential to confuse "Little Bear" with "Big Bear." Given the numerous references to "Bear Creek," the pioneers must have traveled near the creek through large portions of Iowa and Poweshiek counties.³² E. R. Harlan noted that the first company buried two children on the banks of this Little Bear Creek in Iowa County about 35 miles from Iowa City.³³ In the western half of Iowa County the handcart pioneers probably traveled on the north side of the Little Bear and on the south side of the Big Bear.

8. Big Bear Creek, Iowa County: There may have been several crossings; locations are difficult to determine and may be out of sequence (refer to #7 above). See, for example, Andrew Galloway's June 16, 1856, diary entry: "After traveling 13 miles the company rested . . . on Big Bear Creek."³⁴ Generally, the diaries report over several days

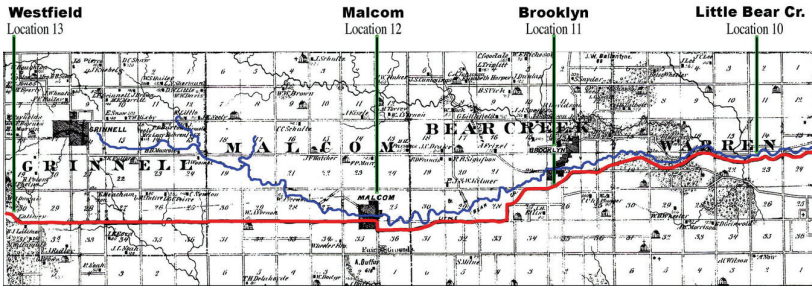
31. Patera and Gallagher, *Iowa Post Offices*, 92; Jaques, Diary, 8/3/1856, 8/4/1856. See also Openshaw, Diary, 8/3/1856. Both Colton's 1855 map and Johnson and Ward's 1864 map place Marengo on the main road.

32. See Galloway diary, 6/15/1856, in Harlan, "First Mormon Handcart Trip across Iowa," 445; Bermingham, Diary, 6/14/1856; and many other diaries.

33. Harlan, "First Mormon Handcart Trip across Iowa," 445n.

34. Galloway, Diary, 6/16/1856, in Harlan, "First Mormon Handcart Trip across Iowa," 445.

FIGURE 3
POWESHIEK COUNTY LOCATIONS



encountering Little Bear Creek first, then Big Bear Creek, and then Little Bear Creek again in Poweshiek County.

9. Victor, border of Iowa and Poweshiek counties: The post office was established in June 1854. On June 1, 1862, Mary Alice Shutes wrote: "Came to a townsight. . . . Now a town on the county line of Poweshick. A signpost says 'Victor.'" Handcart diaries do not report encountering Victor, but Shutes's report increases the likelihood that it was on the trail.³⁵

10. Little Bear Creek, Poweshiek County: Through Poweshiek County the handcart route generally followed the contours of Little Bear Creek to present-day Brooklyn and Malcom. William Woodward recorded camping by the creek in Poweshiek County on four successive days. July 22, 1856: "camped on the Banks of a small creek." July 23: "We camped on the Banks of Bear Creek distance travelled about 13 miles." July 24: "We travelled about 2 miles & camped on Bear Creek." July 25: "We drove about 13 miles & camped on 'Bare' creek." After passing Victor, Mary Alice Shutes wrote (June 1, 1862): "came to Little Bear crick again." Given the time duration of these entries, it is reasonable to infer that the trail from Victor headed straight to Little Bear Creek and followed it to Brooklyn and Malcom.³⁶

11. Brooklyn, Poweshiek County: This settlement is mentioned in only a single handcart diary, William Woodward's, on July 25, 1856: "The sheriff of Powisheik co. from Brooklin . . . look[ed] in our wagons. . . . This took place about 3 miles from our camp." Mary Alice Shutes does not mention Brooklyn. The main road in Andreas's atlas of Pow-

35. Patera and Gallagher, *Iowa Post Offices*, 151; "Diary of Mary Alice Shutes," 578.

36. Woodward, *Diary*, 7/22-25/1856; "Diary of Mary Alice Shutes," 578.

eshiek County appears to go just south of the town. The handcart pioneers probably went near the settlement, but stayed just south of it.³⁷

12. Malcom, Poweshiek County: This settlement is not mentioned in the handcart diaries, and its post office was not established until March 1858. Therefore Malcom probably was not a settlement at the time the handcart pioneers passed through Iowa. However, Mary Alice Shutes (June 2, 1862) places Malcom as a landmark along the route: "Trail sure twists to keep out of the sloughy parts. Another town, Malcom. We are south of Little Bear crick."³⁸

13. Westfield, Poweshiek County: David Mott states that this site was established in 1848 as "Lattimer's Grove," a stage station, on the west line of Section 30, Grinnell Township, and that it was renamed Westfield in 1855. The name *Lattimer* appears twice in Andreas's atlas of Poweshiek County in that section. This location would place the trail just south of present-day Grinnell. John Jaques misspelled the town's name in his August 7, 1856, entry: "Pitched tents 1 mile past Westerfield." The next day Jaques traveled about 18 miles and passed through Newton. Mary Alice Shutes wrote on June 3, 1862: "Came to a cross-road and a sign 'Grinnell' with an arrow pointing towards the north."³⁹

14. Sugar Creek, Jasper County: On July 26, 1856, William Woodward wrote: "We travelled about 5 miles & camped on Sugar Creek." On June 18, 1856, Andrew Galloway noted the burial site of Job Welling Jr., at Township 80, Range 17 West, Section 25, in Jasper County.⁴⁰

15. Kellogg, Jasper County: On June 3, 1862, Mary Alice Shutes wrote: "We are in Jasper County. . . . Turned north-west. . . . Drove along a crick [probably the North Skunk Creek] then turned west and crossed it. Kept going and crossed several more cricks. Now a town. 'A town a-borning,' Pa said. It was Kellogg." Kellogg was not a recognized settlement until shortly after the handcart period. It was platted and named Jasper City in 1865 and then renamed back to Kellogg in 1873.⁴¹

37. Woodward, *Diary*, 7/25/1856; *Andreas' Atlas*, 77.

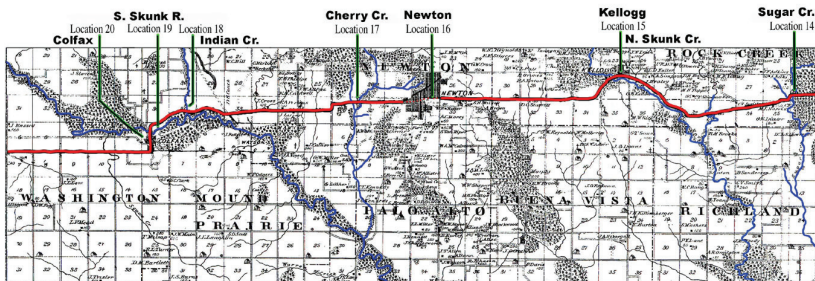
38. Patera and Gallagher, *Iowa Post Offices*, 150; "Diary of Mary Alice Shutes," 579.

39. Mott, "Abandoned Towns," 18:67-68; *Andreas' Atlas*, 77; Jaques, *Diary*, 8/7/1856; "Diary of Mary Alice Shutes," 580.

40. Woodward, *Diary*, 7/26/1856; Galloway, *Diary*, 6/18/1856, in Harlan, "First Mormon Handcart Trip across Iowa," 445. Both Hartley, "Mormons and Early Iowa History," 257n; and Hartley and Anderson, *Sacred Places: Iowa and Nebraska*, 175, give detailed directions to Welling's burial site.

41. "Diary of Mary Alice Shutes," 580; Mott, "Abandoned Towns," 17:542.

FIGURE 4
JASPER COUNTY LOCATIONS



16. Newton, Jasper County: Newton's post office was established in September 1847. On July 27, 1856, William Woodward wrote: "Passed thro' a town called Newton, the county seat of Jasper Co."⁴²

17. Cherry Creek, Jasper County: On July 28, 1856, William Woodward wrote: "Camped on Cherry Creek about 2 miles from Newton."⁴³

18. Indian Creek, Jasper County: On August 9, 1856, John Jaques wrote: "Baited about 2 p.m. at the edge of a wood. Indian Creek 3 miles from camp on the west side."⁴⁴

19. South Skunk River, Jasper County: On July 29, 1856, William Woodward wrote: "Crossed several creeks. Travelled over a beautiful prairie & camped on South Skunk Creek."⁴⁵

20. Colfax, Jasper County: This was not a recognized settlement until shortly after the handcart period. A post office was established in January 1865. On June 3, 1862, Mary Alice Shutes wrote: "Went on west and crossed the Skunk River. Not so small. It looked bigger than a crick. On we go and we are in Colfax."⁴⁶

21. Mitchell/Apple Grove/Jericho, Polk County: David Mott states that Mitchell was present on maps in 1856-57, located in the southern

42. Mott, "Abandoned Towns," 18:98; Woodward, Diary, 7/27/1856. See also Galloway, Diary, 6/20/1856; Jesse Haven, Diary, 8/4/1856, LDS Church Archives; and Openshaw, Diary, 8/8/1856.

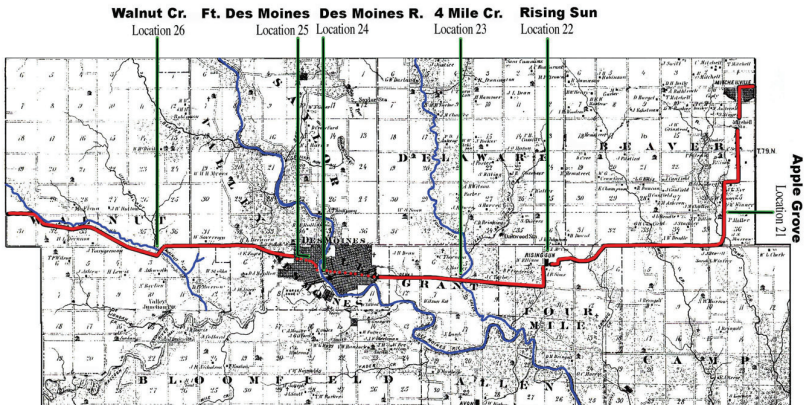
43. Woodward, Diary, 7/28/1856.

44. Jaques, Diary, 8/9/1856. See also Archer Walters, Diary, 6/21/1856, in *Improvement Era* 39 and 40 (1936-37); and Bermingham, Diary, 6/20/1856.

45. Woodward, Diary, 7/29/1856. See also Haven, Diary, 8/5/1856; Bermingham, Diary, 6/20/1856; and Openshaw, Diary, 8/10/1856 (where Skunk River is mistranscribed as "River Skark").

46. Patera and Gallagher, *Iowa Post Offices*, 97; "Diary of Mary Alice Shutes," 580.

FIGURE 5
POLK COUNTY LOCATIONS



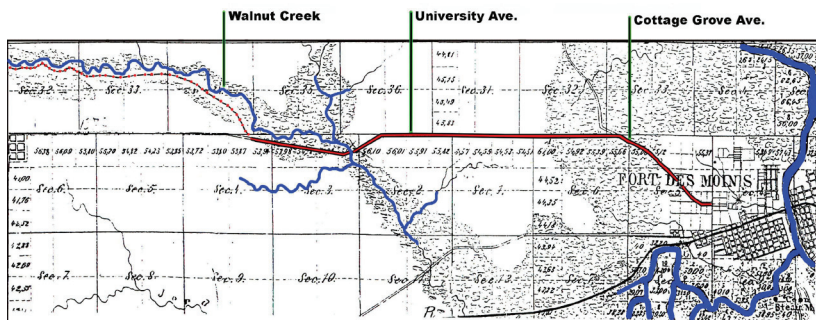
part of Beaver Township. At or near the same location was "Uncle Tommy Mitchell's Tavern" and Apple Grove, which was three miles south of present-day Mitchellville. Apple groves still exist at that location to this day. The Apple Grove post office had been established in August 1849. The Johnson and Ward 1864 map locates Apple Grove on the main road. On June 22, 1856, Andrew Galloway noted the precise location of a burial site: "The remains of James Bowers were buried near two other graves, a quarter of a mile east of the main line for Fort Des Moines, in Section 26, Township 79, Range 22." It is possible that some pioneers passed through Jericho, which was just west of Apple Grove, before reaching Rising Sun.⁴⁷

22. Rising Sun, Polk County: On June 23, 1856, Andrew Galloway wrote: "In the morning the company passed through a small town 7 miles from the Fort [Des Moines]." E. R. Harlan states that this small town is "doubtless Rising Sun." On August 13, 1856, John Jaques stated that his group "passed through Rising Sun 1 mile from camp."⁴⁸

47. Mott, "Abandoned Towns," 18:59; Johnson and Ward, 1864 map; Patera and Gallagher, *Iowa Post Offices*, 145; and Galloway diary, 6/22/1856, in Harlan, "First Mormon Handcart Trip across Iowa," 446. Jericho existed from 1855 to 1868. Mott, "Abandoned Towns," 18:61. For references to it, see Peter Madson, *Diary*, 7/30/1856; see also Colton, 1855 map. For an excellent description of "Uncle Tommy" and his tavern, see Lois Craig, "Thomas Mitchell: A Sturdy Pioneer of Central Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* 31 (1953), 561–87.

48. Galloway, *Diary*, 6/23/1856 and fn. 6 in Harlan, "First Mormon Handcart Trip across Iowa," 446; Jaques, *Diary*, 8/13/1856. See also Brown, Cannon, and Jackson, *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, map 35.

FIGURE 6
CITY OF DES MOINES LOCATIONS



NOTE: This map shows that the most prominent exit from Fort Des Moines to Adel would have been through the current locations of Cottage Grove Avenue and University Avenue. Note that as the route neared Walnut Creek, it took a slight southern detour. This was probably to avoid a swampy flood plain. (This slight dip is depicted in fig. 5 at Location 26). The prominent southern exit of Ft. Des Moines (now Grand Avenue) would have headed toward Winterset. Map adapted from J. H. Millar and J. B. Bausman, *Map of Polk County, Iowa* (Pittsburgh, 1856). For additional justification for this route, see Location 25 in the appendix and footnote 52.

23. Four Mile Creek, Polk County: On June 24, 1856, Andrew Galloway wrote: "Sydney Shinn . . . died in the morning. He was buried 30 yards south of the bridge on the bank of Four Mile Creek, under an elm tree."⁴⁹

24. Des Moines River, Polk County: On July 31, 1856, William Woodward wrote: "Crossed the Des Moines river on a floating Bridge." Jesse Haven's August 7, 1856, diary entry states: "Came on and crossed the toll bridge [that is, a toll ferry] at Fort Demoine."⁵⁰

25. Fort Des Moines, Polk County: On August 13, 1856, Samuel Openshaw wrote: "We passed through Fort Des Moines which is quite a new settled place. Lots of brick buildings which form a new stylish town." Fort Des Moines was renamed Des Moines in January 1857.⁵¹

49. Galloway, Diary, 6/24/1856, in Harlan, "First Mormon Handcart Trip across Iowa," 446. See also Bermingham, Diary, 6/23/1856.

