



# Mormon Emigration Trails

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## Introduction

We are in the midst of an American western trails renaissance. Interest in historic trails has never been higher. There is an annual, quarterly, almost monthly increase in the number of books, guides, bibliographies, articles, associations, societies, conferences, symposia, centers, museums, exhibits, maps, dramatic presentations, videos, festivals, field trips, trail-side markers and monuments, grave sites, trail signing, and other ventures devoted to our western trail heritage.<sup>1</sup>

In 1968, Congress passed the National Trails System Act and in 1978 added National Historic Trail designations. Since 1971 at least fifteen major federal studies of the Mormon Trail have been made.<sup>2</sup> So much is going on that at least half a dozen newsletters must be published to keep trail buffs properly informed. Almost every newsletter records the discovery of new trail ruts and artifacts—for example, the recent discovery of some ruts on the Woodbury Oxbow-Mormon Trail in Butler County, Nebraska, and new excavations regarding the Mormon occupation of Fort Bridger.

Hundreds of trail markers with text, many referring to the Mormons, line the western trails. These markers have been placed by many federal, state, county, municipal, and private associations, including the Bureau of Land Management; Daughters of the American Revolution; Daughters of Utah Pioneers (who alone have placed more than 465 historical markers); Sons of Utah Pioneers; Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks; the Boy Scouts; the Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Wyoming, Kansas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, and Utah state historical societies; and many county historical societies. Major sources for these trail markers appear in this essay's lists and bibliography. See, for example, the works of Lida L. Green, Aubrey L. Hains, Gregory Franzwa, Mary B. Gamble, Jane Mallison, Bruce J. Noble Jr., the Missouri Daughters of the American Revolution, and Stanley B. Kimball.

Some of the newer trail-related ventures are the Rails to Trails aficionados (tens of thousands of Mormons used rail to reach their wagon route) and the American Greenway movement. The latter association is

developing “verdant corridors”—old trail routes carefully worked into greenways—in urban areas. These verdant corridors seek to restore in part, or at least to memory, the many miles of the trail heritage that have been obliterated by urban sprawl.

In addition to the 1993 commemoration of the Oregon Trail’s sesquicentennial, several other anniversaries related to the Mormon trek will soon be celebrated. These include the sesquicentennial of Iowa statehood (1996); the centennial of Utah statehood (1996); and the sesquicentennial of the Mormon Trail (1996–97). These events will, no doubt, generate many items that will subsequently be archived and used by future researchers. See, for example, Oregon Trail Coordinating Council, *Sesquicentennial Report* (Portland, Ore.: Oregon Trail Coordinating Council, 1994).

Numerous “Mormon” trails exist. In addition to variants of *the* Mormon Trail (Nauvoo to Salt Lake City), Mormons used other trails, such as the Oregon, Santa Fe, Dragoon, Golden Road, Oxbow, Nebraska City Cutoff, Overland, and Trappers.<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding that variety, this essay focuses on the Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail, the 1846–47 route between Nauvoo, Illinois, and Salt Lake City, Utah. Because hundreds of miles of the Oregon, California, and Pony Express trails are nearly identical to the Mormon Trail, because many Mormons used the Oregon Trail, and because the Mormon Battalion walked the entire Santa Fe Trail, selected studies of those trails are also listed in the general sections of this essay. Other trails are addressed in a separate section.<sup>4</sup> As a final note, readers should understand that this essay makes a careful distinction between emigrant trails to Utah and colonizing trails originating in Utah—the latter are excluded. Also excluded are exploration, military, and transit trails in and across Utah.<sup>5</sup>

### **Archives, Libraries, and Historical Societies**

The most important archival collections concerning Mormon trails are held by the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (“LDS Church”); Brigham Young University; the Utah State Historical Society; the University of Utah; the Iowa, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Kansas state historical societies; and the Santa Fe Trail centers in Larned, Kansas, and in the National Frontier Trails Center (NFTC) at Independence, Missouri, especially in the Merrill J. Mattes Research Collection housed there.

The library of the University of Wyoming at Laramie holds most of the papers, maps, slides, and copies of overland diaries that belonged to the late Paul Henderson. Henderson, a retired railroad man, was one of the earliest and best students of the Oregon/California

Trail. His maps are among the best. In 1993 some of his materials were donated to the Mattes Library in the NFTC.

