

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

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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"; Harnack, "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

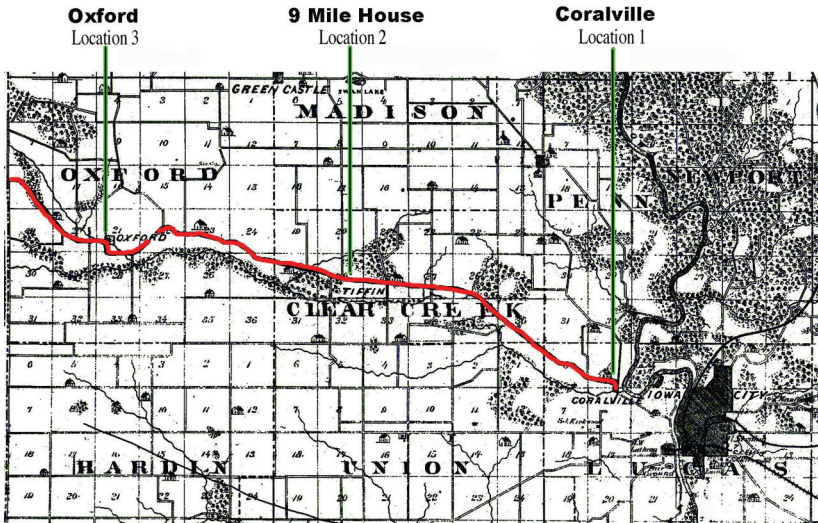
20. Jaques, *Diary*, 7/10/1856. See also Patrick Twiss Bermingham, *Diary*, 6/11/1856, *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, LDS Church Archives; and Samuel Openshaw, *Diary*, 7/29/1856, in *An Enduring Legacy*, ed. Daughters of Utah Pioneers Lesson Committee, 12 vols.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

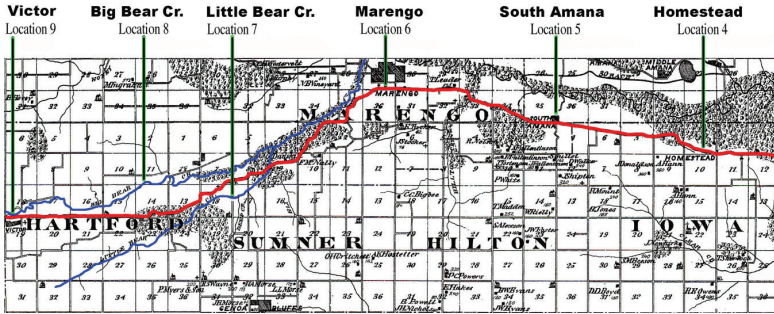
27. Patera and Gallagher, *Iowa Post Offices*, 92; "Diary of Mary Alice Shutes," 577. This location is present on the main road in both Colton's 1855 map and Johnson and Ward's 1864 map. See also S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard H. Jackson, eds., *Historical Atlas of Mormonism* (New York,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

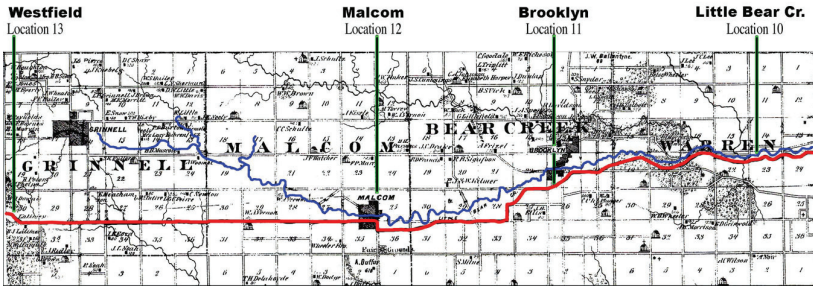
31. Patera and Gallagher, *Iowa Post Offices*, 92; Jaques, Diary, 8/3/1856, 8/4/1856. See also Openshaw, Diary, 8/3/1856. Both Colton's 1855 map and Johnson and Ward's 1864 map place Marengo on the main road.

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 Westfield." 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.