50. Woodward, Diary, 7/31/1856; Haven, Diary, 8/7/1856.

51. Openshaw, Diary, 8/13/1856; C. H. Grahl, "Fort Des Moines' 100th Anniversary," *Annals of Iowa* 25 (1943), 38-42. See also Haven, Diary, 8/7/1856; and Woodward, Diary, 7/31/1856.

A reasonably informed guess can be made about how the handcart Mormons made their way through Des Moines. The major entry to the city from the east was Court Avenue.⁵² On the west side of the river, the Millar and Bausman 1856 map of Polk County (fig. 6) clearly shows that a route following present-day Cottage Grove Avenue (a northwest diagonal) and University Avenue was the exit route leaving the city toward Adel. Andreas's 1875 map of Des Moines shows Cottage Grove Avenue extending to Center Street (which it no longer adjoins), and indicates that University Avenue was previously North Avenue. The most likely handcart route across the city, then, involved entry on Court Avenue from the east; then crossing the river by flatboat; then following the west bank of the river north until Center Street; traveling west on Center Street and then going northwest on Cottage Grove until reaching North Avenue (University). This would place the future location of Drake University on the handcart route.⁵³

26. Walnut Creek, Polk County: On June 5, 1862, Mary Alice Shutes wrote: "Did not see very much . . . of the new Capitol City. It looked like it was not very grown up. We followed what we were told was the old Mormon trail of 1856 for quite a while. It is the northbound mail and stage routes. Then we turned north along Walnut crick I believe it was for quite a while." This would suggest that the trail followed Walnut Creek going from current-day University Avenue to Hickman Avenue (near the 114th Street intersection), then continued toward Waukee (not extant at the time) and Adel.⁵⁴

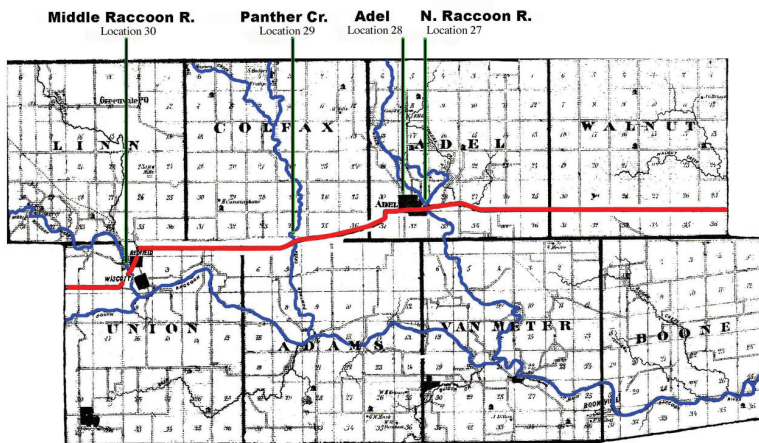
On July 31, 1856, William Woodward wrote: "Passed thro' Fort Des Moines City. . . . Travelled about 6 miles & camped on Walnut Creek." David Mott states that there was a "Walnut Creek" post office in Polk County in 1857 at an unknown location, but it seems likely that this was Woodward's campsite. Europe-bound Mormon missionary

52. J. B. Bausman, [Map of] "Des Moines—Polk County—Iowa" (Des Moines, ca. 1857), designates Court Avenue as "Road to Iowa City." Besides the handcart Mormons, another famous eastern entry into Des Moines by way of Court Avenue was on August 12, 1863, when the 7th Iowa Cavalry marched through Des Moines on its way from Davenport to Omaha. See *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* (Des Moines, 1910), 4:1253–54. One of the earliest photographs of Des Moines and Court Avenue was taken at that event. See James S. Leonardo, "From Military Express to Free Delivery: The Postal History of Des Moines, Iowa, 1843–1873" (M.A. thesis, Drake University, 1984), 320.

53. J. H. Millar and J. B. Bausman, *Map of Polk County, Iowa* (Pittsburgh, 1856); Don Smith (Pullman, WA) to author, 5/31/1997 (identifying University Avenue as the likely exit route from Des Moines); *Andreas' Atlas*, 128.

54. "Diary of Mary Alice Shutes," 583.

FIGURE 7
DALLAS COUNTY LOCATIONS



Joseph W. Young, traveling east from Florence to Iowa City by stage-coach, encountered the Israel Evans handcart company 21 miles east of "Bluffs City" on June 12, 1857. The next day he reported staying at an overnight stage stop "four miles west of Fort Des Moines," where a Mormon ox team company under the direction of Elder Jesse Martin was also encamped.⁵⁵ These clues suggest that there was a supplied campsite near the southern tip of Section 35 in Walnut Township.

27. North Raccoon River, Dallas County: On August 14, 1856, Samuel Openshaw wrote: "We started about eight o'clock this morning and crossed over the North Coon with our handcarts in the water which is about knee deep. Nearby is the town of Adel."⁵⁶ At the site where the pioneers would have crossed (415 River St., Adel), the Dallas County Conservation Board has posted a historical marker headed "North Raccoon River" that reads: "People would ford the river on a ferry which had been operating in Adel since 1850." It then refers to current-day Highway 6 between Clive and Adel: "The old State Highway was the first road in Dallas County and is the same route that thousands of gold seekers traveled to migrate west during the California gold rush. The path of the old State Highway was also one of the most important stage routes that connected Des Moines to Council Bluffs."

55. Woodward, Diary, 7/31/1856; Mott, "Abandoned Towns," 18:63; "Correspondence of Elder Joseph W. Young," *The Mormon*, 7/4/1857.

56. Openshaw, Diary, 8/14/1856. See also Haven, Diary, 8/8/1856; Woodward, Diary, 8/2/1856; and Bermingham, Diary, 6/25/1856.

28. Adel, Dallas County: Mary Alice Shutes wrote on June 5, 1862: "Here we are in the town of Adel. . . . Told that were still on the old Mormon trail for some time yet."⁵⁷

29. Panther Creek, Dallas County: John Jaques's company "baited on Panther Creek" on August 14, 1856, and Mary Alice Shutes's family "crossed Panther crick" on June 5, 1862.⁵⁸

30. Middle Raccoon River/Wiscotta, Dallas County: David Mott states that Wiscotta was known as McKay from 1851 to 1855; it was about one mile south of present-day Redfield, and was located in Sections 4 and 5 of Union Township. The Colton 1855 map shows a clear connection between Adel and McKay on the main road. The Wiscotta post office was established in February 1855. Nearby Redfield appears to have been established after the handcart period, getting its first post office in 1862. On August 9, 1856, Jesse Haven wrote: "Started early traveled 10 miles then crossed on the middle Coon."⁵⁹

31. Morrisburg, Guthrie County: David Mott places Morrisburg, platted in 1855, in Sections 4 and 5 of Jackson Township. It may have been hardly recognizable as a settlement during the handcart period; it had just established a post office in May 1856. Romanzo Kingman, who traveled the handcart route from the Amanas to Dalmanutha, camped at Morrisburg on April 29, 1859.⁶⁰

32. South Raccoon River, Guthrie County (near present-day Dale City): On August 3, 1856, William Woodward wrote: "Travelled about 10 miles & camped on South Coon River."⁶¹

33. Bear Station or Bear Grove Station, Guthrie County: On June 28, 1856, Andrew Galloway wrote: "water was scarce, but the emigrants were supplied with water at Bear Station."⁶² This site has created some confusion because there were likely two Bear Groves in Guthrie County, one on the route and the other not. Stanley Kimball

57. "Diary of Mary Alice Shutes," 583. See also Woodward, Diary, 8/2/1856; Openshaw, Diary, 8/14/1856; Colton, 1855 map; and Brown, Cannon, and Jackson, *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, map 35.

58. Jaques, Diary, 8/14/1856; "Diary of Mary Alice Shutes," 584.

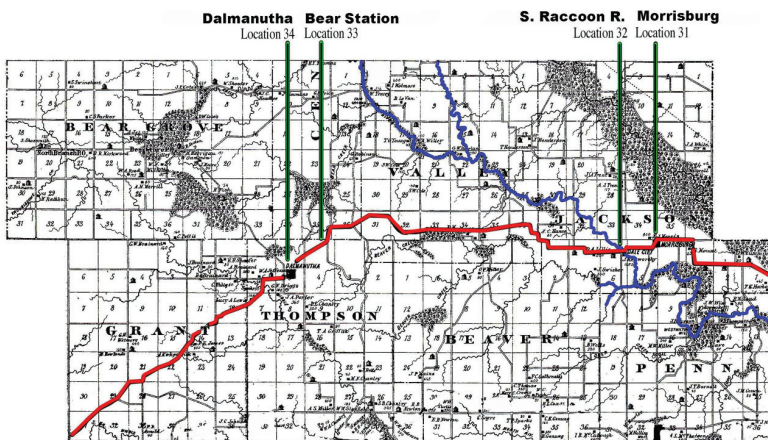
59. Mott, "Abandoned Towns," 17:465; Colton, 1855 map; Patera and Gallagher, *Iowa Post Offices*, 55; Haven, Diary, 8/9/1856. See also Woodward, Diary, 8/2/1856; and Bermingham, Diary, 6/26/1856.

60. Mott, "Abandoned Towns," 17:529; Patera and Gallagher, *Iowa Post Offices*, 78; Millsap, "Kingman's Pike's Peak Diary, 1859," 65.

61. Woodward, Diary, 8/3/1856. See also Haven, Diary, 8/10/1856; and Bermingham, Diary, 6/27/1856.

62. Galloway, Diary, 6/28/1856. See also Woodward, Diary, 8/4/1856: "camped on Bear Grove Creek."

FIGURE 8
GUTHRIE COUNTY LOCATIONS



identifies the Bear Grove Post Office of Bear Grove Township as being on an alternate route to the north for handcart pioneers.⁶³ In fact, this Bear Grove Post Office (extant 1854–1910) was not on the trail. Both the Andreas 1875 map and David Mott locate the Bear Grove Post Office in the northeastern part of Section 24, Bear Grove Township. At that location the handcart route would have bypassed Dalmanutha (see location 34 below), creating a roundabout and lengthy journey. However, Nathan Howe Parker puts “Bear Grove” on the main stage route and indicates that it is only 22 miles from Panther Creek (see fn 10 above). If so, then the Bear Grove used by the stage route could have been no farther west than Valley Township or the east side of Thompson Township, well shy of Bear Grove Post Office in Bear Grove Township, and on a direct route to Dalmanutha. This revised location is supported by Edgar R. Harlan, a reliable source on early Iowa, who located the “Bear Grove” station used by handcart Mormons 8 miles southwest of Guthrie Center. David Mott places Gopher Station in the northern lots of Section 4, Thompson Township. A marker denoting “Gopher Station” exists at the site. Frank Meyer, an authority on Guthrie County trails, claims that Gopher Station was

63. Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails*, map 2; see also p. 43. See also Brown, Cannon, and Jackson, *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, map 35. By contrast, Hartley, “Mormons and Early Iowa History,” 219, places the trail directly through Dalmanutha, bypassing the Bear Grove Post Office.

also known as Bear Grove.⁶⁴ Very near this location was Bear Creek, a probable factor in the nickname "Bear Station" or "Bear Grove," and likely the creek used for camp by diarist William Woodward, cited above. Thus, the best evidence indicates that the stage stop Bear Station or Bear Grove in Thompson Township should be distinguished from the Bear Grove Post Office in Bear Grove Township, which was well removed from a direct route for the pioneers.

34. Dalmanutha, Guthrie County: On August 16, 1856, John Jaques wrote: "good water and feed, timber scarce, hilly. Dalmanutha —[made] 17 miles." David Mott gives the location as the central portion of Section 5, Thompson Township, and puts the town on a main stage line.⁶⁵ A pioneer cemetery is now the only remaining vestige of Dalmanutha in 1856.

35. Lura (likely also called Morrison Grove; near Turkey Creek and present-day Anita), **Cass County:** David Mott locates Lura in the southern part of Grant Township from 1855 to 1865. Lura was probably an alternate name for Morrison's, since a G. S. Morrison is listed as the postmaster of Lura. On August 5, 1856, William Woodward wrote: "Travelled thro' the day 18½ miles camped on Turkey Creek at Morrison's." Woodward's diary seems to indicate that he traveled about 22 miles from Morrison's to Indiantown (location #39). On August 17, 1856, Samuel Openshaw described the region near the camp: "traveled all day without seeing a house or even a tree except a few at a distance. Nothing but prairie grass to be seen. . . . We camped at Morrison Grove." Similar to Woodward, Openshaw appears to have traveled a little more than 21 miles from Morrison Grove before arriving at Indiantown. That would place Morrison Grove very close to present-day Anita, which was not extant at the time.⁶⁶

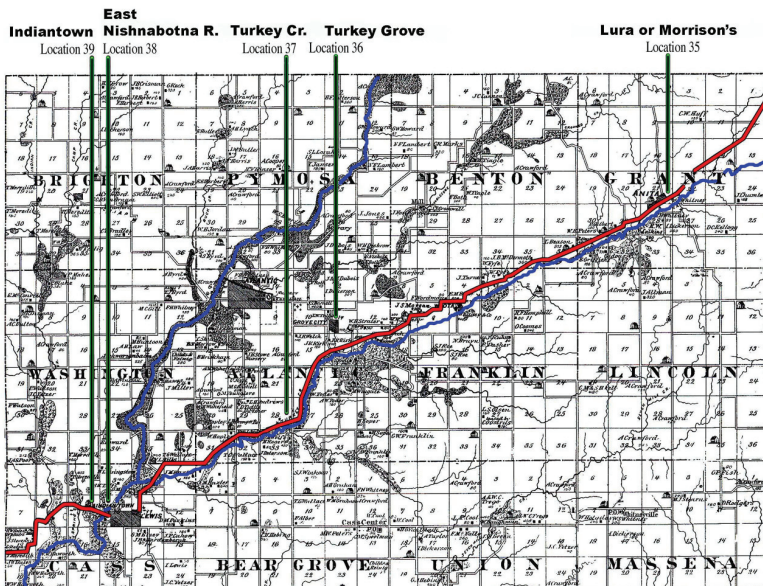
36. Turkey Grove Post Office at Grove City, near Turkey Creek and three miles east of Atlantic, **Cass County:** David Mott locates this site in the southwestern part of Section 11, Grove (formerly Atlantic) Township. Johnson and Ward's 1864 map places Turkey Grove well

64. *Andreas' Atlas*, 45; Mott, "Abandoned Towns," 17:529-30; Parker, *Iowa as It Is in 1855*, 100; Harlan, "First Mormon Handcart Trip across Iowa," 446n; Frank Meyer to author, 1/18/1999.