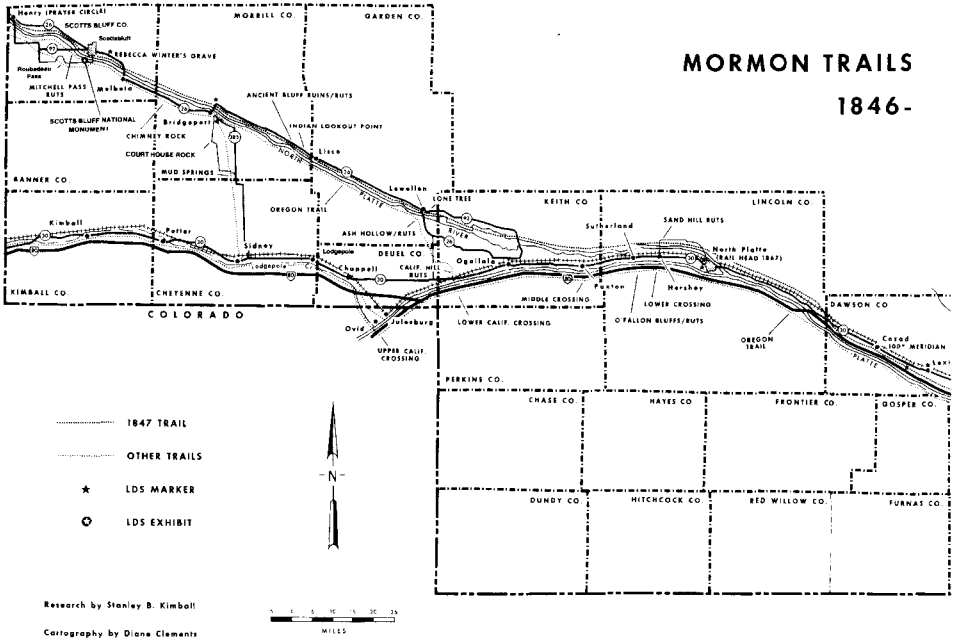
Trail students should also be aware of the Mormon Pioneer Trail Foundation archives. This foundation was an early (1969) attempt "to foster research, encourage development and preservation of significant historic sites, and [provide] information concerning the Mormon Pioneer Trail."<sup>6</sup> The archives are housed at Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, Illinois, c/o Stanley B. Kimball. Kimball also has extensive files from 1971 of Mormon trail-related correspondence with and documents of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR), Heritage Conservation and Recreational Service (HCRS), and the National Park Service. The Service superseded both the BOR and the HCRS in managing the Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail.<sup>7</sup>

The Daughters of Utah Pioneers have extensive archives pertaining to Mormon trail matters and, to a lesser degree, so do the Sons of Utah Pioneers. The Mormon Trails Association (founded 1991 in Salt Lake City) is currently generating its own collection of pertinent documents. The records of the old Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association of the 1930s have yet to be located. The only item that has surfaced is a booklet, *Charting and Marking Pioneer Trails and Landmarks*,<sup>8</sup> which is available in the Utah State Historical Society.

The Archives of the Union Pacific Railroad at the Nebraska State Historical Society in Lincoln holds some late trail-related documents. Many counties through which the Mormon Trail passes also have local historical societies, such as the Iowa counties of Lee, Wayne (with its special "Come, Come, Ye Saints" exhibit), Clark, Union, Adair, and Pottawattamie; the Nebraska counties of Dodge, Nance, Dawson, Lincoln, Hall, and Keith; and the Wyoming counties of Fremont and Sweetwater. There are also some special historical associations, including the North Platte Valley Historical Association in Gering, Nebraska, and the Fort Bridger (Wyoming) Historical Association.<sup>9</sup>

## Maps

Excellent maps of all the Mormon emigration trails may be found in each of the appropriate state historical societies and archives. Among the most important are the Federal General Land Office's surveyor maps and notes. These documents are indispensable; they represent the earliest detailed maps of the trans-Mississippi west. (The original GLO surveyors did not prepare the final maps; these were done by others from the surveyor's notes and sketches. Furthermore, the surveyors walked only section lines; the course of old trails between section lines is largely conjecture.)