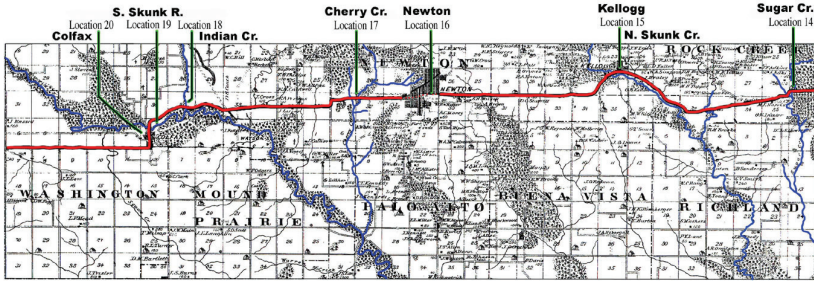
38. Patera and Gallagher, *Iowa Post Offices*, 150; "Diary of Mary Alice Shutes," 579.

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.

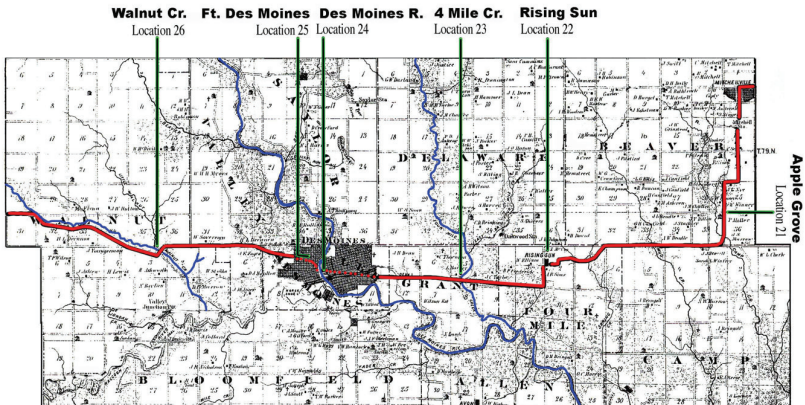
43. Woodward, Diary, 7/28/1856.

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

45. Woodward, Diary, 7/29/1856. See also Haven, Diary, 8/5/1856; Birmingham, 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



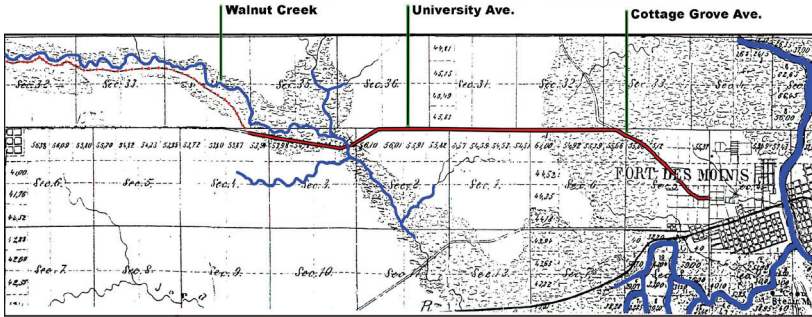
part of Beaver Township. At or near the same location was “Uncle Tommy Mitchell’s Tavern” and Apple Grove, which was three miles south of present-day Mitchellville. Apple groves still exist at that location to this day. The Apple Grove post office had been established in August 1849. The Johnson and 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 Madsen, *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

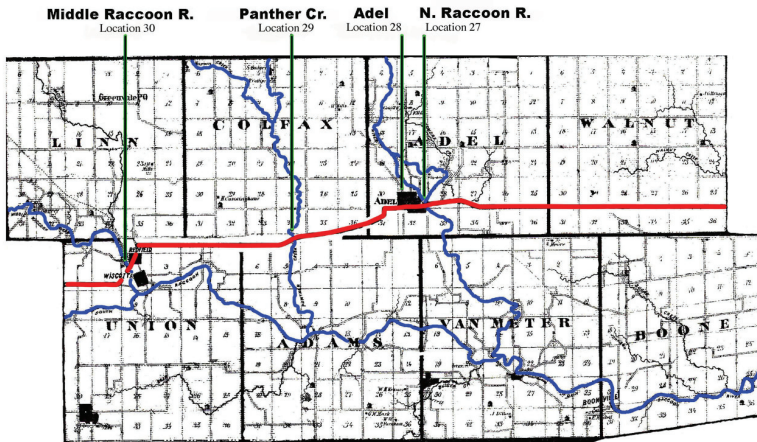
On July 31, 1856, William Woodward wrote: "Passed thro' Fort Des Moines City. . . . Travelled about 6 miles & camped on Walnut Creek." David Mott states that there was a "Walnut Creek" post office in Polk County in 1857 at an unknown location, but it seems likely that this was Woodward's campsite. Europe-bound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