65. Jaques, Diary, 8/16/1856; Mott, "Abandoned Towns," 17:529. See also Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails*, map 2 and p. 43; *Andreas' Atlas*, 45; and Hartley, "Mormons and Early Iowa History," 258n.

66. Mott, "Abandoned Towns," 17:455; *The Iowa State Almanac and Statistical Register* (1860), reprinted as a supplement to the *Palimpsest* 44 (1963), suppl. 30; Woodward, Diary, 8/5/1856; Openshaw, Diary, 8/17/1856.

FIGURE 9
CASS COUNTY LOCATIONS



north of Grove City, but David Mott authoritatively states that Turkey Grove is merely the name of Grove City's post office from 1857 to 1863. On June 30, 1856, Twiss Birmingham's company "camped at Turkey Grove, having traveled 10½ miles."⁶⁷

37. Turkey Creek, Cass County: On August 17, 1856, John Jaques's company traveled "about 17 miles to Turkey Creek by a stage station" (likely Turkey Grove, location 36 above). On August 18: for "10 miles baited along Turkey Creek. . . . About 3 miles further crossed off from creek [and went] over hills."⁶⁸ These quotes suggest that the trail went almost diagonally along Grove Township from present-day Anita toward Lewis. The trail roughly followed Turkey Creek from the northeast corner of Cass County to the west border of present-day Grove Township (Atlantic Township on Andreas's map shown in fig. 9).

67. Mott, "Abandoned Towns," 17:454, 455; Johnson and Ward, 1864 map; Birmingham, Diary, 6/30/1856. See also Brown, Cannon, and Jackson, *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, map 35.

68. Jaques, Diary, 8/17-18/1856.

THE REMAINING SITES are already well documented, as this portion of the handcart route merged with the Brigham Young trail of 1846.

38. East Nishnabotna River, Cass County: See location 39.

39. Indiantown/Lewis, Cass County: On August 7, 1856, William Woodward wrote: "Crossed the Nishnabotna River about 5 miles from camp & after about 2 miles travel arrived at Indian Town." Mott places the town northeast of center in Section 9, Cass Township, about a mile west of Lewis. This town should be distinguished from nearby Cold Springs Post Office, sometimes called Iranistan, in Section 8 of Cass Township. F. E. Pearce provides a detailed description of Indiantown and the Iowa handcart trail west of Lewis.⁶⁹

40. Walnut Creek, Pottawattamie County: On August 7, 1856, William Woodward wrote: "Drove on about 6½ miles [from Indiantown] & camped on Walnut Creek."⁷⁰

41. Jordan Creek, Pottawattamie County: On August 19, 1856, Samuel Openshaw wrote: "Camped at seven o'clock at Jordan Creek." On the same date John Jaques wrote: "Passed along 11 miles by woods to Jordan. Timber scarce by road side, water and feed good."⁷¹

42. West Nishnabotna River/Macedonia, Pottawattamie County: David Mott indicates that the original Macedonia was located on the banks of the river about three-quarters of a mile west of the present town. William G. Hartley indicates that Mormons were early founders of the town in 1846. On August 20, 1856, Samuel Openshaw wrote: "We started at eight o'clock from the Jordan Creek, passed through Russing Botany" [*sic*; meaning "Nishnabotna"]. On the same date, John Jaques wrote: "Four miles from [Jordan Creek] camp crossed through woods and west branch of Nishnabotna by a mill."⁷²

43. Mud Creek, Pottawattamie County: On August 20, 1856, Samuel Openshaw's company "stopped one hour for dinner at Mud Creek." On the same date John Jaques wrote: "Ten miles from camp baited half hour at Mud Creek, no timber, grass good."⁷³

69. Woodward, Diary, 8/7/1856; Mott, "Abandoned Towns," 17:454, 455; Colton, 1855 map; and F. E. Pearce, "Indiantown: The Mormon Settlement in Cass County, Iowa," *Nauvoo Journal* 6 (1994), 16-24. See also Galloway diary, 7/2/1856; Jaques, Diary, 8/19/1856; and Openshaw, Diary, 8/19/1856.

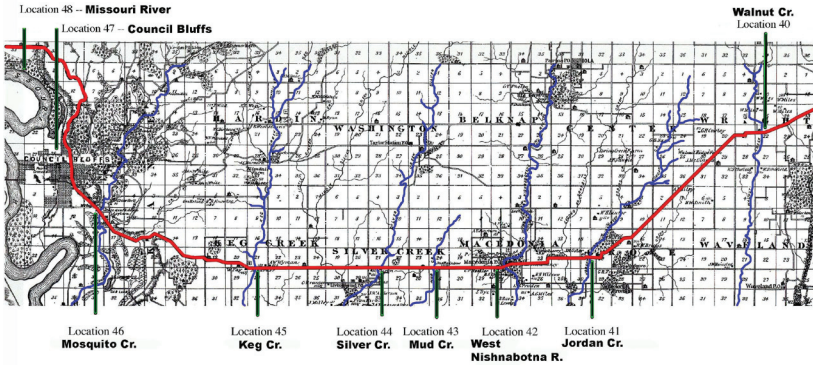
70. Woodward, Diary, 8/7/1856.

71. Openshaw, Diary, 8/19/1856; Jaques, Diary, 8/19/1856. See also Walters, Diary, 7/5/1856.

72. Mott, "Abandoned Towns," 18:65; Hartley, "Mormons and Early Iowa History," 246; Openshaw, Diary, 8/20/1856; Jaques, Diary 8/20/1856. See also Brown, Cannon, and Jackson, *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, map 35.

73. Openshaw, Diary, 8/20/1856; Jaques, Diary, 8/20/1856.

FIGURE 10
POTTAWATTAMIE COUNTY LOCATIONS



44. Silver Creek, Pottawattamie County: On July 4, 1856, Twiss Bermingham noted that his company “camped at Silver Creek.” John Jaques described the site as a “good camping place, very little wood, plenty of feed and muddy water.”⁷⁴

45. Keg Creek, Pottawattamie County: On August 17, 1856, Jesse Haven wrote: “On Keg Creek [a] Sister gave birth to a fine little boy.”⁷⁵

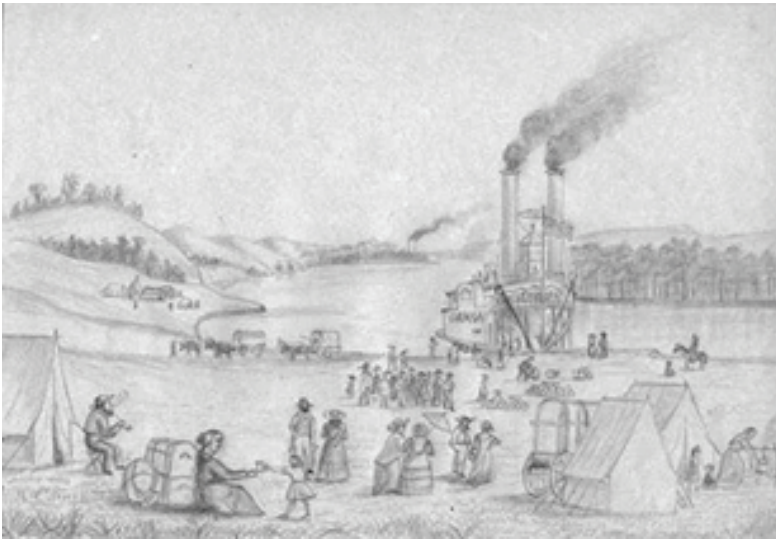
46. Mosquito Creek, Pottawattamie County: On August 10, 1856, William Woodward wrote: “Travelled about 9 miles & camped on Mosquito Creek. Grass very tall where we camped.”⁷⁶

47. Council Bluffs, Pottawattamie County: On August 11, 1856, William Woodward wrote: “Rode on a mule ahead of the company to Council Bluff City formerly Kanessville.” John Jaques’s entry for August 21, 1856, gives strong hints about how the companies passed through Council Bluffs: “Three miles [from Mosquito Creek] to Council Bluffs, then 8 miles to Missouri bottom, where we camped about three miles from the Florence Ferry.” This entry indicates that the handcart companies took a northern route through Council Bluffs headed toward the current location of Mormon Pioneer Memorial Bridge. Andreas’s 1875 map of Pottawattamie County appears to give

74. Bermingham, Diary, 7/4/1856; Jaques, Diary, 8/20/1856. See also Haven, Diary, 8/16/1856; and Woodward, Diary, 8/9/1856.

75. Haven, Diary, 8/17/1856. See also Woodward, Diary, 8/9/1856; and Openshaw, Diary, 8/20/1856.

76. Woodward, Diary, 8/10/1856. See also Haven, Diary, 8/17/1856; and Openshaw, Diary, 8/21/1856.



George Simons sketched this image of the steamer Omaha landing Mormons at Florence. Courtesy Council Bluffs Public Library, Council Bluffs.

a good indication of that route (fig. 10). Stanley Kimball suggests that the handcart Mormons would have crossed the Missouri River at one of two main ferries located near the present-day South Omaha and Mormon bridges.⁷⁷ However, there is no diary evidence that handcart pioneers took the South Omaha entry.

48. Missouri River/Florence, Nebraska: On August 11, 1856, William Woodward wrote: "Travelled on to Missouri River. Was ferried across on the steam ferry boat 'Nebraska.' Our company arrived safe across the river. . . . We camped at Florence in Nebraska."⁷⁸

77. Woodward, Diary, 8/11/1856; Jaques, Diary, 8/21/1856; *Andreas' Atlas*, 76; Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails*, 33. See also Haven, Diary, 8/18/1856; Openshaw, Diary, 8/21/1856; and Dorius, Journal, 7/2/1857.

78. Woodward, Diary, 8/11/1856. See also Haven, Diary, 8/19/1856; Birmingham, Diary, 7/8/1856; Openshaw, Diary, 8/22/1856; and Dorius, Journal, 7/5/1857.

Book Reviews and Notices

Historians in Public: The Practice of American History, 1890–1970, by Ian Tyrrell. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005. xii, 348 pp. Notes, index. \$57.00 cloth, \$23.00 paper.

Reviewer Rebecca Conard is professor of history and director of public history at Middle Tennessee State University. Her most recent book is *Benjamin Shambaugh and the Intellectual Foundations of Public History* (2002).

Not since Peter Novick's *That Noble Dream* appeared in 1988 has an intellectual historian given us so much to think about. In *Historians in Public*, Ian Tyrrell demonstrates that from 1890 to 1970 the historical profession "adapted to and influenced its changing publics more than the profession is given credit for, though not evenly and not always in ways that are readily apparent" (2). Three publics interest Tyrrell: mass culture, the classroom audience, and the particularist audiences associated with "marketing history as a discipline relevant to state legitimation and public policy" (7). The book is organized around these audience categories.

Part 1, "The Broken Mirror," examines the process of specialization that, according to Tyrrell, has been driven, in part, by historians' concerns about audience, or relevance. Such concerns, he claims, are "not separable from the question of the perceived power, influence, and social position of professionalized history" (26). Tyrrell dismisses the accepted idea that the new social history of the 1960s initiated a new intellectual current. Rather, he argues, it ushered in a new wave of specialization; in the larger picture, "the underlying call of the New Left for 'relevance' and inclusiveness continued the project of the (now old) New History" (39).

Part 2, "Historians and the Masses," follows the trajectory of popular media formats to examine academic historians' pursuit of wider audiences through books, film, and radio. He demonstrates that both academic historians and professional writers enthusiastically participated in the enterprise of developing a national culture through popular history, aided by new mass marketing techniques in the publishing industry and the expansion of public libraries. Importantly, World War I stimulated public interest in understanding the historical forces that led to the conflict, and New Deal programs, especially the Federal

Arts Project and the Federal Writers Project, fostered public interest in American culture, traditions, and heritage.

The story of academic historians and public school curricula is more complicated. In Part 3, "The Problem of the Schools," Tyrrell demonstrates that Progressive historians succeeded in maintaining the distinctiveness of history when integrated social studies took hold in the 1920s. World War II changed the intellectual dynamics, however. Riding a crest of patriotism, conservative academicians gained strength, and, as a result, the historical profession "ceased to make a case as to why history was an important school subject to preserve" (149). By the 1950s, he asserts, the American Historical Association (AHA) had all but abandoned K-12 teachers.

In Part 4, "Public Histories," Tyrrell devotes four chapters to developing an interesting thesis about the genesis of public history in the United States. He makes a distinction between "historians in public" and "public history" as a field or subdiscipline, but his discussion of applied history initiatives is almost always tied to the AHA or to academic institutions. He argues that the origins of applied, or public, history are to be found in the third audience category, particularist audiences associated with state interests. He posits that academic historians became "servants of the state" in their "search for usefulness." "Long before the crisis of relevance in the 1960s, historians in the United States had become strong proponents of applying history to solve social problems." In short, by applying their "knowledge and skills to public issues through federal and state governments," academic historians largely created the field of public history (149). To buttress his argument, Tyrrell compares American historians' outreach activities ("the work of experts") to British public historians' preference for "people's history." "The American tradition," he asserts, "became one of academic involvement in public activities. . . . In this way, public history has been an extension of academic history" (157). As a result, this book will resonate most agreeably with those who argue that all history is public history and with those who conflate the terms "public intellectual" and "public history."

Historians in Public is rich in ideas, insights, and detail, but Tyrrell's argument about the intellectual foundations of public history is flawed. He does not examine the whole practice of history at the local and state levels; he ignores the practice of history in privately funded cultural institutions as well as business corporations; and he also ignores the work of non-academic historians in shaping standards of professional practice, especially in museums and archives. Still, the four chapters of Part 4 merit close reading, for they shed a bright light on the shadowy

area that links academic and public history. Tyrrell expertly weaves “threads of continuity” from Progressive historians to the 1970s and beyond. He demonstrates that Progressive historians, operating on the margins of the profession, instilled a tradition of activism among American historians that continues to the present, citing in particular the “formation of the Conference of Historical Societies within the AHA in 1904, the applied history initiatives of Benjamin Shambaugh, and the myriad of projects sponsored by the Department of Agriculture and by the New Deal . . . [t]he National Park Service, the Department of Defense, and other federal agencies” (250). That same activist strain led historians to experiment with various mass media formats to communicate with broad audiences and to wade fearlessly into the discourse on K–12 history education. These indeed are important historical ties that bind academic and public historians, and they continue to shape scholarly discourse as well as professional practice.

John Caspar Wild: Painter and Printmaker of Nineteenth-Century Urban America, by John W. Reps. St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society; distributed by University of Missouri Press, 2006. xx, 164 pp. Illustrations, appendixes, catalogue raisonné, bibliography, notes, index. \$51.95 cloth.