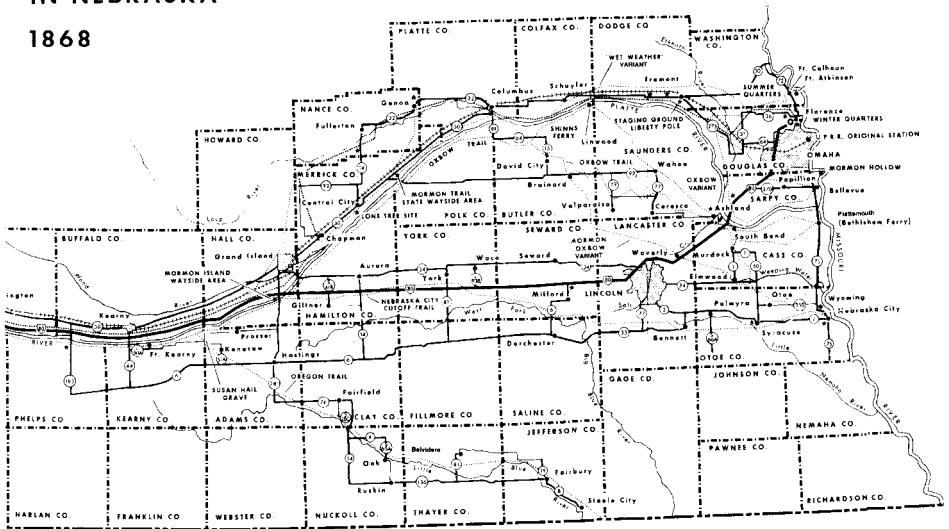


In addition to the GLO maps, other important maps include manuscripts from various sources and historic maps. Most useful in the field are the county maps (one-half-inch-to-the-mile; scale 1:126,720), the newer United States Geologic Survey (USGS) topographic maps (five-eighths-inch-to-the-mile; scale 1:100,000), and the splendid USGS 7.5-minute topographic quads (two-and-five-eighths-inches-to-the-mile; scale 1:24,000)—the most accurate map series covering almost the entire United States. Some prefer to work with the topographic maps (one-quarter-inch-to-the-mile; scale 1:250,000) from the USGS. For further information, researchers should contact the U.S. Geological Survey (Denver) and request its *Index to Topographic and Other Map Coverage* and *Catalog of Topographic and Other Published Maps*.

The Bureau of Land Management (BLM) publishes full-color maps (one-half-inch-to-the-mile; scale 1:126,720) for lands it manages. These color quads are not published county by county. Rather, one must consult a "Quad Index Map" to secure the quad wanted—in much the same way one has to consult an index to the USGS 7.5-minute quads. The BLM maps are especially useful because they show land ownership and use by color and include many other details not shown on other maps.

## IN NEBRASKA

1868



© Mormon Pioneer Trail

The National Park Service (NPS) recently published the *National Trails System Map and Guide*, which shows, in color, nineteen national scenic and historic trails totaling over thirty thousand miles. A brief description of each trail and the address of each trail manager is included. The NPS has also published useful foldout maps of the Oregon Trail and the Mormon Trail. In addition, the Oregon-California Trails Association (OCTA) sponsors the Mapping Emigrant Trails (MET) program. This is a systematic and exhaustive effort to verify and map the vast emigrant trail network—including the Mormon trails.<sup>10</sup>

Almost all counties have plat books showing property ownership by township (one-quarter-inch-to-the-mile). Most trail researchers will eventually use these plat books.

In addition to maps, most states and many counties have published useful atlases. Good atlases for trail researchers include, for example, M. Huebinger, *Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Davenport: Iowa Publishing, 1904); Wayne L. Wahlquist and others, eds., *Atlas of Utah* (Ogden, Utah: Weber State College, 1981); and Homer E. Socolofsky and Huber Self, *Historical Atlas of Kansas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972). The previously mentioned Mapping Emigrant Trails program of OCTA also publishes atlases. Finally, the University of

Oklahoma Press has published historical atlases of Arizona, California, Kansas, Missouri, New Mexico, and Oklahoma. Additional sources are listed under the subheading *Maps and Atlases* below.

### **Photographs—Land and Aerial**

Between 1935 and 1944, the Department of Agriculture took aerial (medium-level, vertical, black-and-white) photographs covering approximately 85 percent of the contiguous land area of the United States. Subsequently, from about 1940 to 1960, the military similarly photographed most of the continental United States. These photographs can be very useful for trail research and are available from the Cartographic and Architectural Branch of the National Archives (Washington, D.C., or Alexandria, Va.). The aerial photographs are usually nine inches square (scale 1:20,000). These old aerials, especially when viewed in stereo, can reveal fifty-year-old clues as to the location of old trails. This information is especially valuable since many sections of the old trails have been obliterated within the past half century. Trail researchers should order the National Archives's booklet *Cartographic and Architectural Records in the National Archives*, no. 2 (1986) for more information about these aerials.

The Bureau of Land Management has stereo aerial photographs of most of the lands for which it is responsible. Viewing these aerials is almost like taking a helicopter ride over the old trails. Other federal agencies, such as the Army Corps of Engineers, also generate their own aerials, some of which pertain to Mormon trails. In addition to these federal agencies, most counties west of the Mississippi River can provide aerial photographic plats (scales vary from one-hundred-feet-to-the-inch to four-hundred-feet-to-the-inch) and the older quarter-section plats which show ownership.

State-of-the-art LANDSAT satellite images might help some researchers. For interested researchers, the EOSAT (Earth Observation Satellite) Company, c/o EROS Data System (Sioux Falls, S.Dak.), markets LANDSAT images. In addition, a French satellite system known as SPOT (*Le Systeme pour l'observation de la terre*) produces LANDSAT-type images but with greater resolution. The U.S. office is SPOT Image Corporation (Reston, Va.).