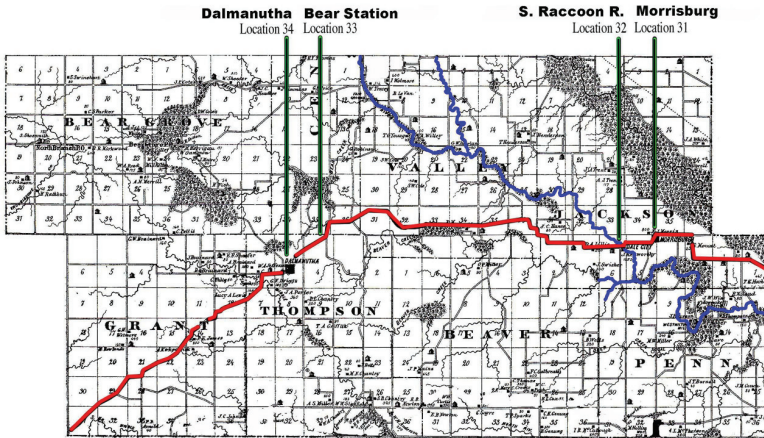
59. Mott, "Abandoned Towns," 17:465; Colton, 1855 map; Patera and Gallagher, *Iowa Post Offices*, 55; Haven, Diary, 8/9/1856. See also Woodward, Diary, 8/2/1856; and Bermingham, Diary, 6/26/1856.

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

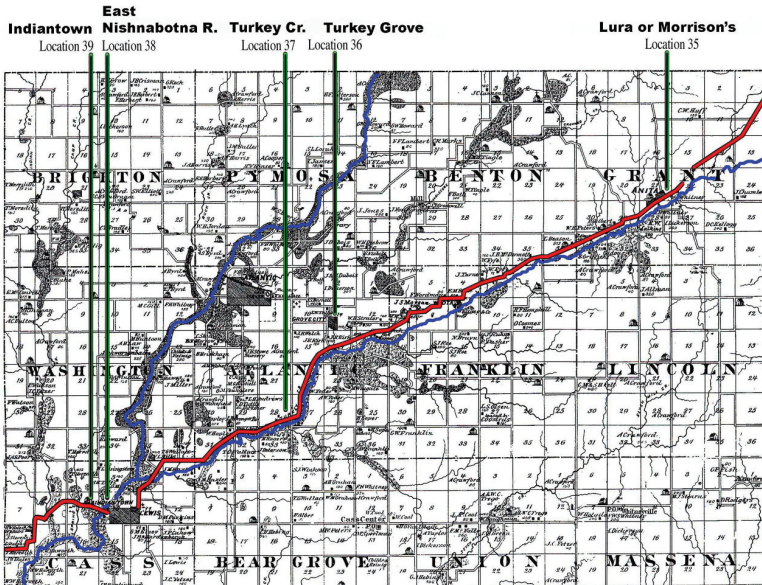
36. Turkey Grove Post Office at Grove City, near Turkey Creek and three miles east of Atlantic, **Cass County:** David Mott locates this site in the southwestern part of Section 11, Grove (formerly Atlantic) Township. Johnson and Ward’s 1864 map places Turkey Grove well

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.

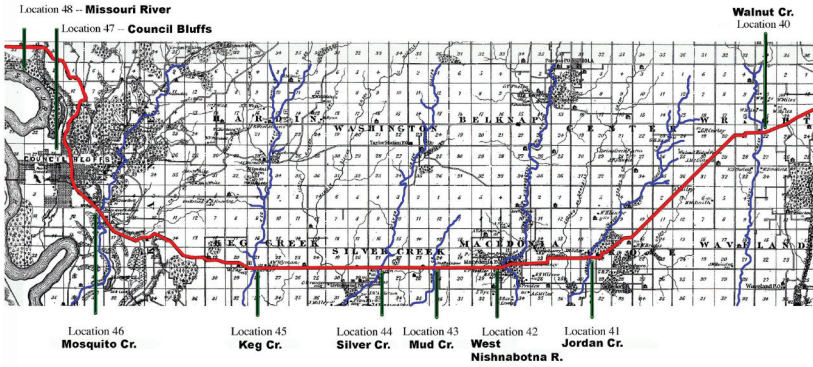
70. Woodward, Diary, 8/7/1856.

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.