Reviewer Charles K. Piehl is professor of history at Minnesota State University, Mankato. He has written many articles about the relationship between art and society in the works of Robert Gwathmey.

This profusely illustrated volume is the first attempt to account for all of the American work of the Swiss-born artist John Caspar Wild (ca. 1804–1846), whose paintings and prints from the 1830s and 1840s provided a visual sense of the architecture and views of the growing cities from Philadelphia to Cincinnati, St. Louis, and the Iowa and Illinois towns of the upper Mississippi River. John W. Reps, the author of many studies of nineteenth-century urban planning and development, has published widely on the importance of views and view makers in urban development. Hence Wild, who produced important views of the changing urban surroundings, is a logical subject of this beautiful volume.

The artist arrived in Philadelphia in 1832, where he attempted to gain the patronage necessary to survive in the port city. Wild gained a general reputation and showed promise, particularly through his depiction of the Fairmount Water Works near the city, but he did not find long-term financial success, so, like so many others at the time, he left for what he hoped would be better opportunities elsewhere.

In Cincinnati in 1835 he apparently sought patrons among the commercial leaders who were flocking to the emerging city along the banks

of the Ohio River. Reps discusses Wild's many gouache paintings of the city that included views from afar, of its streets and buildings, and of its busy river landing. There the artist documented life near the river interacting with the built environment.

In 1837 Wild returned to Philadelphia, where he entered into an artistic partnership that offered him greater financial security. As Reps demonstrates, that period also proved extraordinarily fruitful for Wild's art and for those who later studied his work for its fine lithographic depictions of buildings and city views. His subjects included many of the major public structures of Philadelphia, including the U.S. Bank, the Merchants' Exchange, the State House, the University of Pennsylvania, the U.S. Mint, and several large churches. Wild's four-sheet panorama of the city (1838), done from the steeple of the State House, provides the best aerial impression of the city's street grid at the time.

Reps follows Wild's career from Philadelphia back to the nation's interior, where the artist depicted the changing life in the rapidly growing towns and cities along the Mississippi River. His many images of St. Louis, his next stop, "are by far the most important graphic record of an urban world that was even then being remade almost daily" (55). From views looking across the water from Illinois to lithographs of major city buildings, such as the cathedral and courthouse, he captured the flavor of the buildings. He produced lithographs of Front Street, mansions, and steamboats, and watercolors of surrounding communities, from St. Charles, Missouri, to Cairo, Illinois. Wild's lithographic panorama of St. Louis, while not as spectacular or as detailed as that of Philadelphia, provides a sense of how that city, not too distant from the frontier, was developing its own urban pattern.

Wild ended his artistic pilgrimage with prints and paintings of the nascent cities, towns, and forts of the upper Mississippi valley, in places such as Bloomington (now Muscatine), Moline, Davenport, Galena, Dubuque, Fort Snelling, and other river locations that quickly were becoming important to the region. His death in 1846 was little noted at the time, and his art was overshadowed by his contemporaries. However, as Reps calls attention to Wild's work through the many plates and other reproductions in this volume, the artist stands out today for his depictions of the buildings, streets, and views of the process of becoming an urban nation. Some towns never became cities and some became great metropolises. Most enlightening are the inclusion of reproductions of prisons, an asylum, and an almshouse among his lithographs of the great edifices of Philadelphia. Certainly these were institutions of a new age in America.

My Likeness Taken: Daguerreian Portraits in America, 1840–1860, by Joan L. Severa. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2005. xix, 303 pp. Photographs, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. \$65.00 cloth.

Reviewer Shirley Teresa Wajda is a research fellow at the Center for the Humanities, Wesleyan University. Her dissertation was "Social Currency: A Domestic History of the Portrait Photograph in the United States, 1839–1889" (University of Pennsylvania, 1992).

Portraiture and fashionable dress are intricately linked. Colonial painters such as John Singleton Copley "took" likenesses of sitters but also gave those sitters' likenesses stylish costumes the sitters themselves may not have owned or worn. The introduction of daguerreotypy in 1839 challenged the portraitist's power to confirm social status on canvas. The seemingly unerring camera lens democratized visual representation at the same time that mechanized production of cloth and print facilitated fashionableness for more Americans. Daguerreotypists, notably Boston's Southworth and Hawes, offered potential patrons advice on dress and demeanor in the pages of gift books. But they were more the exception rather than rule: the portrait boom historians of photography now term the Daguerreian Era (1840–1860) was fueled by entrepreneurs who received little or no training in art. Americans who would not have thought to have their portraits painted had their likenesses taken by daguerreotypists who had set up cameras in portable "saloons" or in rented rooms in the nation's towns and cities.

As in her first study of nineteenth-century costume through American portrait photographs, *Dressed for the Photographer* (1995), Joan L. Severa again applies her considerable knowledge of costume in this nicely designed volume of 277 daguerreotypes. Each image (reproduced in color) carries a caption discussing hairstyles and headwear, costume, and jewelry for men, women, and children in the two decades before the Civil War. A glossary instructs the reader in costume terminology. Useful to collectors, the additional knowledge of historic costume aids in dating daguerreotypic portraits; indeed, it appears that this volume was created with collectors in mind. Severa dedicates the book to the Daguerreian Society of America. One of its members, Matthew R. Isenberg, offers a brief preface on historic daguerreotypic practice. Specimens from his collection and from other private collections are reproduced here, many for the first time.

Several necessary practices of historical inquiry are absent in this study. Most important is the question of provenance of the many anonymous daguerreotypes. Although some examples carry evidence of makers, sitters, or owners, many do not, and the assumption that these were indeed made in the United States and depict persons resi-

dent in the country between 1840 and 1860 goes unquestioned. On the other hand, the biographies of sitters who are identified by name are rarely pursued to confirm Severa's interpretation. The practice of tinting daguerreotypic portraits did not always mirror the actual colors of a sitter's dress; certain colors show well in the relief of the black-and-white daguerreotype's mirrored surface. (Some colorists never saw the sitter and his or her raiment.) Portraiture itself is a historical practice that seeks to convey character through likeness, yet the author has a tendency to read into the portraits psychological attributes that historically would not have been recognized. She offers scenarios and relationships that cannot be proved. Troubling also are the captions of the few portraits of persons of color, in which Severa conjectures that the sitters are likely slaves and, due to their finery, house servants. The reader does not learn on what bases such assumptions are made, and resort to the brief bibliography uncovers only one applicable source—South Carolinian Mary Chesnut's war diary—leading this reader to question such reasoning.

The slippage between what appears at first as a study of daguerreotype and historic portrait practices and a leading scholar's costume analysis through evidence provided by daguerreotypic images is evinced in the misleading title. *My Likeness Taken: Daguerreian Portraits in America, 1840–1860* is a richly satisfying visual experience. Nevertheless, the study is poorer for a lack of attention to historical portrait practices and American social and cultural history that cannot but challenge aspects of the author's interpretation.

Young America: Land, Labor, and the Republican Community, by Mark A. Lause. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005. vii, 240 pp. Illustrations, appendixes, notes, index. \$42.00 cloth, \$20.00 paper.

Reviewer Nellie W. Kremenak received her Ph.D. from the University of Iowa in 1996. She is working on a monograph on working-class Iowans in the nineteenth century.

In *Young America*, Mark A. Lause examines the history of the National Reform Association (NRA), a working-class organization founded by three New York City printers in the winter of 1843–44 to seek reform in the opportunities for land ownership in the United States. Members of the NRA, located primarily in New York State and New England, argued that the republican principles on which the nation had been founded required that opportunities for land ownership be made widely available and that such availability could never occur as long as favorably positioned individuals and interests were allowed to ac-

quire and control vast amounts of unsettled territory. The NRA held that landowners should be allowed to own only a limited number of acres and that ownership should be made broadly available to individuals of all genders, races, and ethnicities. As Lause notes, some historians have characterized this movement as narrowly focused on the interests of white workers. Lause argues, however, that while some NRA members advocated a separate state for freed black slaves (as well as for American Indians), the organization was firmly egalitarian and antiracist. NRA members argued for the abolition of both "wage slavery" and slave ownership. In its early years, the NRA distanced itself from the abolitionist movement, but later, in the prewar period, it moved closer to and, in some instances, joined forces with abolitionist groups.

As the NRA struggled to identify the most efficacious path to the goal of widely available land ownership, the group turned away from the compromises of the political arena to work toward the organization of communitarian settlements (including Fourier phalanxes in the Midwest) only to return, in the 1850s, to full-blown political activism.

The expression *Young America* in Lause's intriguing title alludes both to a time period in U.S. history, the 1840s and 1850s, when the nation and its political culture might still be described as young, and to a working-class newspaper, *Young America*, which briefly continued the widely known though short-lived paper, *Working Class Advocate*. The term *Republican Community* in the title refers primarily to the ideals of the nation's founders, carried forward by NRA members, but also alludes to the participation of NRA leaders in the 1854 founding of the Republican Party in Ripon, Wisconsin.

In the final section of the book, Lause's conclusions take on a somber tone, as he notes the apparent evolution of a vibrant and idealistic working-class culture, fired by egalitarian principles, into a culture principally animated by the aspirations of mass consumption.

This otherwise fascinating study is slightly marred by the difficulties presented to the reader in keeping track of the large number of sparingly identified individuals in the NRA and the wider political arena. With only a few line-drawn portraits and no photographs available, a bit more biographical detail on at least the principal men and women involved in the narrative would have been helpful. Despite this small flaw, the book makes a welcome addition to our understanding of a significant force in the development and adoption of policies that opened land ownership to a broader segment of the population. Although the book includes only a few brief references to Iowa's settlement, historians may be interested to explore the relation-

ships between the movement Lause describes and the lives of working-class emigrants who acquired Iowa land as a result of the Homestead Act signed by Abraham Lincoln in 1862.

Encyclopedia of the Underground Railroad, by J. Blaine Hudson. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2006. 308 pp. Illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth.

John Todd and the Underground Railroad: Biography of an Iowa Abolitionist, by James Patrick Morgans. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2006. vii, 216 pp. Illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 paper.

Reviewer Galin Berrier is adjunct instructor in history at Des Moines Area Community College. He is the author of the chapter, "The Underground Railroad in Iowa," in *Outside In: African American History in Iowa, 1838–2000* (2001).

It is remarkable that two books have been published almost simultaneously that deal with the Underground Railroad in Iowa. J. Blaine Hudson's *Encyclopedia of the Underground Railroad* gives Iowa its due in the national context, while James Patrick Morgans has provided a biography of one of Iowa's most important abolitionists, Rev. John Todd of Tabor.

Hudson's *Encyclopedia* is an outgrowth of his earlier book, *Fugitive Slaves and the Underground Railroad in the Kentucky Borderland* (2002), which focuses on Kentucky and the free states of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. In his *Encyclopedia* he expands his scope to include entries as far from the Ohio Valley as California, Canada, Florida, and Iowa, which has at least 16 entries in the index. He broadens his concept of "the Borderland" to include such "lower north" regions as the southern half of Iowa (93): "It is important to remember that more westerly free states such as Iowa were also border states" (180). "Iowa, in particular, played a key role in the passage of fugitive slaves from Missouri and Kansas" after 1854 (5).

Five of the Iowa references are to the best-known "stations," also listed in Appendix 4: the Hitchcock House in Lewis; the Jordan House in West Des Moines; the Lewelling House in Salem; the Pearson House in Keosauqua; and the Todd House in Tabor. In the entry on "Signals," Hudson says that the Jordan House provides "a rare example of the use of quilts as an Underground Railroad signaling system" (88), a notion that has generated a good deal of controversy.

Hudson's entry on the Allen B. Mayhew Cabin in Nebraska City, Nebraska, and its "John Brown's Cave" describes it as an important Underground Railroad station for fugitive slaves fleeing bondage in Missouri en route to other Iowa stations in Iowa" (24). Recent research

by James E. Potter (published in "Fact and Folklore in the Story of 'John Brown's Cave' and the Underground Railroad in Nebraska," *Nebraska History* 83 [2002], 73–88), casts considerable doubt on this assertion.

Hudson's entry for Iowa correctly calls the state "a seldom acknowledged but important border state" (127–28). The entry cites Robert R. Dykstra's excellent *Bright Radical Star: Black Freedom and White Supremacy on the Hawkeye Frontier* (1993) and an older study by James L. Hill in *The Journal of Negro History* (1982), but not my more recent chapter in *Outside In: African American History in Iowa, 1838–2000* (2001). A cross-reference to Cincinnati takes readers to Cincinnati, Ohio, not, as it should, to its small namesake village in Appanoose County near the Missouri border.

There are five entries for individual Iowans, also listed as "friends of the fugitive," in Appendix 2. The most complete entry is for Josiah B. Grinnell, with much briefer ones for George B. Hitchcock and James C. Jordan. Wilbur Siebert, in his 1898 study of the Underground Railroad, listed more than 100 "agents" and "conductors" in Iowa, a number of whom would perhaps be more worthy of inclusion than either Henderson Lewelling or Benjamin Pearson, who seem to have qualified mainly because of the houses they built. A major omission is Rev. John Todd of Tabor, who apparently has been confused with John C. Todd, a "friend of the fugitive" in Madison, Indiana (219).

The other book under review here by James Patrick Morgans corrects for that oversight. Morgans acknowledges at the outset that his effort is really two books in one. "While ostensibly a biography of John Todd [it] is in fact the story of . . . one Underground Railroad station in Tabor, Iowa" (1). His biography does not materially alter the story as told by Todd himself in his autobiographical *Early Settlement and Growth of Western Iowa, or Reminiscences* (1906), on which it is partially based. However, thanks to a research grant from Humanities Iowa, Morgans was able to locate materials at the Oberlin College Archives in Ohio and at the Kansas State Historical Society that, together with those found closer to home in Tabor and Nebraska City, Nebraska, give us a more complete picture than we have had of Todd, George Gaston, Samuel F. Adams, and the other founders of Tabor.

Gaston, Adams, Jesse West, and other Taborites figure prominently in chapter one, which features several of the escapes of freedom seekers on the Underground Railroad in southwest Iowa. Those events are described in unusual detail, and although they are stories that have been told before in other accounts, they have not been told in as readable a fashion. Chapter eight, "Difficult Journeys," also relates specific events in southwest Iowa, and calls attention to the role

of local African Americans such as John Williamson, Henry Garner, Joseph Garner Jr., and Thomas Reid.

In his discussion of John Brown's notorious raid into western Missouri to liberate 11 slaves, in the course of which white master David Cruise was killed and wagons, horses, mules, and other property taken, Morgans is quite critical: "It is evident that Brown and his men went way over the line with their plundering of much of the plantation owner's property" (128). Brown later rationalized the raid "as remuneration for the years of unpaid toil," but the real reason may have been the economic downturn following the Panic of 1857, which dried up financial support from Brown's backers in the East and forced him to resort to confiscation of slaveowners' property to finance his operations.