Of more use to trail students than LANDSAT images is the satellite Global Positional System (GPS). GPS is a navigation and coordinate recording system which receives radio signals from space into a hand-held unit carried by the trail researcher traveling by foot, horseback, or a vehicle. The data can be entered into a computer that prints out the information on 7.5 minute USGS quad maps showing

the movements of the receiver. This system plots trails to an accuracy of about twelve meters—that is, to an accuracy of the forty-foot intervals used to show contour.

For more information on LANDSAT, GPS, and SPOT, as well as other state-of-the-art satellite imaging, researchers should contact the EROS Data Center (Sioux Falls, S.D.), which archives and sells all kinds of aerial photographs and maps. In addition, researchers should contact GPS World (Eugene, Ore.). Environmental Research Institute Michigan (Ann Arbor, Mich.) is a good source on remote sensing. Trail historians would also do well to consult with university colleagues who teach various geographic information system classes.

Most state and county historical societies, museums, and trail centers have trail-related photographs. OCTA, as previously noted, has a photographic committee collecting trail photos. The LDS Church maintains large photographic collections on all phases of Mormon history, including the emigrant trails. These photo collections are housed in the LDS Historical Department and the Visual Resource Library (Salt Lake City). The photo collection of the Union Pacific Railroad Museum (Omaha, Nebr.) is useful for study of trails in the late 1860s. In addition to these institutional collections, some individuals have extensive collections of photographs, including aeri-als, of Mormon trails. These individual collectors include Greg Franzwa, Tucson, Arizona; LaMar Berrett, Orem, Utah; and Stanley B. Kimball, Edwardsville, Illinois.

### **Lists and Select Bibliography**

The following section outlines the organizations and publications of which trail researchers should be aware. Organizations are listed according to category along with brief descriptions. Publications are likewise listed by category. The bibliography begins with general categories and becomes more specific.

The secondary literature is enormous. Indeed, the standard trail bibliographies probably list only about half of what exists. This essay's bibliography, therefore, is a highly selective list of the most important items. Readers will note that the bibliography contains several references to rail and water travel. These references reflect two facts. First, approximately half of Mormon immigrants traveled the railroads to reach their waiting wagons by the Missouri River. Second, more than ninety percent of Mormon immigrants also traveled by water, to a greater or lesser degree, to reach those same wagons.

Because the number of known trail journals and accounts runs into the thousands, with more being discovered all the time, only a few



are listed here. For access to these accounts, see works listed under the subheading *Guides to Trail Journals*.

Some books and articles treat more than one trail and need to be listed in more than one category. There is, therefore, some duplication in the bibliography. Furthermore, some disappointing publications are listed—mainly as a warning to avoid them. As a final note, some trail material makes great reading. See, for example, the works of David Lavender and Wallace Stegner, and especially Francis Parkman's *The Oregon Trail* (1849), Mark Twain's classic *Roughing It* (1872), and Sir Richard Burton's *The City of the Saints* (1862).

### **Trail Centers, Museums, and Visitors' Centers**

Ash Hollow State Historic Park, Box A, Lewellen, Nebr. 69147.

Bent's Old Fort, La Junta, Colo. 81050.

Chimney Rock Visitors Center, planned by the Nebraska State Historical Society.

Echo Canyon Visitors' Center, off I-80 at the mouth of Echo Canyon, Utah (just east of Salt Lake City).

Fort Bridger State Historic Site, Fort Bridger, Wyo. 82933.

Fort Caspar Museum, 4001 Fort Caspar Rd., Casper, Wyo. 82604.

Fort Kearney State Historic Park, Rt. 4, Fort Kearney, Nebr. 68847.

Fort Laramie National Historic Site, P.O. Box 218, Fort Laramie, Wyo. 82212.

Fort Larned National Historic Site, Rt. 3, Larned, Kans. 67550.

Fort Union National Monument, Rt. 477, Watrous, N.Mex. 87753.

Mormon Battalion Memorial Visitors' Center, 2510 Juan St., San Diego, Calif. 92110.

Mormon Visitors' Center, 3215 State St., (North) Omaha, Nebr. 68112.

Museum of Church History and Art, 45 North West Temple St., Salt Lake City, Utah 84150.

National Frontier Trails Center, 318 West Pacific, Independence, Mo. 64050.

National Historic Trails Interpretive Center, Casper, Wyo. Under consideration; write OCTA for more information (see under "Trail Associations").

Nauvoo Restoration Inc. Visitors' Center, Nauvoo, Ill. 62354.

Nebraska National Trails Museum, P.O. Box 268, Ogallala, Nebr. 69153. Under development.

Pecos National Monument, Pecos, N.Mex. 87552.

Pioneer Memorial Museum, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 300 North Main St., Salt Lake City, Utah 84103.