Morgans provides a full discussion of the cool reception Brown received when he arrived in Tabor in early 1859. As news about the violent nature of the Missouri raid became known, a debate ensued, and Brown declined to speak in his own defense because of the presence of an outsider—a "Dr. Brown," a physician from St. Joseph, Missouri, and a defender of slavery (129). John Brown received a much warmer welcome several days later from Josiah B. Grinnell. Years later, in 1887, Grinnell accused the Taborites of having been intimidated by fear of retaliation by proslavery Missouri "border ruffians," a charge John Todd rejected as baseless. Morgans sides with Todd, citing a letter from historian L. F. Parker (reprinted in the appendix), who knew Grinnell well, to support his position.

Morgans completes his discussion of the slaves John Brown and his men rescued from Missouri by telling us that "Josiah B. Grinnell went to Chicago and arranged for a railcar. This railcar was sent to West Liberty, Iowa, where it picked up the escaping slaves. They were sent to Chicago where Alan Pinkerton, the famous detective, met them and arranged for a ferry to take them to Canada" (130–31). This highly abbreviated account leaves out the part played by Iowa City newspaper publisher William Penn Clarke in making the actual arrangements for the freight car. It would be more accurate to say that Alan Pinkerton arranged for the freedom seekers to be housed overnight with black families in Chicago until the following day, when they were placed on a train to Detroit, where John Brown personally supervised their ferry crossing to Windsor, Canada West (now Ontario).

Hudson's *Encyclopedia of the Underground Railroad* is a reliable reference for the Kentucky borderland, including Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, with which he is most familiar. It is less so for other states, including Iowa, about which he lacks firsthand information. Similarly, Morgans's account of *John Todd and the Underground Railroad* is less satisfactory

when he discusses the Underground Railroad or John Brown in Iowa in general terms. But when he tells the story of John Todd and the Underground Railroad in southwest Iowa, events with which he is intimately familiar, Morgans is at his best.

Indians and Emigrants: Encounters on the Overland Trails, by Michael L. Tate. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006. xxiv, 328 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewer John P. Bowes is assistant professor of history at Eastern Kentucky University. His book, *Exiles and Pioneers: Eastern Indians in the Trans-Mississippi West*, will be published by Cambridge University Press in 2007.

Over the past century and more a steady diet of dime-store novels and Hollywood movies have constructed an indelible image of nineteenth-century pioneer wagon trains under attack by hordes of Plains Indians out for blood, women, and material gain. In *Indians and Emigrants*, Michael Tate tackles this interpretation of westward expansion that has been imbedded in the American public's imagination since the first hardy men and women left towns such as Independence, Missouri, in their wake. Yet this is not his sole mission. He also works hard to avoid oversimplifying a complex history by addressing the perspectives of all the parties involved in these western meetings. Because it is an in-depth examination of the available resources covering the years from 1840 to 1870, he hopes that his book will counter "popular images of savage Indians perpetually attacking intrepid pioneers and greedy whites brutalizing noble Indians" (xx).

Tate makes clear in his introduction that he is deeply indebted to the scholarship that has come before him; he is especially eager to point out the value of John D. Unruh Jr.'s *Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1860* (first published in 1979), a scrutiny of Indian-white relations along the many emigrant trails. Indeed, Unruh and others such as Glenda Riley have already used statistical analyses to undermine the notions of ongoing Indian violence against pioneers during the peak decades of western travel. Although Tate points out the value of such previous scholarship, he also proposes that those books have not managed to cover the entire story. Not only do perceptions of pervasive conflict between Indians and emigrants remain, but also the viewpoints of Indian peoples along the trail have usually been left out of the picture.

Indians and Emigrants is therefore constructed both to emulate the studies that examined a broad scope of this period of American expansion and to advance that scholarship through the inclusion of na-

tive perspectives and understandings. The book is organized more thematically than chronologically over the course of its ten chapters, and Tate deals with everything from the tales of captivity and Indian massacres to the moments when Indians and travelers helped each other and came to mutual understandings about their meetings on the overland trails. Most important, he balances his analysis between the two sides of the encounter. For example, anecdotes describing Indian assistance to struggling pioneers are presented along with incidents of kindness towards Indian men and women along the trail.

The strength of this book rests in several connected points that Tate returns to throughout the text. He emphasizes that the brief nature of encounters on emigrant trails made it difficult for any of the parties to establish a lasting relationship or cultural understanding. Because the window of each encounter was often so small, the possibility of misunderstanding loomed large. This was a particularly critical issue for the white men and women who began their journey with preconceived notions of the Indian encounters to come. As Tate illustrates so well, the Indian communities who lived along the trail faced the almost impossible task of overcoming a relentless wave of preconceptions and fears fashioned by letters home, newspaper editorials, and other contemporary accounts. As a result, the white emigrants' perception of reality eclipsed the actual reality on the trail. And, Tate discovered time and time again in his research, white emigrants were more likely to act quickly on their misconceptions than to attempt to obtain more information.

The source of the book's strength can also be seen as the well-spring of its primary weakness. Tate examined a vast array of traveler accounts, letters, and diaries to ground his study, and that depth provides a wonderful bibliography for readers and lends tremendous credence to his assertions. Such voluminous records, however, also lead the author to spend a great deal of time in each chapter presenting a host of anecdotes to support his points. The resulting argument, while historically convincing, does not always make for a smooth narrative. In the end, however, that is a minor critique; the importance of Tate's work outweighs such concerns. Indeed, perhaps the perceived need to present example after example is simply a reflection of the continued weight of popular imagery of Indian-white relations on the emigrant trails in the nineteenth century.

Thomas Moran's West: Chromolithography, High Art, and Popular Taste, by Joni L. Kinsey. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas for Joslyn Art Museum, 2006. xi, 260 pp. Illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth.

Reviewer Carol Clark is professor of fine arts and American studies at Amherst College. She is the author of *Thomas Moran: Watercolors of the American West* (1980).

Joni Kinsey's book, lavishly illustrated and well produced, revolves around a portfolio of 15 chromolithographs after watercolors of American western landscapes that Louis Prang commissioned from Thomas Moran and published in 1876. The portfolio includes 12 pages of text by Ferdinand V. Hayden, leader of one of the four so-called "Great Surveys" sponsored by the U.S. Congress to comprehensively study the West in the years following the Civil War. The price of the 20" x 18" portfolio, covered in leather and luxuriously boxed, was \$60 (about \$1,000 today), which reflected the high cost of Prang's ambitions to set a new standard in the industry of fine art reproduction that he had pioneered. He hoped that this combination of brilliantly colored prints of the West after the watercolors of a noted exploration artist, accompanied by an authenticating scientific text, would appeal to a wide cross-section of Americans. His hopes were not realized: not only did the portfolio fail to attract much attention or to sell well in the artistic or the scientific community, its price probably also kept it out of the hands of a wider public whose appetite for the West had been whetted by exploration reports in the popular press. Prang's failure was compounded in 1877 by a disastrous fire in his Boston plant: having sold or (mostly) given away only 100 of the 1,000 portfolios he produced, he was left with just 50. His marketing plan came to an abrupt halt.

Kinsey, a professor of art history at the University of Iowa and a leading Moran scholar, positions the portfolio in several fascinating contexts. She provides details of the technological process of chromolithography and notes the elitist criticism directed at the production of these colorful reproductions of original works of art. She follows Moran's trail through the West to clarify the sources of the watercolors he produced in his studio to fulfill the Prang commission, and then she proposes ways to understand their order and meaning within the portfolio. She also recounts Prang's negotiations to produce the portfolio and his strategy to market it.

Kinsey leaves no doubt that Prang succeeded in his efforts to attractively encapsulate and package the West as colorful encounters

with discrete episodes of extraordinary scenery. Exactly why and how the chromos were compelling images is harder to determine. If the portfolio was so important, why was it difficult to market? Were the chromos just victims of a developing attitude that devalued reproductions as worthy works of art, or was Moran's imagery losing its hold on a popular imagination? Perhaps there was another reason for the Yellowstone portfolio's lackluster sale and meager critical attention: Prang debuted the portfolio at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, where, Kinsey astutely points out, "immediately after the opening of the fair, news of the Battle of the Little Bighorn in Montana turned all eyes westward" (188). While it is difficult to know how this news affected the reception of the portfolio's images, the verbal image of a western landscape soaked with the blood of General George Armstrong Custer and all his men likely gave new meaning to these chromolithographs of western landscapes. One possible consequence I see is that the brilliant colors of the Moran/Prang chromos (brashly compelling to our eyes) conveyed an optimism that was challenged by lurid reports of "American" deaths at the hands of Indians. While Kinsey focuses on the production of western imagery, she also sets up questions for future debate about the history of its consumption.

An American Colony: Regionalism and the Roots of Midwestern Culture, by Edward Watts. Athens, Ohio: Swallow Press, University of Ohio Press, 2002. xxv, 328 pp. Map, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth.

Reviewer Zachary Michael Jack is assistant professor of English at North Central College. An Iowa native, he is the editor of several agrarian and environmental anthologies, most recently *Love of the Land: Essential Farm and Conservation Readings from an American Golden Age* (2006) and *Letters to a Young Iowan* (2007).

Edward Watts's *An American Colony: Regionalism and the Roots of Midwestern Culture* presents a uniquely interdisciplinary treatment of the by now mythic midwestern inferiority complex. Drawing from post-colonial theory as set forth by Peter Hulme and others, Watts strongly posits, without insisting, a historical Midwest functioning as a de facto Third World entity – the *colony* of the book's title. Citing Hulme's claim that "a country can be both postcolonial and colonizing itself" (5), Watts examines the many ways the American heartland is, indeed, a colony of a colony. The colonizer is the "Yankee Nation" of New England and its defenders (Manasseh Cutler, James Fenimore Cooper, and their ilk); John Peter Altgeld, E. W. Howe, and especially Hamlin Garland represent the ambivalently colonized. In the book's introduction,

Iowa's Grant Wood is allowed to sound the latter-day battle cry on behalf of the colonized regionalists; his provocative claim, excerpted from "Revolt Against the City" ("the colonial spirit is, of course, basically an imitative spirit"), serves as the monograph's tone-setting epigraph.

Divided into 11 chapters spread over four numbered parts or sections, Watts traces the cultural history of the midlands from the Northwest Ordinance of the 1780s (a typo on page 11 transposes 1784 to 1874 in the book's sole illustration) to Hamlin Garland's restless turn-of-the-century narratives. As with Andrew Cayton and Susan Gray's *The American Midwest: Essays on Regional History* (2001), Watts focuses on the Old Northwest states of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin; Iowa earns not a single entry in the book's index, though the state is mentioned briefly in relation to Wood, Garland, and, most notably, Black Hawk (in a useful chapter devoted to the era's often paradoxical Native American biographies and autobiographies). Case studies highlight Ohio and antebellum Cincinnati, in particular, as emblematic of a "conflicted colonial center" suspended between cultural separatism and eastern wanna-be-ism. This concentration on sources and narratives drawn from the Ohio Valley may make *An American Colony* potentially disappointing for Iowa and Great Plains readers.

A winner of the Society for the Study of Midwestern Literature/Ohio University Press Book award, *An American Colony* benefits from multiple layers of peer review as well as the author's careful and eclectic research that culminates in more than 50 pages of notes and bibliography. Suitable for classroom adoption and library acquisition in support of curricula combining regional history and literature—such as the American Thought and Language program at Michigan State University, where Watts is a professor of English—the volume will find an eager interdisciplinary audience at colleges and universities; the density of the writing and theoretical terminology deployed may make it less appealing to amateur historians or regionalists.

The book, billed as a work of cultural history, will also frustrate purists entrenched in disciplinary camps. Historians are likely to criticize the book's scant use of archival sources and its primarily literary analysis of historic texts. Literary types, meanwhile, may want a closer, more theoretically informed reading of the motifs, themes, and implicit ideologies of the texts themselves. To his credit, a courageous Watts anticipates such criticisms throughout and faces them head-on in strategically deployed qualifying statements, though he stumbles somewhat in his introduction's all-important yet needlessly polysyllabic mission statement: "To reconstitute the vernacular heterogeneity of the Old Northwest—in opposition to the nationalist homogeneity

ascribed to it in so much American cultural history" (xxii). Despite the occasional wordy passage, Watts's writing is crisp.

Multiculturalists will appreciate Watts's insightful chapters on "natives, crossbloods, and settlers," though the region's African American legacy remains little explored. Women will be hard pressed to find examples of pre- or proto-feminist historical perspectives on the region, as among the handful of literary authors Watts examines in detail, only one, Caroline Kirkland (*A New Home, Who'll Follow?*), offers a woman's impressions. Moreover, Watts criticizes Kirkland's fiction because, despite its Michigan setting, "its universalizing sentimental nationalism drains the actual conditions she observes of their specificity, exposing the local only to lock it away in the past" (178). Watts makes amends for the dearth of period female voices by incorporating the voices of a number of contemporary female scholars, most notably Susan E. Gray and Susan-Mary Grant.

The continuity of Watts's treatment suffers somewhat from its piecemeal case-study methodology, but the book covers the principal literary-cultural players of the nineteenth century, with the exception of Twain, whose omission is explained in the book's introduction. Throughout, Watts demonstrates scholarly discipline, taking care to avoid historical overreach prompted by theoretical giddiness while also eschewing unsupportable claims about the contemporary Midwest. Watts allows himself just two moments of contemporary cultural criticism, the first in the book's introduction, where he asserts the relevance of nineteenth-century historical regionalism for a globalism-minded present, and the second in a concluding foray, where he cites the "lack of reciprocity . . . still present in interregional contacts" (220) via Garrison Keillor, *Cheers'* Woody Boyd, the Walsh family on *Beverly Hills 90210*, and Kevin Costner's *Field of Dreams*.

If a Grant Wood-style regionalism does indeed rise again along the Middle Border, Edward Watts's *An American Colony* will doubtless serve as a useful historical primer, an intriguing literary retrospective, and (never say never) a mobilization manual for an informed resistance.

The Rise of Jonas Olsen: A Norwegian Immigrant's Saga, by Johannes B. Wist, translated by Orm Øverland. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006. xxxiv, 435 pp. Notes, bibliography. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewer J. R. Christianson is research professor of history at Luther College. He edited the anthology, *Scandinavians in America: Literary Life* (1985).

This novel of immigrant upward mobility was written in Decorah, Iowa, appeared serially in the Norwegian American newspaper, *De-*

corah Posten, in the years 1919–1922, and was subsequently published in book form. Orm Øverland's admirable English translation appears in a durable half-buckram binding. The story is fast paced, the characterizations finely nuanced and full of human insight.