Pioneer Trail State Park, 2601 Sunnyside Ave., Salt Lake City, Utah 84108.  
Pony Express Museum, Marysville, Kans. 66508.  
Rock Creek Station, Rt. 4, Fairbury, Nebr. 68352.  
Santa Fe Trail Center, Rt. 3, Larned, Kans. 67550.  
Scotts Bluff National Monument, P.O. Box 427, Gering, Nebr. 69341.  
Western Historic Trails Center, 110 South Main St., P.O. Box 1565,  
Council Bluffs, Iowa 51502. Under development.

### **Trail-Related Organizations**

American Hiking Society, 1015 31st St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20007.  
Good on trail politics and policy; has little to do with historic trails.

American Greenways, 1800 North Kent St., Arlington, Va. 22209.

American Trails, 1400 16th St. NW, 3d floor, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Bureau of Land Management, P.O. Box 1828, Cheyenne, Wyo. 82003.

Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 300 North Main St., Salt Lake City, Utah 84103.

Iowa Mormon Trail Association, c/o Garden Grove Historical Society,  
P.O. Box 22, Garden Grove, Iowa 50103. A new, developing  
association.

Mormon Battalion, Inc., c/o Sons of Utah Pioneers, 3301 East 2920 South,  
Salt Lake City, Utah 84109.

Mormon Church Historic Sites Committee, c/o Glen Leonard, Director,  
Museum of Church History and Art, 45 North West Temple St.,  
Salt Lake City, Utah 84150.

The Mormon History Association, P.O. Box 7010, University Station,  
Provo, Utah 84602.

Mormon Pioneer Trail Foundation, c/o C. Booth Wallentine, 5300 South  
360 West, Salt Lake City, Utah 84105. An early (1969) trail orga-  
nization.

Mormon Trails Association, 300 Rio Grande St., Salt Lake City, Utah  
84101. A relatively new association devoted to Mormon trails.  
Works closely with the National Park Service in Denver, Colorado.

National Historic Trails Coordinating Committee, 3 Drum Hill Rd.,  
Summit, N.J. 07901.

National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Regional Office, P.O. Box 25287,  
c/o Mike Duwe, Denver, Colo. 25287. Administers the Mormon  
Pioneer National Historic Trail for the federal government.

National Park Service, Southwest Regional Office, David Gaines, Santa  
Fe Trail National Historic Trail, P.O. Box 728, Santa Fe, N.Mex.  
87504-0728. The Santa Fe National Historic Trail is also known as  
the Mormon Battalion Trail. The advisory council to the Santa Fe

office of the National Park Service has several subcommittees: awards, resource protection, visitors' centers/interpretation, history/resource/mapping, landowner needs, fundraising/logo, and cooperative agreements/certification.

National Pony Express Association, 1002 Jenkins, Marysville, Kans. 66508.

National Scenic and National Historic Trails Council, c/o Steven Elkin-  
ton, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, D.C.  
20013-7127.

Oregon-California Trails Association (OCTA), 524 South Osage St.,  
P.O. Box 1019, Independence, Mo. 64051-0519. Leading trail  
association with many chapters organized along the Oregon,  
California, and Mormon trails. Has many programs and commit-  
tees working to research, preserve, and foster overland trails.  
Committees and programs include the Census of Overland  
Emigrant Documents (COED), which gathers information from  
the overland documents, mainly 1840s through 1860s, and rec-  
ords the information in a computer database for the use of his-  
torians, genealogists, and trail buffs; the Mapping Emigrant Trails  
(MET) program, which accurately maps historic western trails; the  
Archaeology Committee, which presents workshops at OCTA's  
annual meetings; the Graves and Sites Project, which researches  
and authenticates graves on the overland emigrant trails; the  
Trail Marking Project, which marks the historic overland trails  
properly with route, informational, and interpretive signs; the  
Historical Preservation Fund, which is used to preserve overland  
trails and associated sites; and the Photographic Committee,  
which maintains an inventory of trail photographs for use in  
publications, trail promotion, and public relations.

Rails-to-Trails Conservancy, 1400 16th St. NW, 3d floor, Washington,  
D.C. 20036.

Sons of Utah Pioneers, 3301 East 2920 South, Salt Lake City, Utah 84109.

Utah Historic Trails Consortium, Utah Historical Society, 300 Rio  
Grande St., Salt Lake City, Utah 84101. Organized in 1991 to pro-  
mote Utah trails, especially in connection with the Utah  
Centennial of 1996. Their motto is "This is still the right place."

### **Historical Society Periodicals**

In addition to the periodicals listed below, periodicals that often  
publish trail-related articles include *BYU Studies*, *Dialogue: A Journal of  
Mormon Thought*, *Journal of Mormon History*, and *Overland Journal*.