Jonas Olsen arrives in Minneapolis from Norway in the 1880s and works his way up from laborer to grocer. His methods are not always above board, but *bisnes* is *bisnes* in booming America. When his grocery store goes bankrupt in the Panic of 1893, Jonas and his charming bride, Ragna, go into farming in the Red River Valley. The railroad comes through, and Jonas competes with the overbearing Elihu Ward to lay out a new town, with lots of shenanigans on both sides. The novel ends with Jonas as the tycoon of Jonasville around 1910, locked in a fierce rivalry with Ward's town of Normanville to become the county seat and dominate local affairs.

Unlike grim classics of Scandinavian immigrant life such as O. E. Rølvaag's *Giants in the Earth*, this novel sparkles with humor, and it deals with immigrants who cope successfully (though not without difficulties) with American farming, small towns, and urban life. It describes a rich multicultural panorama of midwestern immigrant life, literature, and culture. This is a marvelous Scandinavian American novel, well worth your time and money. It deserves to stand next to Rølvaag on your bookshelf.

Delivering Aid: Implementing Progressive Era Welfare in the American West, by Thomas A. Krainz. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005. xiv, 325 pp. Illustrations, appendix of tables, notes, index. \$37.50 cloth.

Reviewer Joan Gittens is professor of history at Southwest Minnesota State University. She is the author of *Poor Relations: The Children of the State in Illinois, 1818–1990* (1994).

In *Delivering Aid*, Thomas Krainz sets out to determine whether the social welfare theories developing during the Progressive Era had an impact on public assistance as it was actually experienced by needy people in Colorado. Colorado is a useful focus of study, Krainz argues, because it experienced so many conditions that made the Progressive Era the time of turmoil that it was: immigration, labor struggles, and political contests between reformers and entrenched politicians. Krainz examines six counties in Colorado, representing a wide range of conditions, from urban Denver to Costilla County in southwest Colorado (peopled largely by a long resident Hispanic population) to Montezuma County (30 percent of which was made up of the Moun-

tain Ute Indian Reservation). Other populations within his six counties were miners and farmers.

Krainz questions recent historical work that, he believes, focuses too exclusively on the social welfare theory that was developing during the Progressive Era and not enough on actual delivery of aid. His contention is that, despite the energy given to innovative and very popular notions such as mothers' pensions during that era and the importance accorded to case work executed by trained social workers, when it came to actual delivery of services, things changed very little for poor people in the counties he studied. Local conditions, he argues, whether the strong family support system and church-related support of Costilla County or the political activities of Denver, had far more to do with what actually happened to clients than any of the theories touted at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections meetings (some of whose meetings actually took place in Denver).

Krainz describes blind pensions as the one genuinely innovative welfare reform in Colorado. The control of blind pensions was actually in the hands of the lobby for blind people and, as a result, was far more uniform and generous in the granting of pensions with far fewer strings attached than were other types of aid. Blind people did far better under this system than they had previously done. But even blind pensions fell victim to the combined assault of conservative 1920s politics, coupled with the fears of some advocates for blind people that pensions eroded efforts to employ them. Even with this brief success, Progressive Era theory could not trump the complexity and intransigence of local circumstances.

Krainz successfully demonstrates his main contention, but that overarching theme is not the most striking thing about his book. The gap between policy as written and policy as it is really practiced is a dreary constant of social welfare history, evidenced in studies of mothers' pensions and the juvenile court done by the Children's Bureau and other investigatory agencies as early as the 1920s. Krainz himself notes in his introduction that when he worked as a social worker, he was always struck by the gap between notions of what was "best practice" in social welfare theory compared to the difficult reality for clients negotiating a complicated and often unresponsive system.

What is really impressive in Krainz's book is the level and breadth of investigation that he undertook, his diligence in uncovering information, and the rich particulars with which he bolsters his argument. Krainz describes visiting more than a third of Colorado's county courthouses in pursuit of his evidence, literally crawling and climbing to reach long forgotten records. His story of those dependent on the

vagaries of public mercy is sometimes patchy, owing to the dearth of material. But collectively it makes for a powerful story that accords poor people a presence and a voice. Krainz emphasizes the issues unique to Colorado—the impact of mining, for example, the struggles of “dry farmers,” or the poignant story of “lungers” (the desperate victims of tuberculosis who moved to Denver as a last attempt at a cure and posed such a challenge to the city’s social welfare system). At the same time, he puts Colorado firmly into the broader context of social welfare in the Progressive Era. *Delivering Aid* is written in a clear and engaging style, with a command of a broad range of materials, meticulous documentation, and an appendix full of tables that detail the results of those searches through courthouse records. It will be of interest to historians of social welfare and historians of the American West.

Labor, Loyalty, and Rebellion: Southwestern Illinois Coal Miners and World War I, by Carl R. Weinberg. Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 2005. xvi, 246 pp. Illustrations, map, notes, index. \$55.00 cloth, \$27.00 paper.

Reviewer Bill R. Douglas lives and works in Des Moines. He has written several articles on antiwar activity in Iowa, including “Penn in Technicolor” (forthcoming in *Quaker History*).

Labor, Loyalty, and Rebellion is about three obscure downstate Illinois counties, some coal miners’ strikes, and—oh, yes—a lynching. The author’s conclusion? “Both on the battlefields of Europe and on home-fronts worldwide, World War I incited in large numbers of working people a mindless hatred of each other” (151). Weinberg’s success in demonstrating this conclusion represents a triumph of local history. Good local and regional history is more difficult than national generalizations in that it needs to relate particulars to the more abstract strands of national policy and practice.

Other historians have been accumulating local and regional evidence against any public consensus in favor of waging World War I. Jeannette Keith, in *Rich Man’s War, Poor Man’s Fight: Race, Class, and Power in the Rural South during the First World War* (2004), makes the case for the opposition of the rural South, as does Christopher Gibbs in *The Great Silent Majority: Missouri’s Resistance to World War I* (1988), though he overreaches in the subtitle by classifying skepticism as resistance. Some day—soon, we may hope—someone will synthesize the local discontent and why it failed to stop the war; meanwhile, we have fine local analyses such as Weinberg’s.

Weinberg has several strands to unravel: United Mine Workers (UMW) history and politics, German immigration patterns, and the many aspects of U.S. government imposition of war on American society. The militancy of District 12 of the UMW certainly preceded World War I, and after the war District 12 continued to be the center of dissident activity in the Progressive Mine Workers of America. Divisions between radicals and conservatives in the district played out in the 1914 union election between Socialist Adolph Germer, who would become national secretary of the Socialist Party during the war, and business unionist Frank Farrington, who would seek to quell early wartime wildcat strikes, advocate acceptance of government fines for wartime strikes, and counsel that patriotism and wartime cooperation with mine owners would be rewarded. As Weinberg shows, it was militancy and not loyalty that was rewarded, and Farrington himself would be pushed out of union leadership for his postwar support of militant action.

But pressure from above and reports of American casualties combined to make public antiwar sentiment dangerous by 1918. Indeed, Weinberg shows that lynching victim Robert Prager was actually pro-war, and that he may not have been a socialist, contrary to earlier accounts. But it was enough (combined with the contingency that tar and feathers could not be found) that he was a recent German immigrant and had a stubborn streak. Weinberg is particularly persuasive on the internalization of repression. Perhaps an application of René Girard's theory of scapegoating might have strengthened Weinberg's argument that Robert Paul Prager died for the sins of Woodrow Wilson.

Weinberg's discussion of the passage of the Sedition Act could have been more nuanced: parts of the Wilson administration opposed extending the Espionage Act to cover all antiwar speech, whether or not military recruitment might be hindered, some on the practical grounds that the Justice Department would be overwhelmed with cases, and some on the political grounds that it would encourage the jingoist right at the expense of the social goals of the Wilsonian center. The Prager lynching ironically contributed to the passage of the act, with liberals arguing that imprisoning people for exercising free speech was preferable to lynching them.

Of all the books I have read on U.S. involvement in World War I, only Richard Polenberg's *Fighting Faiths*, a legal and social history of the Abrams decision, better captures the contested terrain of liberty and loyalty.

The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History. Volume 4, Global America, 1915–2000, by D. W. Meinig. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004. xvi, 467 pp. Illustrations, maps, charts, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth.

Reviewer David Blanke is assistant professor of history at Texas A&M University–Corpus Christi. He is the author of *Hell on Wheels: The Promise and Peril of America's Car Culture* (2007) and *Sowing the American Dream: How Consumer Culture Took Root in the Rural Midwest* (2000).

In his fourth and final volume of *The Shaping of America* series, D. W. Meinig adds additional depth and substance to his claim that history and geography are mutually reinforcing disciplines; both “by their very nature” are “analogous, complementary, and interdependent fields.” Yet, in spite of their similarities, there remains “little evidence of significant interaction and convergence between them in common American practice” (xiii). Meinig’s ability to correct that imbalance while spanning no less than five centuries has generated richly deserved praise for his astonishing contribution to both fields. Generously illustrated, clearly written, and methodologically sound, the books should find a place in most libraries and will serve students of the United States for many years to come.

Meinig prefaces this book with a quote from folklorist Henry Glassie, who holds that “history is not the past, but a map of the past drawn from a particular point of view to be useful to the modern traveler” (vi). Meinig’s particular point of view in this volume is what scholars once termed the American Century, and is here divided into three broad sections. The first examines the technological changes affecting Americans’ understanding of national space and identity. The second probes the “morphological” shifts caused by human migrations and the resulting policies that affected a national consciousness. The last surveys the assertions and impositions made by Americans as the nation gained political and economic hegemony across the globe.

The ambitious scope of the work opens the book to charges of over-generalization. Indeed, many fundamental social categories, such as gender, race, class, and ethnicity, are not treated systemically in Meinig’s formulation of national consciousness. Moreover, the book slights most environmental aspects of geographic history, such as climate, topography, water resources, and other natural determinants. By and large, for Meinig, the intersection of geography and history is best understood within the traditional realms of the marketplace (including technology and engineering) and national and international politics. But within those limits, Meinig provides a compelling and

generally persuasive narrative of the key changes to twentieth-century America.

In the first section, on technological and market shifts, the author synthesizes a fairly traditional narrative covering the modern transportation revolution, including automobile, rail, air, and water transit. The emergence of a federated system for national planning and large-scale market efficiencies determined the geographic transit patterns seen today. The sequential influence of cities, suburbs, and edge cities throughout the twentieth century explains most of these patterns. Meinig uses numerous maps and charts to show an emerging transportation network that anticipates our contemporary appreciation of the transit and technology hubs—such as Chicago, Atlanta, Dallas, and Denver—that affect national commerce. Given the repeating patterns, for example between national rail and air travel (57, 59, 76), I would have preferred a more nuanced discussion of urban determinism—along the lines of William Cronon's "logic of capital"—to the all-inclusive narrative provided by Meinig. But his inclusion of more recent shifts in information technologies, local air service, and massive corporate mergers makes such a close analysis an unwarranted luxury. Certainly, his valuable synthesis of television, telephony, and the internet into the broad national narrative justifies his choice.

The arrival of new technologies, market forces, and transportation services lays the foundation for Meinig's second and, in my view, most important section of the book. Here the author details the various migration streams, immigration policies, and multiple "doorways" whereby people responded to the changing technological footing of the country. Scholars of Iowa and the broader Midwest would do well to review Meinig's assessment of regionalism in the middle decades. As he notes, "That the massive Core of the United States that had been firmly in place for a century could have become so eroded and countered in its power in so short a time . . . represented a drastic restructuring of the nation" (277). Here, Meinig effectively blends current urban and social history to show how the growth of cities, such as Chicago, St. Louis, or Kansas City, and the influence of immigration led to a relative weakening of regional identification and the markets that sustained them. Meinig adds the trajectory of several peripheral populations, including those in Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and on Native American lands, to again tempt the reader to explore his many secondary references.

Although the concluding section sustains Meinig's ambitious thesis, it seems the least compelling of the three. Perhaps the overlay of American hegemony and the nation's assertions of global power fol-

lowing World War II are simply too similar to the geopolitical realms of the Cold War to engender any new or unexpected patterns. For much of this section, America and "the West" are one and the same. Again, geographically peripheral areas, such as the "polar confrontation" of the Cold War, offer the most compelling and thought-provoking reactions to the nation's "victory" over communism.

But these criticisms are trifling compared to Meinig's overall contribution. This is a text that deserves wide circulation and one that compels others to heed his warnings about excluding geography. Without this perspective it is doubtful that anyone can fully understand America's national contours.

Wisconsin Politics and Government: America's Laboratory of Democracy, by James K. Conant. *Politics and Governments of the American States*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006. xx, 415 pp. Maps, tables, graphs, bibliography, notes, index. \$70.00 cloth, \$29.95 paper.

Reviewer John D. Buenker is professor emeritus of history at the University of Wisconsin-Parkside. He has written extensively on American political history and culture and is the author of *The History of Wisconsin*, vol. 4, *The Progressive Era, 1893-1914* (1998).

The most important feature of Wisconsin society, government, and politics in the twentieth century, according to James K. Conant, was its "progressive nature": issue-oriented politics, scandal-free government, efficient and effective administration of policies and programs, consistently large voter turnout, and citizen involvement "in political activity in ways that extended beyond elections." Such an orientation "seems to correspond with the democratic ideal posited by Alexis de Tocqueville in his classic work *Democracy in America*," and differentiates it from most other midwestern states. Conant is quick to point out, however, that it has not always been that way and that, by the end of the twentieth century, "some of the Progressive premises or boundaries" were "severely tested or broken" (xv-xvii).

To explain this bipolar pattern, Conant posits an ongoing conflict between the "marketplace" and "commonwealth" conceptions of society and divides Wisconsin's history into "four major periods of experimentation." In the former, politics is a struggle for power and tangible rewards among private interest groups, while the purpose of government is to aggrandize those interests and professional politicians. In the latter, the purpose of politics and government is to protect citizens and public resources from exploitation by those same interests and professional politicians.

During the last half of the nineteenth century, Wisconsin was dominated by lumber, railroad, manufacturing, and other business groups through the regular Republican "machine," which played marketplace politics to the hilt. Between 1900 and 1915, however, "progressives," led by Robert M. La Follette Sr., turned the state into what Theodore Roosevelt proclaimed as "literally a laboratory for wise experimental legislation" for "the social and political betterment of the people as a whole," indelibly imprinting the commonwealth world view upon the state's psyche. Over the next two decades, "progressives" and "stalwarts" struggled for hegemony, until the former, headed by a new generation of La Follettes, restored commonwealth politics during the 1930s. Following another decade of stalemate between the two systems, Democrats, rejuvenated by a major infusion of Progressives and Social Democrats, inaugurated a third period of commonwealth predominance that lasted into the early 1980s. From that point until the end of the century, marketplace politics, orchestrated by four-term Republican Governor Tommy Thompson, regained the upper hand.