*Annals of Iowa*

*Annals of Wyoming*

*Colorado Heritage*  
*Journal of the West*  
*Kansas History*  
*Missouri Historical Review*  
*Montana: The Magazine of Western History*  
*Nebraska History*  
*Utah Historical Quarterly*  
*Western Historical Quarterly*

## Newsletters and Publications

- Centennial Star*, Utah Statehood Centennial [1996] Commission, 300 Rio Grande St., Salt Lake City, Utah 84101. Forthcoming; will contain reference material.
- Crossroads*, Utah Crossroads Quarterly Newsletter, 1451 Kensington, Salt Lake City, Utah 84105. Crossroads is a chapter of OCTA.
- Folio: The Newsletter of the Patrice Press*, 1810 West Grant Rd., Suite 108, Tucson, Ariz. 85745. Much more than a blurb; full of trail lore not found in other newsletters.
- Iowa*, Iowa Mormon Trail Association, Inc., Newsletter, 500 East Taylor, Creston, Iowa 50801.
- Mormon History Association Newsletter*, 2470 North 1000 West, Layton, Utah 84041. Devoted to Mormon history, including, somewhat tangentially, Mormon trails. Published by the same entity that produces the *Journal of Mormon History*.
- Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail Newsletter*, c/o Mike Duwe, National Park Service, P.O. Box 25287, Denver, Colo. 80225. An occasional publication largely devoted to Park Service activities concerning the MPNHT.
- News from the Plains*, Oregon-California Trails Association, Box 1019, Independence, Mo. 64051-0519. Oregon-California Trails Association's quarterly newsletter. Chronicles miscellaneous activities, especially the doings of the various chapters of OCTA.
- Overland Journal*, Oregon-California Trails Association, P.O. Box 1019, Independence, Mo. 64051-0519. The quarterly journal of OCTA devoted to the Oregon, California, and related trails, book reviews.
- Pathways across America: A Newsletter for National Scenic and Historic Trails*, American Hiking Society, 1015 31st St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20007. Largely devoted to scenic trails.
- The Pioneer*, National Society of Sons of Utah Pioneers, 3301 East 2920 South, Salt Lake City, Utah 84109. Bimonthly. Publishes occasional articles and notices on the Mormon trail.

- Santa Fe National Historic Trail*, National Park Service, P.O. Box 728 Santa Fe, N.Mex. 87504-0728. A trail newsletter for the NPS.
- Trail Tracks: The Trails Information Exchange Newsletter*, American Trails, 1400 16th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Excellent for trail politics and policy.
- Trailletter*. A one-sheet newsletter of the short-lived (1967-74) Mormon Trails Association. James D. Cannon of Salt Lake City, editor.
- Wagon Tracks: Santa Fe Trail Association Quarterly*, Rt. 1, Box 31, Woodston, Kans. 67675. Quarterly. Perhaps the best of all the several newsletters.

### General Trail Studies (Mormon, Oregon, California, and Santa Fe)

- Atwood, Harriet T. "The Mormon Migration and Adaption to Geography." *Vassar Journal of Undergraduate Studies* 4 (1929): 137-58. Fine in its day, but now superseded.
- Bennett, Richard E. "Eastward to Eden: The Nauvoo Rescue Missions." *Dialogue* 19 (Winter 1986): 100-108.
- . "Finalizing Plans for the Trek West: Deliberations at Winter Quarters, 1846-1847." *BYU Studies* 24 (Summer 1984): 301-20.
- Boyack, Hazel Noble. "Wyoming: Pathway of the Mormon Pioneers to Utah." *Improvement Era* 50 (June 1947): 374-75, 408-9, 413.
- Brown, Joseph E. *The Mormon Trek West*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1980. An interesting study for armchair travelers. Illustrated, excellent photographs.
- Cannon, D. James, ed. *Centennial Caravan: Story of the 1947 Centennial Reenactment of the Mormon Trail*. Salt Lake City: Sons of Utah Pioneers, 1948. Illustrations.
- Carter, John E. "Photographing across the Plains: Charles R. Savage in 1866." *Nebraska History* 71 (Summer 1990): 58-63.
- Christansen, Lawrence. "The Story of the Mormon Battalion." Kernersville, N.C. An unpublished, eleven-hundred page definitive study of the Mormon Battalion.
- Creer, Leland H. "Lansford W. Hastings and the Discovery of the Old Mormon Trail." *Western Humanities Review* 3 (July 1949): 175-86.
- Daughters of Utah Pioneers. *They Came in [various years]*. Salt Lake City, 21 vols. to date. An annual devoted to Mormon pioneers.
- Deseret News . . . Church Almanac*. Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1973 and later editions. Useful for a variety of reasons, especially the list of Mormon pioneer companies.
- Duehlmeier, Fred D. "The 1847 Mormon Migration." Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1977. General.