Utilizing that explanatory framework, Conant takes readers through the evolution of Wisconsin's constitution, legislature, executive, judiciary, parties, and interest groups. Although the founding constitution has persisted since 1848, it has been amended 132 times; only two of its original 15 articles remain intact. Similarly, early governors had two-year terms and were largely limited to administrative and ceremonial functions, while their present-day successors enjoy four-year terms, prepare the budget, set the legislative agenda, possess a "partial veto" over legislation, and act as "intergovernmental representatives." Conant applies the same treatment to the historical development of the state's social welfare policy, local government, state-local relations, and place in the federal system. Although the book's strength clearly lies in the author's impressive grasp of the "nuts and bolts" of the state's polity, many readers will find his first and last chapters—"The Character of the State" and "Continuing Traditions and Emerging Issues"—to be the most thought provoking.

Despite the resurgence of the marketplace conception during the late twentieth century, Conant concludes, "It seems difficult to imagine that the state's citizens would allow their political institutions to be captured once again by narrow economic interests that manipulate the levers of government for their own gain" (31).

New on the Shelves

"New on the Shelves" is a list of recent additions to the collections of the State Historical Society of Iowa. It includes manuscripts, audio-visual materials, and published materials recently acquired or newly processed that we think might be of interest to the readers of the *Annals of Iowa*. The "DM" or "IC" at the end of each entry denotes whether the item is held in Des Moines or Iowa City.

Manuscripts and Records

American Association of University Women, Iowa Division. Additions to Records, ca. 1987–2006. 4 ft. Includes minutes, directories, programming, newsletters, awards, and information on the Iowa Education Equity Council & Iowa Roundtable on Education Equality, and ERA Coalition project. Also National publications and convention information, plaques, and videocassettes, "Voices for Choices." IC.

Davis, Merle O. Papers, 1927–2005. 5 ft. Research files on Iowa labor history, including articles from Iowa and midwestern newspapers, *United Mineworkers' Journal*, and various labor newspapers with articles relating to Iowa. IC.

Davis, Merle O. Additions to Papers, 1938. ¼ ft. Materials relating to 1938 strike at Swift & Co. meatpacking plant in Sioux City, Iowa, including correspondence, list of workers and job classes, wage rates, etc. IC.

Davis, Merle O. Additions to Papers, 1956. ¼ ft. Materials relating to 1956 strike at Swift & Co. meatpacking plant in Sioux City, Iowa, including list of employees and pay rates, publicity from company, clippings from Sioux City newspapers, lists of employees with job classifications, telegram from company regarding strike; report on incidents during strikes by Swift's "chief of police," plus daily reports naming people on strike picket line and their schedule. IC.

Davis, Merle O. Additions to Papers, 1840s–1880s. ½ ft. Includes various documents and letters written to and from Iowa: 1) Memoranda Book, 1883–1884, kept by Marshall County, Iowa, farmer of expenses, etc.; 2) Letter, 1849, from John Scott of Garnavillo, Iowa, requesting store; 3) Letter, 1859, from E. G. Barber in northeast Iowa regarding price of land; 4) Letter, 1866, from "Lisa" in Albia, Iowa, after several months of living in Albia; 5) Letter, 1867, from Henry Mire of Keosauqua, Iowa, to his mother regarding purchase of land and coal mine; 6) Letter, 1876, from Mary Higgins of Tiffin, Iowa, regarding family trip to local coal mine; 7) Letter, 1882, from "Aaron" of Neola, Iowa, to sister and brother about family matters; 8) Letter, 1873, from brother "Eugene" in Burlington, Iowa, to my dear "Smith" (he was a salesman selling whiskey around Iowa and Missouri); 9) Letter, 1859, from James Dreper of Ottumwa, Iowa, to G. W. Dreper, telling about the farm in Iowa and selling coal to Burlington and Missouri Railroad. IC.

Davis, Merle O. Additions to Papers, 1986. ½ ft. Unemployed, A Bored [Board] Game for 2-6 players Age 10 through Retired. Published by Bummer Brothers, copyright Peter G. Stiefel, Burlington, Iowa. IC.

Dougher, Rich and Woodburn (Des Moines). Architectural drawings and files, 1923-1947. Documentation from 24 Iowa projects completed by this firm, which specialized in design of public and semi-public buildings. Includes plans for schools, churches, a hospital, and a Masonic temple. DM.

Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO. Additions to Records, 1995-2006. 13 ft. Materials include daily files and communications. IC.

Nash, Jan Olive. "Cedar Valley Riverfront Renaissance: Historical/Architectural Intensive Level Study of the River Walls located along the Cedar River between the Mullan Ave. and 11th St. Bridge in the City of Waterloo," prepared by Jan Olive Nash, principal investigator, Tallgrass Historians, L.C., 2006. 29 pp. IC.

Nash, Jan Olive. "Iowa Historic Property Study: Goldfield Bridge over the Boone River, City of Goldfield, Wright County, Iowa," prepared by Jan Olive Nash, principal investigator, Tallgrass Historians, L.C., 2006. 30 pp. IC.

South Central Federation of Labor. Additions to Records, 1995-2006. 1 ft. IC.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Local 1835. Records, ca. 1912-2000. Records of union in Waterloo, Iowa, includes minutes of meetings, financial records, membership lists, photographs, political broadside, apprenticeship training manual, scaffold building books, promotional pens and pencils, stickers, videotapes for training, lapel pin, book, certificates, community service information, conference materials, cap with local union logo, panorama of 33rd national convention, dues records, contracts and agreements, retirement records, etc. IC.

Women's Auxiliary to the National Postal Transport Association (Des Moines). Two scrapbooks, 1958-1962. Materials compiled by this group (previously named the Women's Auxiliary to the Railway Mail Association) to record activities of individual railway mail workers and their local union. Scrapbooks include a number of newsletters of Des Moines Local 64-T of the United Federation of Postal Clerks. DM.

Audio-Visual Materials

Anderson, Waldo. Photograph album, ca. 1920-1930. 1 vol. (ca. 144 black-and-white photographs). Photograph album of college days at the University of Iowa and subsequent teaching experience in Iowa. IC.

Friends of the Iowa Judiciary. Oral history interview on digital video disk, December 15, 2005. Honorable Mark McCormick (Ft. Dodge) discusses his experiences as Iowa Supreme Court Justice (1972-1986), his work in private practice and other regional court jurisdictions, and his general philosophies on the interpretation and practice of law. DM.

Garrison, Iowa. 13 black-and-white photographic postcards, ca. 1910-1911. Views in and around Garrison, including photos showing aftermath of a Rock Island train wreck on April 11, 1910, and destruction caused by a 1911 fire. DM.

Golz, Richard A. Photographs, ca. 1960s–1990s. 1,236 color slides. Aerial views and scenes of Bloody Run, Iowa parks, general Iowa ecology, Elkader, Waterloo, Clayton County, and vacation trips. IC.

Meskwaki Films. 3 films, ca. 1960–1970, transferred to DVD format: *The Red Earth People*, 16mm, black-and-white, sound, 30 minutes; *Home for the Weekend*, 16mm, color, sound, 14 minutes; and regular 8mm and Super 8 compilation of home movies of powwows, color, silent, 20 minutes. IC.

Meskwaki Photographs. 27 original black-and-white photographs of Meskwaki Indians, ca. 1900–1905. Includes studio portraits and informal snapshots of Meskwaki on the streets of Tama, etc., originally owned by Arthur Selzer. IC.

Treptow, Leland Earl (Sgt.). Scrapbook, 1942–1945. Compiled photographs, letters, ephemera, and original poems documenting Sgt. Treptow's military service with the 3943rd Quartermaster Truck Company, a unit assigned to the U.S. Army's Persian Gulf Command. DM.

Witt, William. Photographs, 1976–2003. Ca. 2,000 color transparencies and slides of scenes and activities around Iowa, shot for *The Iowan* magazine, including Hotel Manning, polka fest, Sturgis Falls Days, Mechanicsville, Czech museum, various business and corporate photos such as Mighty M Corporation in Peosta and American Popcorn Company in Sioux City. IC.

Published Materials

An Abridgment of the Hygienic Physiology: With Special Reference to Alcoholic Drinks and Narcotics, for the Use of Junior Classes and Common Schools, by Joel Dorman Steele. New York: American Book Co., [1884]. 192 pp. DM.

The Advance of American Cooperative Enterprise, 1920–1945, by Joseph G. Knapp. Danville, IL: Interstate Printers & Publishers, [1973]. 646 pp. IC.

Aladdin "Built in a Day" House Catalog, 1917. 1917. Reprint. New York: Dover Publications, 1995. 117 pp. DM, IC.

Always on Call: Samuel Mazzuchelli of the Order of Preachers, 1806–1864, Mary Cabrini Durkin and Mary Nona McGreal. Strasbourg, France: Éditions du Signe, 2000. 48 pp. DM, IC.

The Amana People: The History of a Religious Community, by Peter Hoehnle. [Iowa City]: Penfield Books, 2003. 96 pp. DM, IC.

The American Bungalow, 1880–1930, by Clay Lancaster. 1985. Reprint. New York: Dover Publications, 1995. 256 pp. DM, IC.

American Racist: The Life and Films of Thomas Dixon, by Anthony Slide. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004. x, 242 pp. DM.

American Shelter: An Illustrated Encyclopedia of the American Home, by Lester Walker. Rev. ed. Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 1997. 333 pp. DM, IC.

American Victorian Cottage Homes. 1878. Reprint. New York: Dover, 1990. Originally published as *Palliser's American Cottage Homes*. DM, IC.

Architectural Details and Measured Drawings of Houses of the Twenties, by William A. Radford. 1921. Reprint. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2002. 160 pp. Originally published as *Architectural Details for Every Type of Building*. DM, IC.

Architecture at Hand. Des Moines: American Institute of Architects, Iowa Chapter, [1989?]. 83 pp. DM, IC.

Archives & Archivists in the Information Age, by Richard J. Cox. New York: Neal-Schuman Publishers, 2005. xiii, 325 pp. DM.

An Army at Dawn: The War in North Africa, 1942–1943, by Rick Atkinson. Owl Books ed. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2003. xv, 681 pp. DM.

Astri, My Astri: Norwegian Heritage Stories, by Deb Nelson Gourley; Norwegian translations by Vigdis Sundsvold (14 stories); English translations by James Skurdall (2 stories). Waukon, 2004. 244 pp. Originally published as feature stories in Minnesota's Fillmore County Journal. DM, IC.

Authentic Color Schemes for Victorian Houses: Comstock's Modern House Painting, 1883, by E. K. Rossiter and F. A. Wright. 1883. Reprint. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2001. 16 pp. Originally published as *Modern House Painting*. DM, IC.

Authentic Small Houses of the Twenties: Illustrations and Floor Plans of 254 Characteristic Homes, edited by Robert T. Jones. 1929. Reprint. New York: Dover Publications, 1987. 278 pp. Originally published as *Small Homes of Architectural Distinction*. DM, IC.

Avons Bottles: Research and History, by Dee Schneider. Glendale, CA: Avons Research, 1970. 35 pp. DM.

Beautiful Bungalows of the Twenties, 1923. Reprint. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2003. 96 pp. DM, IC.

Becoming Sgt. Kahl: Lingerin Memories of a WWII Vet: From Lyon County, Iowa to the South Pacific Theater: U.S. Army 20th Infantry, by Vernon M. Kahl; edited by Karolyn Kahl Anderson and Elise Rebecca Kahl. Brookings, SD, 2002. 80 pp. DM.

Bennett's Small House Catalog, 1920. New York: Dover Publications, 1993. 72 pp. An unabridged reprint of *Bennett Homes: Better-built Ready-cut, Catalog No. 18*, published by Ray H. Bennett Lumber Co., Inc., North Tonawanda, NY, in 1920. DM, IC.

Bootprints: An Infantryman's Walk through World War II, by Hobert Winebrenner and Michael McCoy. Albion, IN: Camp Comamajo Press, 2005. viii, 308 pp. DM.

Building Environments, edited by Kenneth A. Breisch and Alison K. Hoagland. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005. xiv, 299 pp. DM.

Cain, by Louis P. Brown. Des Moines, 1927. 19 pp. Poetry by Iowa author. DM.

Catholic Daughters of the Americas: A Century in Review, by Berard L. Marthaler and Carol Dorr Clement. Rockville, MD, 2003. vi, 151 pp. IC.

The Chamber of Horror, by Louis P. Brown. Des Moines, 1926. 14 pp. Short story by Iowa author. DM.

Cheap, Quick, & Easy: Imitative Architectural Materials, 1870–1930, by Pamela H. Simpson. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999. xii, 215 pp. DM, IC.

The Child's Book of Nature: For the Use of Families and Schools, Intended to Aid Mothers and Teachers in Training Children in the Observation of Nature, by Worthington Hooker. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1878. 3 vols. DM.

A Citizen's Guide to Iowa Municipal Government and Elections, by George B. Mather. Iowa City: Institute of Public Affairs, State University of Iowa, [1959]. 59 pp. DM, IC.

Clason's Touring Atlas of the United States: With Road Maps of Every State, and Ontario and Quebec, Canada. Denver: Clason Map Co., [192-?]. 48 pp. DM.

Classic Houses of the Twenties. 1927. Reprint. Philadelphia: Athenaeum; New York: Dover, 1992. 184 pp. Originally published as *Loizeaux's Plan Book No. 7*. DM, IC.

A Companion to African American History, edited by Alton Hornsby. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2005. xii, 564 pp. DM.

A Companion to American Technology, edited by Carroll Pursell. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2005. x, 463 pp. DM.

A Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction, edited by Lacy K. Ford. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2005. x, 518 pp. DM.

Connecting America's Farmers with America's Future: The National Farmers Union, 1902-2002, edited by Lee Egerstrom. Red Wing, MN: Lone Oak Press, 2002. 308 pp. DM, IC.

Conserving Buildings: Guide to Techniques and Materials, by Martin E. Weaver with F. G. Matero. Rev. ed. New York: Wiley, 1997. xiv, 270 pp. IC.

Conserving Iowa's Prehistoric Heritage, by Marshall McKusick. N.p., n.d. 5 pp. IC.

Constitutional Limitations and Their Observance, by Charles M. Harl. [Waterloo?: Iowa State Bar Association?, 1908]. 22 pp. DM.

Consumer Cooperation: The Heritage and the Dream, by Emil Sekerk and Art Danforth. Palo Alto, CA: Consumers Cooperative Pub. Assoc., [1974]. ix, 102 pp. IC.

Consumer Food Cooperatives, edited by Ronald Cotterill. Danville, IL, 1982. xiv, 378 pp. IC.