- Durham, Michael S. "'This Is the Place': Retracing the Pioneer Trail in Mormon Utah." *American Heritage* 44, no. 2 (April 1993): 65-82.
- Franzwa, Gregory M. *Images of the Santa Fe Trail*. St. Louis, Mo.: Patrice Press, 1988. A splendid photographic essay.
- Gentry, Leland H. "The Mormon Way Stations: Garden Grove and Mt. Pisgah." *BYU Studies* 21 (Fall 1981): 445-61. Excellent.
- Gibbons, Boyd. "The Itch to Move West" *National Geographic* 170 (August 1986): 147-77. Great reading and great photos.
- Golder, Frank Alfred. *The March of the Mormon Battalion from Council Bluffs to California: Taken from the Journal of Henry Standage*. New York: Century, 1928. One of the best Mormon accounts of this march.
- Graham, Bruce L. "The Mormon Crossing of Iowa in 1846." Parts 1-3. *Restoration Trail Forum* 7 (August 1981): 1, 3-4; (November 1981): 3, 7; 8 (February 1982): 4, 6; and (May 1982): 6-8. A short, basic treatment.
- Greene, Lida L. "Markers for Remembrance: The Mormon Trail." *Annals of Iowa* 40 (Winter 1970): 190-93. A very brief discussion.
- Hafen, LeRoy R., and Ann W. Hafen, eds. *The Utah Expedition, 1857-58*. Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1982. Perhaps the best account of this military venture along the Mormon Trail during the "Utah War."
- Hartley, William G. "The Great Florence Fitout of 1861." *BYU Studies* 24 (Summer 1984): 341-71. The best on this topic.
- Holmes, Gail G. "The LDS Legacy in Southwestern Iowa." *Ensign* 18 (August 1988): 54-57. Holmes is the expert on this subject. Maps.
- Homer, Michael W. "After Winter Quarters and Council Bluffs: The Mormons in Nebraska Territory, 1854-1867." *Nebraska History* 65 (Winter 1984): 467-83. A good study of a neglected topic.
- Jackson, Richard H., ed. *The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978. A collection of articles, one of which (by Jackson, a geographer) is based entirely on primary sources and titled "The Overland Journey to Zion."
- Jenson, Andrew. "Church Emigration." Parts 1-22. *The Contributor* 12-13 (1891-92). A series of detailed articles on emigration or immigration.
- . "Utah Pioneer Companies." *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 8 (January 1917): 1-6. Dated.
- Kimball, Stanley B. "The Captivity Narrative on Mormon Trails, 1846-65." *Dialogue* 18 (Winter 1985): 81-88.

- Kimball, Stanley B. "The Dark Side of Heroism on Mormon Trails: A New Look at the Mythic Pioneers." Paper presented at the Mormon History Association, Kansas City, Mo., May 1985.
- . "Disease, Trauma, and Medicine of Mormon Trails, 1831-68." Paper presented at the Western History Conference, Wichita, Kans., October 1988.
- . "Love, Marriage, Romance, and Sex on Mormon Trails, 1831-68." Paper presented at the Mormon History Association, Salt Lake City, Utah, May 1986.
- . "Mormon Pioneer Trail." In *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. by Daniel H. Ludlow, 942-46. Vol. 2. New York: Macmillan, 1992.
- . "Route from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs." In *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, ed. by S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard H. Jackson, 70-71. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994.
- . "The Unusual and *Outre* on Mormon Trails." Paper presented at the Mormon History Conference, Logan, Utah, May 1988.
- . "Women, Children, and Family Life on Pioneer Trails." Paper presented at the National Convention of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City, Utah, October 1980.
- Lavender, David. *Westward Vision: The Story of the Oregon Trail*. 1963. Reprint, University of Nebraska Press, 1985. A literary history.
- Little, James A. *From Kirtland to Salt Lake City*. Salt Lake City: By the author, 1890. Based on Little's personal journal account of immigrating to Utah in 1849.
- Lyon, T. Edgar. "Some Uncommon Aspects of the Mormon Migration." *Improvement Era* 71 (September 1969): 33-40. Insightful.
- Madsen, Brigham D. *Gold Rush Sojourners in Great Salt Lake City: 1849 and 1850*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983. One excellent chapter on the use of the Mormon Trail by gold rushers.
- Murdock, Steve. "Mormon Trails in the Midwest." *Travel* 137 (January 1972): 58-63, 68. Popular.
- Neff, Andrew L. "The Mormon Migration to Utah, 1830-47." Ph.D. diss., University of California-Berkeley, 1918. Out of date.
- Nibley, Preston. *Exodus to Greatness: The Story of the Mormon Migration*. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1947. An old, orthodox, but still useful interpretation of westerning Mormons.
- Parkman, Francis. *The Oregon Trail*. 1849. Many printings and editions. A classic; great literature.
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## Other Trails Used by the Mormons<sup>12</sup>

- Burton, Sir Richard F. *The City of the Saints and across the Rocky Mountains to California*. 1862. Reprint, Niwot: University of Colorado Press, 1990. A classic account of the trail west from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Salt Lake City. One of the best dealing with this variant of the Oregon Trail. Great literature.

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## Atlases and Maps

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- Franzwa, Gregory M. *Maps of the Oregon Trail*. Gerald, Mo.: Patrice Press, 1982. Excellent and useful; the best book of maps on this trail.
- . *Maps of the Santa Fe Trail*. St. Louis, Mo.: Patrice Press, 1989. As good as the maps of the Oregon Trail.
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- “Oregon National Historic Trail Management Plan.” Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1981. Maps.
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- “Oregon Trail Cultural Resource Study.” Cheyenne: Wyoming Bureau of Land Management, 1981. Maps.
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## Varia

In addition to the sources listed below, some old Mormon newspapers are rich sources for trail study. See, for example, *The Frontier Guardian* [Kanesville, Iowa], 1849-52; the English *Millennial Star*, 1840-49 and beyond; and the *Deseret News* [Salt Lake City], 1850-present.

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## Bibliographies

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>That heritage, however, remains vulnerable to people’s carelessness. Indeed, stories frequently appear regarding the destruction of yet another piece of our trail legacy.

<sup>2</sup>See the subheading *Government Publications: 1963 to the Present* in the bibliography section of this article. The designations of *Mormon Trail* and *Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail* require some comment. The former is the almost universally used name for the 1846–47 Mormon route from Nauvoo, Illinois, to Salt Lake City, Utah. The latter is the formal name assigned to the same trail by the National Trails Systems Act.

The Mormons blazed very little of the trail that bears their name. Nevertheless, as Wallace Stegner points out in *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), “by the improvements they [the Mormons] made in it, they earned the right to put their name on the trail they used” (12). One vigorous, dissenting voice to Stegner’s position is that of Merrill J. Mattes, who favors the term Great Platte River Road. For Mattes’s arguments, see his publications referenced in this article’s bibliography.

<sup>3</sup>For a detailed study of trails used by the Mormons, see Stanley B. Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988). This book details more than 550 historic sites and markers along ten thousand miles of trails used by the Mormons (twenty-one trails in sixteen states).

<sup>4</sup>Also, since the Mormons followed the year-old Reed-Donner track from Ft. Bridger to Donner Hill just east of Salt Lake City, some reference to this trail is appropriate. See, for example, Eliza Houghton, *The Expedition of the Donner Party* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1911); C. F. McGlashan, *History of the Donner Party* (San Francisco: T. C. Wohlbruck, 1934), with bibliography; and George R. Stewart, *Ordeal by Hunger: The Story of the Donner Party* (New York: H. Holt, 1936), the classic study.

<sup>5</sup>This article does not treat at least twenty-nine historic Utah trails. These excluded trails include famous routes ranging from the trail of Father Silvestre Vele

de Escalante in 1776 through the Pony Express Trail of 1860–61. Time and space prohibited inclusion of information about these trails. For more information about these, see the Dale Morgan map under the subheading *Atlases and Maps* in this article. See also Peter H. DeLafosse, ed., *Trailing the Pioneers: A Guide to Utah's Emigrant Trails, 1829–1869* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press and Utah Crossroads Oregon-California Trails Association, 1994).

<sup>6</sup>Articles of Incorporation for the Mormon Pioneer Trail Foundation, State of Iowa, 1969.

<sup>7</sup>Kimball also has many records of the Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail Advisory Council that advised the National Park Service for the years 1980–84 and similar records for the Santa Fe National Historic Trail Advisory Council to the National Parks Service for the years 1988 to the present. The National Park Service doubtless has these records in its Denver and Santa Fe offices.

<sup>8</sup>*Charting and Marking Pioneer Trails and Landmarks* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association, 1931). This is an eight-page pamphlet published for association members.

<sup>9</sup>See Mary Bray Wheeler, *Directory of Historical Organizations in the United States and Canada*, 14th ed. (Nashville: AASLHS Press, 1990).

<sup>10</sup>*Mapping Emigrant Trails* (Independence, Mo: Oregon-California Trails Association, 1992). This publication was privately printed for association members.

<sup>11</sup>Serious trail students should consult the Early Church Information File (ECIF) of the LDS Church, especially the “Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies.” The ECIF consists of seventy-five rolls of microfilm containing approximately 1.5 million entries from more than one thousand sources. Write to Family History Department, 50 East North Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah 84150.

<sup>12</sup>For background on these other trails, see Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers*.