Cooperative/Credit Union Dictionary and Reference (including Encyclopedic Materials), edited by Jack and Connie McLanahan. Richmond, KY: Cooperative Alumni Association, 1990. 410 pp. IC.

Co-ops, Communes & Collectives: Experiments in Social Change in the 1960s and 1970s, edited by John Case and Rosemary C. R. Taylor. New York: Pantheon Books, 1979. 326 pp. IC.

Corn on the Cob; Being a Collection of Editorials from the Journal-Tribune, Williamsburg, Iowa. [Williamsburg?: Journal-Tribune?], 1915. 116 pp. DM, IC.

Council-Manager Government in Iowa, by Clayton L. Ringgenberg. Iowa City: Institute of Public Affairs of the State University of Iowa in cooperation with the League of Iowa Municipalities, 1953. 96 pp. DM, IC.

Country and Suburban Homes of the Prairie School Period, by Hermann Valentin von Holst. 1912. Reprint. New York: Dover Publications, 1982. 180 pp. Originally published as *Modern American Homes*. DM, IC.

Country and Suburban Houses of the Twenties: With Photographs and Floor Plans, edited by Bernard Wells Close. 1922. Reprint. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2004. vii, 103 pp. Originally published as *American Country Houses of Today*. DM, IC.

Cradle of Freedom: Alabama and the Movement that Changed America, by Frye Gailard. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004. xvi, 419 pp. DM.

Craftsman Homes, by Gustav Stickley. 1909. Reprint. Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2002. 205 pp. *More than 40 plans for building classic arts-and-crafts-style cottages, cabins, and bungalows*. DM.

Dating Fabrics: A Color Guide, 1800–1960, by Eileen Jahnke Trestain. Paducah, KY: American Quilter's Society, 1998. 206 pp. DM.

Dating Fabrics 2: A Color Guide, 1950–2000, by Eileen Jahnke Trestain. Paducah, KY: American Quilter's Society, 2005. 207 pp. DM.

Dating Old Photographs, 1840–1929. Niagara Falls, NY: Family Chronicle, 2004. 93 pp. DM.

"The Davenport Stone: A Hoax Unravelling," by Marshall McKusick. *Early Man* (Spring 1979), 9–12. IC.

Death Makes a Holiday: A Cultural History of Halloween, by David J. Skal. New York: Bloomsbury, 2002. viii, 224 pp. IC.

The Decline of American Gentility, by Stow Persons. New York: Columbia University Press, 1973. viii, 336 pp. DM.

Democracy at Work: A Guide to Workplace Ownership, Participation and Self-Management Experiments in the United States and Europe, by Daniel Zwerdling. Washington, DC: Association for Self-Management, 1978. 188 pp. IC.

Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment, by Brian Masaru Hayashi. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004. xviii, 319 pp. DM.

Dictionary of the First World War, by Stephen Pope and Elizabeth-Anne Wheal. 1995. Reprint. Barnsley, S. Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Military Classics, 2003. xxviii, 561 pp. Originally published as *The Macmillan Dictionary of the First World War*. DM.

Distinctive House Design and Decor of the Twenties: With over 500 Floor Plans and Illustrations, edited by Richardson Wright. 1925. Reprint. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2001. 191 pp. Originally published as *House & Garden's Second Book of Houses*. DM, IC.

Distribution and Biogeography of Mammals of Iowa, by John B. Bowles. Lubbock: Texas Tech Press, 1975. 184 pp. DM, IC.

Divine among Women, by Louis P. Brown. Des Moines, 1927. 20 pp. *Poem by Iowa author*. DM.

The Elements of Style: An Encyclopedia of Architectural Detail. Revised ed. Richmond Hill, Ont.: Firefly Books, 2005. 502 pp. DM, IC.

Encyclopedia of the Great Depression, edited by Robert S. McElvaine. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004. 2 vols. DM, IC.

Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography, edited by Lyon Gardiner Tyler. 1915. Reprint. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Pub., 1998. 5 vols. DM, IC.

Experiment in Occupation: Witness to the Turnabout, Anti-Nazi War to Cold War 1944–1946, by Arthur D. Kahn. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004. xvii, 227 pp. DM.

“Family Farm Efficiency: Implications for the Estate Taxation of Farmers,” by Robert Dean Swanson. Ph.D. thesis, University of Iowa, 1978. 170 pp. IC.

Farm on the Hill, by Madeline Darrough Horn; illustrated by Grant Wood. New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1936. 76 pp. Fiction. DM, IC.

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Custer Battle, 1876–1926. [Sheridan, WY]: National Custer Memorial Assoc., 1926. 78 pp. IC.

Fighting Joe Hooker, by Walter H. Hebert. 1944. Reprint. Bison Books ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999. xi, 366 pp. DM.

Final Report [of the Iowa Legislative Processes Study Committee]. [Des Moines, 1968.] 27 pp. DM.

500 Brickwall Solutions to Genealogy Problems. Toronto: Moorshead Magazines, 2003. xi, 405 pp. DM.

500 Small Houses of the Twenties, compiled by Henry Atterbury Smith. 1923. Reprint. New York: Dover, 1990. 312 pp. Originally published as vol. 1 of *The Books of a Thousand Homes*. DM, IC.

Forms of Municipal Government Available in Iowa, by Mary Osborne Bryant. [Iowa City]: Institute of Public Affairs, University of Iowa, [1969]. 12 pp. DM.

From Hayseed to Jet Pilot and Beyond, by Johnny Clark. New York: Universe, Inc., 2005. 305 pp. *Memories of a U.S. Army Air Forces fighter pilot from Howard County in World War II*. DM, IC.

Grandma’s Wartime Kitchen: World War II and the Way We Cooked, by Joanne Lamb Hayes. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000. xii, 244 pp. IC.

Grant, by Jean Edward Smith. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001. 781 pp. *Biography of Ulysses S. Grant*. DM.

Grasses, An Identification Guide, by Lauren Brown. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979. viii, 240 pp. DM, IC.

Great Iowa Walks: 50 Strolls, Rambles, Hikes, and Treks, by Lynn L. Walters. Black Earth, WI: Trails Books, 2005. xiv, 180 pp. DM, IC.

The Great Old Cars: Where Are They Now? by Stanley K. Yost. [Mendota, IL: Wayside Press, 1960.] 228 pp. DM.

The Green Tree, by Fritiof M. Fryxell. Rock Island, IL: Augustana Book Concern, 1931. 40 pp. Reprinted, with revisions, from the American Forestry Association’s *American Forests and Forest Life* (June 1927). DM, IC.

Growing up Danish: Memories of Life in Rural Iowa during the 1920’s, 30’s and Beyond, by Elna M. Petersen. Bloomington, IN: Authorhouse, 2005. 365 pp. DM.

A Handbook of the Native Trees of Iowa, by I. T. Bode and G. B. MacDonald. Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, [1928?]. 95 pp. DM, IC.

Health for Man and Domestic Animals. Keokuk: S. F. Baker & Co., 1916. 112 pp. Advertisement for the proprietary remedies of S. F. Baker & Co. IC.

Hildebrand, by Louis P. Brown. Des Moines, 1927. 18 pp. Poem by Iowa author. DM.

Hinsdale of Hiram: The Life of Burke Aaron Hinsdale, Pioneer Educator, 1837–1900. Washington, DC: University Press of Washington, DC, 1971. ix, 238 pp. IC.

Hints on Household Taste: The Classic Handbook of Victorian Interior Decoration, by Charles L. Eastlake. 1878. Reprint. New York: Dover Publications, 1986. 304 pp. Originally published as *Hints on Household Taste in Furniture, Upholstery, and Other Details*. DM, IC.

Historic Preservation: An Introduction to its History, Principles, and Practice, by Norman Tyler. Rev. ed. New York: W. W. Norton, 2000. 254 pp. IC.

The History of CARE: A Personal Account, by Wallace J. Campbell. New York: Praeger, 1990. x, 240 pp. IC.

The History of H. D. Hudson Manufacturing Company. Chicago: H. D. Hudson Manufacturing Co., 2005. 48 pp. DM, IC.

The House Beautiful: An Unabridged Reprint of the Classic Victorian Stylebook, by Clarence Cook. 1881. Reprint. New York: Dover Publications, 1995. 336 pp. DM, IC.

How Students Understand the Past: From Theory to Practice, by M. Elaine Davis. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2005. x, 189 pp. DM.

I Am a Man: The Indian Black Hawk, by Cyrenus Cole. Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1938. 312 pp. DM, IC.

Illustrated Dictionary of Architectural Preservation: Restoration, Renovation, Rehabilitation, Reuse, by Ernest Burden. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004. 280 pp. IC.

Indian Gaming and Tribal Sovereignty: The Casino Compromise, by Steven Andrew Light and Kathryn R. L. Rand. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005. xiii, 240 pp. IC.

Iowa Bird Watching: A Year-round Guide, by Bill Thompson III and the staff of Bird Watcher's Digest. Nashville, TN: Cool Springs Press, 2004. 176 pp. DM, IC.

Iowa Government: Today and Tomorrow. [N.p.: Institute of Public Affairs, 1968.] DM.

Iowa Historic Property Study: Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Bridge No. 89 Over the Racoon River, City of Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa, by Jan Olive Nash. [Iowa City: Tallgrass Historians, L.C., 2005.] 55 pp. DM, IC.

The Iowa Lawmaker, by Charles W. Wiggins. N.p., 1970. 163 pp. DM.

Iowa Legislative Research Project. Report No. 7: Public Attitude Survey, by G. R. Boynton. Iowa City: Dept. of Political Science, University of Iowa, 1966. 52 pp. DM.

Iowa Legislative Research Project. Report No. 13: Interviews of Legislators, prepared by Ted Hebert and Norman Elliott. Iowa City: Dept. of Political Science, University of Iowa, 1967. 80 pp. DM.

Iowa Legislative Research Project. Report No. 18: Key Constituent, Lobbyist, and County Chairman Survey, by F. Ted Hebert, with Edwin J. Zastrow Jr. Iowa City: Dept. of Political Science, University of Iowa, 1968. 76 pp. DM.

Iowa Manual of Legislative Procedure, compiled under the direction of Benjamin F. Shambaugh. [Des Moines?]: State of Iowa, 1917. 223 pp. DM, IC.

The Iowa Unified Court System, by Jerry Beatty et al. N.p., 1974. 76 pp. DM.

Iowa's Hometown Flavors: A Food Lover's Tour, by Donna Tabbert Long. Black Earth, WI: Trails Books, 2005. x, 200 pp. DM, IC.

Is Your Museum Grant-Ready?: Assessing Your Organization's Potential for Funding, by Sarah S. Brophy. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2005. xi, 191 pp. DM.

Jefferson Davis in Blue: The Life of Sherman's Relentless Warrior, by Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes Jr. and Gordon D. Whitney. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002. xviii, 474 pp. DM.

"Keeping the Faith": The Sioux City Jewish Community, by John Quinlan. Sioux City: Congregation Beth Shalom, [2005?]. 49 pp. DM, IC.

The Kissing Game: Roots of Courtship, 1923-31, from Gramp's Diary plus Hometown Before Pollution 1, by Clair B. Heyer. Victoria, BC: Trafford, 2005. 145 pp. DM.

Labor Embattled: History, Power, Rights, by David Brody. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005. x, 166 pp. IC.

Langwith's Motor Guide, Iowa. Des Moines: Langwith Pub. Co., 1926. 78 pp. IC.

Last Train from Berlin, by Howard K. Smith. New York: Knopf, 1943. 359 pp. DM.

Late Victorian House Designs: 56 American Homes and Cottages with Floor Plans, by D. S. Hopkins. 1893. Reprint. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2004. vi, 58 pp. Originally published as *Houses and Cottages, Book No. 7: A Collection of House and Cottage Designs, Containing 57 [sic] Designs Costing from \$1,600 to \$2,500*. DM, IC.

Late Victorian Houses and Cottages: Floor Plans and Illustrations for 40 House Designs by the Century Architectural Co. 1897. Reprint. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1999. 96 pp. Originally published as *Modern Homes*. IC.

Leading Double Lives: The History of the Double House in Des Moines, by Camilla Deiber. Hiawatha, 2005. 17 pp. DM, IC. Also on line at <http://www.ole dot state.ia.us/documents/DoubleHouseBookletFinal.pdf>.

Let's Look at the Record, by Thomas R. Amlie. Madison, WI: Capital City Press 1950. 612 pp. Records how all of the "present" (in 1950) members of the U.S. Congress have voted on 666 key roll call votes IC.

A Life in Print: Selections from the Work of a Reporter, Columnist, and Editor, by James P. Gannon. Castleton, VA: Blackwater Publications, [2005?]. 205 pp. DM.

Limitations, by Louis P. Brown. Des Moines, 1927. 25 pp. Poetry by Iowa author. DM.

Links to the Past through Genealogy: Curriculum Activities for the Classroom, by Midge Frazel. Worthington, OH: Linworth Pub., 2005. xii, 107 pp. DM.

Little Journeys in America, by Rose Henderson. Dallas, TX: Southern Pub. Co., 1923. 269 pp. DM.

Living with Pigs, by Bob Artley. Gretna, LA: Pelican Pub. Co., 2003. 95 pp. Cartoons and reflections on Iowa farm life. DM.

Low German: Platt in America, by Stuart Gorman and Joachim Reppmann. Davenport: Hesperian Press; Wyk auf Föhr, Germany: Verlag für Amerikanistik, 2004. 97 pp. *Parallel text in Plattdüütsch, Hochdeutsch, and English.* DM.

The Lustron Home: The History of a Postwar Prefabricated Housing Experiment, by Thomas T. Feters. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002. xiii, 186 pp. DM, IC.

Man, Beast, Dust: The Story of Rodeo, by Clifford P. Westermeier. 1947. Reprint. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987. 476 pp. DM.

Midwest Gem Trails: A Field Guide for the Gem Hunter, the Mineral Collector, and the Tourist. 3rd ed. Mentone, CA: Gembooks, [1964]. 80 pp. IC.

Modernism Reborn: Mid-Century American Houses, by Michael Webb. New York: Universe Pub., 2001. 223 pp. DM, IC.

Monuments to Money: The Architecture of American Banks, Charles Belfoure. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2005. ix, 348 pp. DM.

More Craftsman Homes: Floor Plans and Illustrations for 78 Mission Style Dwellings, by Gustav Stickley. 1912. Reprint. New York: Dover Publications, 1982. 201 pp. DM, IC.

More Dating Old Photographs, 1840–1929. Niagara Falls, NY: Family Chronicle, 2004. 117 pp. DM.

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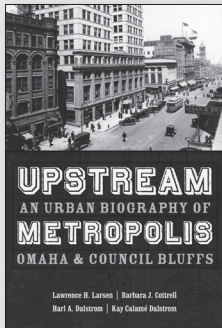
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